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FLORENTINE HISTORY.

Ma quell' ingrato popolo maligno
Che discese di Fiesole ab antico,
E tiene ancor del monte e del macigno.

DANTE, *Inferno*, Canto xv

E come 'l volger del ciel della luna
Cuopre ed iscuopre i liti senza posa,
Così far di Fiorenza la fortuna:
Perchè non dee parer mirabil cosa
Ciò ch' io dirò degli alti Fiorentini,
Onde la fama nel tempo è nascosa.

DANTE, *Paradiso*, Canto xvi.

FLORENTINE HISTORY,

FROM THE EARLIEST AUTHENTIC RECORDS

TO THE ACCESSION OF

14.836
a

FERDINAND THE THIRD,

GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY.

BY

HENRY EDWARD NAPIER,

Captain in the Royal Navy, F.R.S.

ITALI

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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TO

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES JAMES NAPIER, G.C.B.

Governor of Scinde, &c.

THERE are some men who create matter for History, others who only write it; you now belong to the former and may hereafter to both: I, in the following pages have tried although at a most humble distance, to approach the latter. Such as they are I dedicate them to you without whose aid I never could have prudently ventured to place them before the world. For ten years of sickness and sorrow they have been my constant companions and whatever may be their fate my obligation to you remains unaltered.

Your affectionate Brother,

HENRY EDWARD NAPIER.

LONDON,
October, 1846.

PREFACE.

OBJECTIONS may be made to the length and details of this work, and they are generally grievous faults; but can a nation's story be well told without them? Can the character manners and customs of a people, their laws social state, physical comforts, and moral condition, be fairly or usefully displayed in brief descriptions of political facts or military enterprises however agreeably related? Are not the former essential parts of history, and the latter rather the memoirs of a few leading individuals or particular factions, of vast importance to be known, but still only a part, and to the philosopher and philanthropist perhaps not the most instructive or affecting part of national history? No people can be known by riding post through their country against time: a few striking features, many interesting objects, may catch the eye and pass like shadows, but scarcely come home to the understanding or leave

any lasting impression on the mind. Long residence is absolutely necessary to become familiar with the inhabitants; we must study their mode of living, enter their society, observe their daily occupations, join in their amusements, and mix ourselves up with them in all the little incidents of every-day existence, to acquire a thorough knowledge of their real condition and complexion; and but few even in our own country are thus intimate with the classes either above or below their own. In like manner short sketchy histories, whether profound or superficial, give a general notion of their subject but bar our entrance into the common spirit and characteristics of the people*: we are not identified with them; their annals are like water sprinkled in our face; they refresh without quenching the thirst. A stranger unacquainted with national customs feels this both in travel and history; and it often happens that the very depth, clearness, and general excellence of Macchiavelli only make us the more regret his brevity. Past ages are as foreign countries to the present, wherefore the frequent exhibition of those trifling incidents, whether of manners or character, of the individual or com-

* "As for the corruptions and moths of history which are epitomes, the use of them deserveth to be banished as all men of sound judgment have confessed," &c.—(*Vide* Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, Book ii., p. 79.

munity, which combine to effect important results and weave the web of history; all tend to produce that intimate acquaintance with the nation which must necessarily be omitted in shorter narratives. To those who may be ignorant of Italian manners and history and who read for such information, the length and minuteness of this work would need no apology if its style and general character could hope to escape reproach. But why write so long a story about so small a country? Because history like learning "conveyeth medicine into men's minds by the quickness and penetration of examples:" Because her lessons, which are the records of experience and the beacons of human error, may, as in the Grecian republics, be taught with equal benefit from the acts of a small as a great community: because Florence performed as conspicuous a part in Italy as Athens did in Greece: because she was one of the head nurses of modern art and science; of literature, liberty, and song; of all that improves and adorns society; and because she probably influenced the free political destiny of many existing nations: besides her history for a long period includes that of Italy itself, and was intimately connected with the annals of transalpine nations whose industry she awakened, whose taste she formed, and

whose manners she contributed to refine. No modern community of equal size has been more celebrated than Florence: she moved alone, was peculiar in her character, and rose amidst the ruins of more powerful neighbours: the sound of her name still impresses our mind with a mingled feeling of admiration and respect, for she also was the last to bend under the gusts of despotism when foreign potentates and native princes combined against her; when abandoned by her oldest ally, and left to fall unaided in her last and most glorious struggle for liberty.

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PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
14	5, Note	della Chiese	delle Chiese.
15	5, Note	Lezione	Lezioni.
30	3, „	G. Ammirato	Scip. Ammirato.
39	1, „	Politico	Politica.
40	2, „	de Pittori	de' Pittori.
40	5, „	della	delle.
63	16, „	Antichita	Antichità.
63	17, „	Richia	Richa.
75	17, „	Serragle	Serragli.
85	5, „	Contini	Cantini.
115	7, „	Ved^{a}.	V. Ed^{a}.
„	8, „	i° and Parte ii°	i° Parte 2^{a}.
117	2, „	Tuscana	Toscana.
132	4, „	Parte i°	Parte i^{a}.
136	1, „	Cirle	Civile
148	9, „	Gemignano	Gimignano.
149	22, „	Do.	Do.
151	18, „	Do.	Do.
173	Note	M. del' Stefani	M. di Coppo Stefani.
184	1, Note	Parte i°	Parte i^{a}.
215	5, „	Parte i°	Parte i^{a}.
217	5, „	Antichita	Antichità.
229	4, „	Fazione	Fazioni.
255	2, „	Parte 2°	Parte 2^{a}.
268	7, „	Costanza	Costanzo.
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296	2, „	Fiorenta	Fiorentina.
418	3, „	Parte ii°	Parte ii^{a}.
435	2, „	Pistolese	Pistolesi.
441	Last line	Do.	Do.
449	3, „	Do.	Do.
450	2, „	Do.	Do.
475	2, „	Roncione	Roncioni.
510	1, „	Pistolese	Pistolesi.
576	5, „	Gerardini	Gherardini.
580	9, „	Ghiaccivaiani	Ghiacci vaiani.
598	3, „	Sugella Col Segna Suo	sugella Col segna suo.
599	1, „	Nove i°	Novel i^{a}.
614	Last line	Raccommandato.	raccomandato.

FLORENTINE HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

History should be studied with somewhat of the same feeling that superior spirits are supposed to regard the endless progress of man: before them, the present, past, and future are simultaneously displayed; they at once perceive the motives, ambition, and final views of humanity; they calmly behold those deeds that fill the earth with wonder, contemplate with stedfast eye the birth, progress, and death of nations, and at a single glance penetrate the chaos of human passions, while successive generations rise, flourish, and decay. They see new actors perform the same parts with little variation; before them the world fades and lives again, and its high and boisterous spirits sink as if they had never been. They perceive like causes working like effects, only modified by circumstances; everything in action, nothing permanent; happiness blindly sought and rarely found; ambition craving and unsatisfied; good often contemplated but seldom lasting; evil always flourishing, and religion the consolation or the cloak of all. These things and their misty shadows on the page of history may often tempt us to exclaim, "For what purpose are we here?" a question more easily asked than answered.

But history is chiefly useful as a record of cause and effect, when it traces past events to their real source and consequences; when it follows them through every turning, points to the wisdom or folly that engendered them, and finally, offers them as a beacon or example for posterity in similar times and circumstances. And as the great moving principles of our nature are unchangeable, he will read history with most profit who compares the course of other ages with the living current of his own, who will bear in mind the character and peculiar habits of times and countries, who will judge of individual actions by this standard, and be neither too easily startled at its conclusions nor too heedless of the lesson it conveys. But however striking may be this analogy, it is nevertheless rare, in times of public excitement, that the passions and prejudice of men will admit of a just comparison between the drama in which they themselves are actors, and those most analogous in the history of the world. If the historian hath shadowed out dark and calamitous conclusions, their effect is likely to be repelled by ambition or magnified by fear, and some slight variation of circumstances will always be seized as an excuse for neglecting the past, while the keen edge of history is unscrupulously applied to rival politics, and becomes alternately the mote or beam of the Evangelist.

History, if it be not thus written and thus read, and if it serve not as an incentive to wise actions, is merely a graver kind of novel, a production of slight labour, which can give its author no just claim to the title of historian.

Amongst those sparks of liberty that burst from the smouldering ruins of Rome few ascended more brightly or more rapidly than the Florentine Republic: it shone in arts and arms, in literature and science; and had internal union been maintained, scarcely a state in Italy could have long withstood the genius of its citizens. A fierce and insolent nobility was in the beginning as justly dragged from power as it was afterwards

unjustly punished; yet the people fought not as in Rome, for equal rights, but absolute uncompromising power: they legislated in wrath, preserved a false level by unequal pressure, and the tyrannical and once formidable aristocracy became a degraded caste: its power terminated; its insolence stood rebuked; but much of its military spirit was also crushed, and finally ceased to animate the general mass of citizens. No longer trusting to native valour, licentious bands of strangers were hired to defend the commonwealth, and less as servants than as masters: the moral effect was pernicious, and assisted by other causes produced an indifference to military virtue which without entirely destroying, depreciated personal spirit and often exposed the country to humiliating exactions.

Nevertheless we have an example in Florence of the power which even a petty state may attain by the innate force of free institutions acting on a manly energy of character: the first bounds of her authority were but a walk beyond the walls, and the republican territory, even in its most palmy days, did not exceed a third of the present dukedom; yet from that small centre the power of Florence gradually spread over all the neighbouring states until the sea and the Apennines became its limits.

We have in Florence also the example of a victorious people enlarging their territory by war without any real augmentation of national force, for it is impossible that any state should gain strength when more exhausted by the effort to conquer than enriched by the conquest: both Venice and Florence were comparatively more formidable in their concentrated vigour, when the former was a simple naval power and the latter confined to a smaller circle, than when half Lombardy and Tuscany were under their control.

By a steady advance and multiplication of her commercial relations, the natural effect of unfettered intercourse, wealth flowed into Florence from the distant capital of China; from

the nearer provinces of Asia; the shores of Africa, and the ruder countries of Europe. Half the world paid tribute to her skill: her alliance was sought and the weight of her character felt by the leading powers of Christendom, and her citizenship, neither lightly given nor yet an unexpensive honour, was accepted with pride by some of the noblest families in Italy. The industry of her citizens created luxuries which their private frugality forbade them to consume, while the wealth thus acquired not only embellished their city but enabled them cheerfully to sustain long and expensive wars for the maintenance of Italian equality and their own political independence. Their mental activity and subtle intellect penetrated everywhere, and they became so universally necessary that in 1294 the Ambassadors of twelve different States and Kingdoms, from England to Constantinople, all Florentines, met at Rome to congratulate Boniface VIII. on his election, and occasioned his well-known saying; "*that in worldly matters the Florentines seemed to be a fifth element**."

Their republic was in truth a goodly fabric, but ambition undermined it; for those fiery spirits that scarcely shake the mass of greater states often burst through the lighter pressure of small communities and destroy the social edifice. Large societies are commonly less open to personal influence; the population though divided, acts in vast bodies; its voice however loud, is seldom the voice of faction, and its leaders are borne on the opinion of millions. Pride, anger, enmity, ambition; all are there; but with only a partial influence, and permanently confined to the few; dispersed through a multitude their effects are comparatively trifling; for though great masses follow popular chiefs it is not as vassals or clansmen; their leaders may a while deceive, but they ultimately work themselves free. Neither do such struggles mate-

* "Earth, air, fire, water, and Florentines, were to be found everywhere."

rially affect the administration of private justice, nor are they likely to be made a cause of persecution by the winning faction; for this their antagonists are too strong, too numerous, and would never suffer themselves to be thinned out by banishment and confiscation. In petty communities the chiefs are chiefs of faction, and their success the success of a sect in which each individual follower relies for safety and stakes his life and fortune on the cast. Modern states have the press and impeachment; Rome had the tribunitial power as an outlet for public dissatisfaction; Florence neither: no efficient means were there provided to punish a powerful offender or obtain justice for a friendless man: a culprit in authority feared no accusation, no sentence, no judgment unsupported by physical force; and his means of defence were precisely of the same nature: faction was necessarily opposed to faction, the punishment of leaders brought misfortune on numbers, the city was thinned and public good impaired: in Rome the single transgressor suffered, and few exiles and fewer deaths disgraced that stormy commonwealth until its liberty fell in the struggles between Sylla and Caius Marius.

In Florence the party-leaders were not followed by numerous public bodies, for there was no republic without the walls; a few powerful families led the van, and the contest was confined to the citizens, themselves only a portion of the general urban population. A faction once in power soon became formidable: death, exile, confiscation, and imprisonment diminished the adverse ranks, and opposition was put down by the destruction of hostile property: what with us would be a mere change of administration was there the cause of a sudden revolution that trampled indiscriminately on mercy, justice, and patriotism. No great course of policy really divided the factions: they struggled for no political principle but unmitigated power; yet always under the standard of some popular grievance; a cause noble

in itself, but unstable as their own sincerity, seized on for the hour and crushed in the tumult of victory. In great communities, if leaders prove false, their followers moved by a real or mistaken sense of injustice and a community of interest, are generally true to the cause, and their desire is rarely destructive of liberty; though ignorant, they are naturally just; and have, moreover, a quick perception of truth when unfolded by an honest and friendly hand. The result is that we have a species of public principle continually floating in the political atmosphere, a mere speck perhaps, like a balloon, which all regard but in which few are tempted to ascend: hence the public conduct of party in great communities, though as full of evil passions as in smaller states is not so exclusively directed by them; nor does vengeance follow success where reason is not overwhelmed by general frenzy. The history of Florence is an example of one, that of Great Britain not a bad illustration of the other; while the administration of Ireland has hitherto combined the most noxious qualities of both *.

In Florence we shall see national politics pursued with all the subtilty of ambition and personal hatred; we shall see treachery, injustice, persecution and tyranny attend on the ascendant faction, with fear and suspicion for its safeguards, and a rival's destruction the only means of self-preservation. The junction of such materials could seldom be for public good, a question never discussed by Florentine leaders except when external danger or foreign conquest for a season united them. Yet beneath this stormy surface the stream of national wealth rolled powerfully though irregularly and measures of general interest were promulgated even in the most unquiet times: industry was vigilantly, sometimes perhaps unwisely managed, and the great corporate power of the trades brought commerce

* This was written in 1835, since which things have changed in that country.

safely through those tempests that seemed to threaten the very existence of society. People of all ranks and factions were legally compelled to enrol themselves in these professional associations if they wished for political power, and consequently a strong corporate spirit or commercial advantages formed the real bond of public union in Florence: moreover riches and industry were widely spread; a busy trade gave life and vigour to the national mass, which though roughly shaken by the jar of factions, was never completely ruined until the strong spirit of independence had entirely evaporated. This spirit was first awakened by the struggles of Ardoino and Henry of Bavaria for the Italian throne; it gathered latent strength through the troubled reign of Matilda, and assumed a definite form in the beginning of the twelfth century: severely checked by the long continued power of the Albizzi and enfeebled by the subtle policy of the elder Medici, it ultimately sunk under the despotism of the younger. Leopold would have revived it, but was prematurely called to fill a higher throne; Ferdinand, with a free and honest spirit, had neither the energy, talents nor experience of his father, and was swept away by the great wave of western revolution ere he had time to begin what his own natural bias would have finally prompted. Free principles have therefore not taken deep root in Tuscany; and Florence still remains with much dormant talent, much of the acuteness, but, excepting a few distinguished names, none of the spirit, enterprise, or untiring industry of the ancient republic. Ruled by a Prince, who will gain more credit and do more real service by restoring life and population to the Tuscan marshes, than amongst the thorns of constitutional politics, she still exhibits the most thriving and contented portion of the Italian peninsula.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

THE origin of Florence, like that of most Italian cities, is very uncertain, and its investigation has employed more time and talent than the subject deserves; her general fame and acknowledged ancientness may dispense with a blind plunge into the depths of time for an illustrious origin, a labour belonging rather to the antiquary than the historian: four centuries of her own eventful history afford examples for her living children to shun or imitate, and with sufficient brightness to ennoble her, independent of the doubtful light of remote antiquity. Like other ancient races, she has suffered much in fame and fortune, and no longer supports as a nation the energetic character of her republican lineage: great crimes and great virtues disfigure and adorn her history, but coupled with that taste, talent, and high adventurous spirit which excites the imagination and commands respect.

Some writers assert that Florence was built by the Libyan Hercules, after having drained the surrounding plain by removing the *Golfolina*, a rock which tradition says impeded the Arno's course near Signa, and about which there are many conjectures and no certainty. Borghini, rejecting this tradition, admits the probability of a Hercules having anciently visited Tuscany, yet doubts the desiccation of the lake, because a marsh still existed

there in the time of Hannibal, whose route by this plain is however a disputed point*. But a partial swamp might have remained for ages after the deeper waters had subsided; and the long course of time between the advents of these heroes, with the marks of human labour said to be still visible about the Golfolina as they are in the rocks near Arezzo, may be sufficient answers to his objection. The circumstance of the seal of Florence having been from time immemorial the figure of Hercules, at least shows that, although Mars was the tutelar deity, the notion of that hero being its original founder is extremely old†.

Without presuming to enter the misty regions of Etrurian aborigines, or pretending to decide on their being Pelasgians or Phœnicians (if these be not indeed identical‡), or a mixture of several races; or whether they sprang perfect from the soil, as Micali and Borghini seem disposed to believe; we can reasonably suppose that the ancient trading nations may have pushed their small craft up the Arno to the present site of Florence, and thus have gained a more immediate communication with the flourishing city of Fiesole, than they could through other ports of Etruria, from whatever race its people might have sprung§. Admitting the high antiquity of Fiesole, the imagined work of Atlas, and the tomb of his celestial daughter, we may easily believe that a market was from very early times established in the plain, where both by land and water the rural produce could be brought for sale without ascending the steep on which that city stood‖. Such arrangements would naturally result from the common course of events, and a more convenient spot could scarcely be found than the

* Borghini, Discorsi dell' Origine della città di Firenze, Parte i^a, p. 15.

† Toscano Illustrata, p. 286.

‡ The Greeks called the latter *Pelasgii*, quasi *Pelagi*, from their maritime habits.

§ Micali, vol. vi.—Borghini, Discor. della Toscana e sua città, Parte i^a, p. 342.

‖ Lami, Lezioni d' Antichità Toscane, Lez. i^a, p. 25.

present site of Florence, to which the Arno is still navigable by boats from its mouth, and at that time perhaps by two branches.

This suburb was likely to become a depository of national produce, as well as foreign commodities from Pisa, Elba, and especially Populonia, which, after the supposed colonisation of Elba by Volterra, became the seaport of this last city and the great foundery of native iron; hence a lower town may be imagined to have quickly extended towards the parent city *.

Population would thus augment by mere public convenience as well as from local fertility, milder air and greater abundance of water, and an extensive town arise long before the Etruscan confederation sank under the steadier march of Rome†. This seems also to be the opinion of Villani, Macchiavelli, Varchi, and Borghini; partially supported by Malespini Dante, and others; but all depending on the ancient chronicles consulted by the last historian both at Rome and Florence, the value of which cannot now be appreciated, for the fables that he so gravely relates must not be received as a criterion either of them or him, in more credible events of subsequent occurrence ‡. "There were," says Villani, "inhabitants round San Giovanni, because the people of Fiesole held their market there one day in the week, and it was called the Field of Mars, the ancient name: *however it was always, from the first, the market of the Fiesolines, and thus it was called before Florence existed.*" And again, "The Prætor Florinus, with a Roman army, encamped beyond the Arno towards Fiesole and had two small

* Micali, vol. i°, p. 129.—Giuseppe Ninci, Storia d' Elba, p. 2.

† Richa, Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Toscane, vol. iv., Parte ii^a, p. 45.

‡ Niccolo Macchiavelli, Istorie Fiorentine, Lib. ii.—Malespini, Storia, cap. xxviii.—Gio. Villani, Storia, cap. xxi., Lib. ii^a.—Benedetto Varchi, Storia Fiorentina, Lib. ix., p. 67.—Borghini, Discorsi, Parte Prima, p. 47.—Dante, Inferno, Canto xv.

villages there, one called *Arnina*, the other *Camarte*, or *Campo*, or *Domus Martis*, where the people of Fiesole one day in the week held a general market with the neighbouring towns and villages. And it was decreed by the Consul, in concert with Florinus, that neither bread, nor wine, nor warlike stores should be bought or sold in any place except his camp." On the site of this camp, as we are also assured by Villani, was erected the city of Florence, after the capture of Fiesole by Pompey, Cæsar, and Martius; but Leonardo Aretino, following Malespini, asserts that it was the work of Sylla's legions, who were already in possession of Fiesole *. Poliziano imagines it to have been a colony of the Triumvirate, and is supported by Raffaello Maffei surnamed *Il Volterrano*. But the variety of opinions almost equals the number of authors, wherefore accuracy is here impossible and of little consequence in the subsequent history †.

There are reasons nevertheless for believing that Florence had obtained the rank and privileges of a *Municipium* long before these last conjectured epochs of its foundation, for Lucius Florus, in his abridgment of Livy, as cited by Varchi and Borghini, while describing Sylla's conduct after the civil war, says that four splendid *Municipia*, namely *Spoletum*, Spoleto; *Interamnium*, Terni; *Prænestæ*, and *Florentia* were sold by public auction. Now if Florence were really one of these "*Municipia Italiæ splendidissima*," or a city enjoying the rights and privileges of Rome in addition to its own, it must necessarily have flourished long before the time of Sylla; wherefore the above statements are of small value, and Lami's opinion of its Etruscan source and the con-

* Leon. Aretino, Stor. Fiorentina, Volgarizzato da Donato Acciaioli, Lib. i°, (Edition 1494).—Gio. Villani, Storia, Lib. i°, cap. xxxv.; Lib. ii°, cap. xxi.

† Poliziano, 2nd Epistle to Piero de' Medici.—Il Volterrano, Commentari Urbani. Both cited by Varchi and others, Lib. ix., p. 60.—Lami, Lezione viii.

sequent age of some of its remaining towers, is slightly strengthened*.

This passage of Florus has, however, been shaken by the famous Coluccio Salutati, who saw a very ancient manuscript of that author, in which the name was written *Florentina*, supposed by him to be *Ferentino*, but not so much from their similarity of sound as from the situation of the latter near the other three cities, all of which having committed the same crime were involved in the same condemnation†.

Malespini, and Villani who copies him, amuse us with many fables about the origin of Florence, and all in that simple unaffected tongue,

"Che pria li Padri e le Madri trastulla‡,"

but we have no reason to suspect their accuracy in describing local particularities, or any events that occurred within their own age and observation. Yet, notwithstanding their minute descriptions of Florence and the remains which then existed and that even now are not entirely effaced, the very site of this ancient city has been doubted, merely because Ptolemy, or more likely some careless scribe, has made an error of seven and twenty miles in the difference of latitude between that town and Fiesole§.

From all, therefore, that has been written, it may be reasonably concluded that Florence, springing originally from Fiesole, finally rose to the rank of a Roman colony, and the seat of provincial government; a miniature of Rome, with its Campus Martius, its Capitol, Forum, temple of Mars, aqueducts, baths,

* Lib. iii., last part, cited by Borghini. Origine di Firenze, p. 34.—Varchi, Stor. Fioren. Lib. ix., p. 64.

† Lami, Lezione viii.—Paulo Mini, Avvertimenti e digressioni sopra il Discorso della Nobilità di Firenze, Avvert. 2°. Digress. 1°.—Coluccio Salutati, as cited by Borghini. (Origine di Firenze,) and others.

‡ Dante, Paradiso, Canto xv.

§ Borghini, Discors. Parte i^a, p. 107.—"*You had better move Fiesole, it will give you much less trouble*," said a friend of Borghini's to one who was warmly insisting on Florence not being in its ancient place.

theatre and amphitheatre, all erected in imitation of the "Eternal City;" for vestiges of all these are still existing either in name or substance*.

The name of Florence is as dark as its origin, and a thousand derivations have confused the brains of antiquarians and their readers without much enlightening them, while the beautiful *Giaggiolo* or Iris, the city's emblem, still clings to her old grey walls, as if to assert its right to be considered as the genuine source of her poetic appellation. From the profusion of those flowers that formerly decorated the meads between the rivers Mugnone and Arno, has sprung one of the most popular opinions on this subject; for a white plant of the same species having shown itself amongst the rising fabrics the incident was poetically seized upon and the Lily then first assumed its station in the crimson banner of Florence†.

Stefano Menochio, as quoted by Francesco Vettori, explains the word *Florentia* as "*Flores liliorum in candelabris*‡," and it appears from other quotations in the same work that the Lily was more especially designated by the word *Florentia*: hence the meaning of Malespini and Villani in deriving Florenza from lilies; because when the former wrote, the connection of these names must have been universally familiar from the comparatively recent decay of Latin as a spoken language and its then continued use in all written documents. The site of Florence at the confluence of two rivers, coupled with an expression of Pliny in the eighth chapter and third book of his Natural History, where he speaks of the *Fluentini* being placed on the Arno, have made some imagine that the

* Dom. Manni, Notizie Istoriche intorno al Parlagio &c. di. Firenzo. —Pietro Giannone, Storia Civile di Napoli, vol. iº, pº 210.—Padre Richa, Notizie Istoriche della Chiese Fiorentine, vol. iv., Parte iiª, p. 44.

† Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, Istoria Fiorentina, Lib. iº. Rubrica 20. —The Mugnone then flowed across the *Piazza di San Marco* and that of *Madonna*, falling into the Arno, near the Ponte alla Carraia; and the Arno is supposed to have originally swept in a curve towards Fiesole at that part outside the *Porta alla Croce*.

‡ Fiorino d' Oro, Illustrato, p. 20.

original name was *Fluentia;* others derive it from *Florinus*, the Roman general already mentioned, who was killed by the Fiesolines in a skirmish near the camp; and others again, because it was the general Mart or Forum, have called it *Forentia**. It has also been suggested that there was an equivalent Etruscan name, the termination "*entia*" being considered as much Etruscan as Roman; and, as a proof of this, the names of several Etruscan places have been cited, such as the rivers *Aventia* and *Ardentia* and the goddess *Valentia;* which last was also conjectured to be one of the names of Rome, originally an Etruscan city†.

Lastly, there were those who maintained that the modern name should be divided into three syllables, as *Fir-en-ze*, the first, signifying a *flower* in some remote eastern dialect; the second *graceful*, and the third *this;* or a *graceful flower this;* and again from the word *Firza* which we are told means a town without walls. But, exclaims Borghini, what is the use of breaking our language to pieces only to pick out a *Fir*, a *Firza*, or some such nonsense, and then flying off to Mesopotamia to hunt for a meaning, when we have our neighbours, the Romans, close at hand, who called it in their language *Florentia*, which, as is usual in Italy, has since been corrupted into *Firenze*. The somewhat poetical derivation of the name from a Lily, or field of flowers, may therefore remain until a better be produced, and that of the city's origin be fairly referred to Fiesoline commerce and Roman soldiers‡.

* Rastrelli, Firenze Antica e Moderna illustrata, vol. i°, p. 13, cap. ii°.—The words of Pliny are "Fluentini præfluenti Arno appositi."

† Lami, Lezione, pp. 16 and 17, Lezione i^a^.

‡ Borghini, Parte Prima, p. 23; where Bartolommeo Scali's History is thus quoted:- "*Campus erat ad Munionis ripam omniflorum genere, sed præcipue liliis fœcundissimum.*"

CHAPTER II.

FROM A.D. 17 TO A.D. 650.

ETRURIA, TUSCIA, and TYRRHENIA, were ancient names of Tuscany; and its boundaries the Magra, the Tiber, the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian or Etruscan Sea. The first river divided it from Liguria, now for the most part comprised in the Genoese state, and the second from Latium and Umbria, which are a portion of the ecclesiastical dominions: this was central Etruria; but the Etruscans' territory, says Livy, extended from the Alps to the Sicilian Sea and filled all Italy with their renown. The political power of Etruria was based on a confederation of twelve principal cities and their territories, each governed by its own *Lucumo* or king; and, though various associations existed amongst them, it does not appear that the nation was ever stedfastly united by any supreme government, like that of the United States of America*.

The chief Tuscan river is the Arno, which, like the Tiber, has its source in the mountain of Falterona: flowing through the Casentine valleys, and passing within three miles of Arezzo, it descends rapidly into the upper Val d'Arno, bathes the town and fields of Florence; winds between Monte Lupo and

* By the Etruscan Sea was understood all the waters from the Arno's mouth to Sicily, and sometimes even all those that encircled Italy. The Tyrrhenian Sea took its name from the Chief *Tyrrenus* or *Tyrsenus*, who by some is supposed to have led the first colonists westward from Lydia. (Giuseppe Ninci, Storia d'Elba, Libro i°, p. 4, Note A.)

Capraia; and after refreshing and fertilising the plains of Pisa sweeps grandly through that capital and casts its turbid waters to the sea*.

Florence is placed in the centre of Tuscany between the hills of Montughi, Monte Morello and Fiesole to the north; and those of San Miniato, San Giorgio and Bellosguardo to the south. Seated in a spacious and fertile plain, it seems as if some white and rocky mass had been dashed violently down, and breaking through olive groves and vineyards had promiscuously scattered its fragments on the soil; so thick are the villas and hamlets that stud the country round.

To the north-east is the treble-peaked Fiesole with its frowning convent and huge Etruscan walls: the valley of Mugnone, a place made classical by Boccaccio, divides it from Monte Morello and the neighbouring heights, once wooded, now brown and bare, the resort of herds and herdsmen. To the north-west, under the skirts of Monte Morello, lurks the city of Prato, one of the earliest Florentine conquests: further westward, Pistoia, the "*City of Factions*" and supposed memorial of Catiline's defeat, is seen in dim perspective melting in the softened features of its own romantic hills. Behind all, the rugged peaks of Carrara, Pelligrino and the Appuan Alps break on the western sky, while to the south-west the eye ranges over a succession of villa-studded heights rich in agrarian industry; and far to the east, in a lofty recess of the Apennines, sits the woody Vallombrosa, darkly contrasted with the general view.

Except the quotation from Florus, the earliest notice of Florence is by Tacitus, who at the end of his first book tells us that during the reign of Tiberius, in order to control the frequent floods of the Tiber, a question arose in the senate about the expediency of directing its tributary streams

* "Un fiumicel che nasce in Falterona
E cento miglia di corso nol sazia."—DANTE.

into new channels; and that in an audience given to the Ambassadors of the various *Municipia* and Colonies, those of Florence entreated that the river Chiana might not be turned into the Arno, as it would assuredly ruin their city by the increased volume of water which might thus be rolled down on them in rainy seasons. This vain though natural apprehension was first shaken by the scientific spirit of the Medici and afterwards dispelled by the lights of modern science, which besides arresting those devastating floods has metamorphosed the Chiana swamps into rich farms with a healthy population; and the poisonous wastes of the Maremma now promise similar and equally beneficial consequences *.

It is believed that Christianity was first secretly taught in Florence about Nero's reign by Frontinus and Paulinus, disciples of Saint Peter; this was followed by a persecution of the Christians which nearly ceased under Vespasian and Titus, and recommenced under Decius in the third century. St. Miniato is supposed to have then suffered decapitation on the spot where the Church of *Santa Candida alla Croce a Gorgo* was afterwards erected, bequeathing its name to the Present Gate of *La Croce*, and his body was interred, not without a miracle, on the opposite hill which still bears his name †.

A.D. 56.

A.D. 250.

The first publicly acknowledged bishop seems to have been a certain Felice in 313, but no sure indication of any other appears until about the year 400, when St. Zanobi was consecrated; a man reverenced in life and death for his exemplary conduct and miracles; that of causing a decayed elm to spring into full leaf by the accidental touch of his body on its way to interment, was early commemorated by the erection of a marble column on the spot, and long afterwards produced

A.D. 400.

* Saggio su la storia delle Colmate della Valle di Chiana.

† He walked over the Arno with his head in his hand.—M. di C. Stefani, Lib. i°, Rub. 23.—Gio. Villani, Lib. i°, cap. lvii.

a beautiful specimen of pictorial art from the genius of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio *.

While the western Empire was in rapid decay, the barbarian Radagasius with a numerous army laid siege to Florence, but met a bold resistance and was totally defeated by Stilicho in October 405 or 406, with the loss of all his army by sword and famine. In honour of this victory games were celebrated at Florence on the eighth of the above month, it being the festival of St. Reparata, to whom the Church of St. Salvadore which occupied the place of the present Cathedral was then dedicated †. Long before the year 330 when the western Empire was first weakened by Constantine's emigration, and as early as the time of Marcus Aurelius, symptoms of the great northern movement began to appear; it is even believed that during Domitian's reign the Dacians might have been pressed by the Alani and these again by a forward motion of the distant Goths. But while this was in preparation all southern Europe had gradually sunk into effeminacy and corruption, and half the world was effete when the grand infusion of young and vigorous blood rushed southward, as if by a powerful effort of nature, to restore her moral and physical equilibrium ‡.

A.D. 405.

A.D. 167.

From Adrian's reign the seventeen provinces of Italy were governed by Consuls, Presidents, and Rectors or Correctors, Tuscany being ruled by the last; and this continued, with the exception perhaps of Odoacer's rule, down to Longinus, who degraded the provincial Dukes of Narses to mere governors of cities §. But the Empire still mouldered away, and

A.D. 137.

* M. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. i°, Rubrica 26.—Borghini, Discor. Chiesa e Vescovi di Firenze, Part. ii^a, pp. 358—383.

† Muratori, Annali d'Italia, An. 405. —Mecatti, Storia Cronologica Fiorentina.—Gibbon, vol. iii., whose date is 404, (4to ed.) and 406 in the 8vo ed.

‡ Muratori, Annali.—Heeren's Manual of Ancient History.—Denina, Revolut. d'Ital., Lib. iii., cap. viii.—Gibbon, vol. i., chap. i., p. 6.

§ Giannone, Storia di Napoli, vol. i°, pp. 65, 201, 210, 211, 216, 220. —Gibbon, vol. ii., pp. 37, 42.

its division by Valentinian the First was of no more avail than a change of the western government, from Rome to the stronger positions of Milan and Ravenna, by Maximian and Dioclesian in the fourth century*: Italy soon fell a prey to these northern hordes, who pouring in countless numbers from their gloomy forests and icy lakes, revelled in the milder air of the more fertile Ausonia.

The ravages of the Visigoths under Alaric, of the Huns under Attila, and the Vandals under Genseric, were so many destructive storms that struck the land with death and desolation; but the Heruli of King Odoacer changed the whole moral and political aspect of Italy: they planted a new and a freer spirit in a country which they had no wish to abandon for the less brilliant skies of their own inclement region. After defeating Augustulus and Orestes on the plains of Pavia, Odoacer remained for seventeen years the master of Italy's fairest provinces, but without the imperial title, because from policy or habitual veneration for the majesty of the Cæsars it is even doubted whether he ever assumed that of royalty, being content as it seemed with the simple dignity of *Patrician* or imperial Vicar. The sovereignty of Rome thus fell into the hands of a barbarian, who nevertheless governed well and wisely; who was tolerant although an Arian; who respected the institutions and prejudices of the vanquished although a conqueror; and caused Italy to be once more feared, courted and respected by the world†.

A.D. 409.
A.D. 452.
A.D. 455.
A.D. 475.

Five centuries later the Italian Berenger reigned; he was deposed, and saw Otho of Saxony seated in his place as Emperor of the West: and these two revolutions, says Sismondi, "in one of which the name of Empire was changed to Monarchy, and in the other that of Monarchy to Empire,

* Gibbon, vol. i., chap. xiii., p. 457, (4to ed.)
† Denina, Lib. v., cap. i°, p. 306. —Gibbon, vol. iii., p. 498, (4to ed).—Muratori, Annali, vol. vii., p. 283, (8vo ed.)

mark the long course of adversity that the Italian nation was compelled to endure for the recovery of its natural character, and the production of an energy that might render it worthy of freedom*." In Odoacer's day the native Italians were in fact reduced to the last state of corruption, and a union of this degrading softness with the rough northern spirit, like the mixture of different soils, produced that harvest of intelligence and liberty which has nourished the European world to its present vigour: from the most abject degradation they passed through a long course of adversity to an energetic independence of character that rendered them worthy of the liberty they afterwards achieved.

Theodoric King of the Ostrogoths, a great soldier, a just ruler, and a virtuous man; for he was above the standard of his day; invaded Italy with the Emperor Zeno's concurrence, defeated Odoacer in several battles, and after a long struggle remained master of that kingdom, which he governed in peace and justice for two-and-thirty years. He put Odoacer to death, as Odoacer had put Orestes, and in his latter years became gloomy and even ferocious to his immediate attendants; and the execution of Boethius and Symmachus will ever darken his memory in despite of subsequent remorse. Theodoric nevertheless was one of those glorious barbarians who, themselves ignorant of the first rudiments of literature, furnish ample materials for the philosopher's reflection and the historian's pen. Through the influence of Cassiodorus, secretary to both him and Odoacer, learning was never slighted and genius generally repaid; and although the death of those celebrated philosophers was a just reproach, the honour they received through life will still do credit to his memory †. Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narses, ultimately sub-

A.D. 489.

A.D. 493.

* Sismondi, Rep., vol. i^e, cap. i^e. —Giannone, Storia Civile di Napoli.—Gibbon, vol. iii., chap. lvi.

† Gibbon, vol. iv., chap. xxxix.—Denina, Riv. d'Ital., Lib. v., cap. v., vi.

dued the Ostrogoths after a supremacy of sixty years, their final struggles being the battles of Nocera and Tagina, where Teias and Totila successively fell, quelled by the mightier genius of an old neglected general and a mutilated courtier. The able, vigorous, but unpopular and somewhat avaricious rule of Narses lasted sixteen years, until he fell by female intrigues and adverse machinations accompanied by insults so bitter as, in the opinion of some writers, to cause the subsequent invasion of Alboin and his Lombards by a direct invitation*. The fact is doubtful; but the Lombards, after forty years, abandoned Pannonia to the fiercer Huns, and with numerous Saxon auxiliaries rose in arms and marched to Italy breaking through every barrier and spreading in one broad flood from the Alps to the capital. The Venetians were safe in their Lagoons; Rome and its immediate territory remained faithful to the emperor; the southern maritime cities were defended by Greeks; and Zoton, an adventurous chief of the Lombard race, had established himself from the year 561 in the heart of Italy under the title of Duke of Beneventum†: his independence may perhaps be doubtful; but with these exceptions the realm of Lombardy included all the peninsula, Pavia being then the permanent seat of government.

A.D. 553.

A.D. 568.

This invasion gave fresh energy to Italy, and tended to rouse her from that state of drowsy indifference with which she was still oppressed in despite of northern inroads: at first the Lombards' rule was intolerably fierce, and though subsequently modified by time and intercourse, they never thoroughly mixed with the Italians, who could not forget their pristine ferocity even after that monarchy was destroyed. In conjunction with the bitter feeling between conquerors and conquered, diversity of manners and opinions must have

* Muratori, Annali.—Denina, Lib. vii., cap. i., p. 402.

† Muratori, Anno 571.—Giannone, vol. ii., p. 266.

occasioned hatred and disgust to both, and the despicable notion that the barbarians entertained of their new subjects is forcibly expressed by Luitprand, Bishop of Cremona; uttered, it is true, in a moment of anger, but not on that account the less sincere. "In the word Roman," says he, "is included all that is ignoble, timid, avaricious, lascivious, and false, and every vice that can debase the dignity of man." This would have astonished Fabricius, yet agrees with the opinions in Salviani's "*Governo di Dio*," quoted by Lami, where there is a disgusting picture of Roman depravity, especially at public spectacles; while the chastity and generally moral, though uncivilised conduct of all the northern tribes except the Huns, is acknowledged*. "The Goths" are described as "perfidious but chaste; the Alani not chaste but less perfidious; the Franks liars, but hospitable; the Saxons cruel and savage, but venerating chastity." In fact the Goths and Lombards found all the vices that they most abhorred still flourishing in Italy, but in peculiar rankness about the theatres, amphitheatres, baths, and all other places of public diversion; they were therefore destroyed; not from wanton barbarity but honest indignation; and though Theodoric through policy and general love of the arts, repaired the Coliseum and granted public games at the repeated petitions of the Romans, he yet designates them as "exhibitions contrary to the gravity of manners, evacuators of modesty, fountains of strife, and the mockery of times to come." The courage of northern spirits, ruthless in battle but not wantonly cruel, revolted from the bloody sports of Rome, and even the Italian clergy endeavoured unsuccessfully to prevent them. Nothing however was gained before the reign of Odoacer except an edict against their being held on the Sabbath, and this was not long attended to; nor did they entirely cease until the A.D. 650.

* Lami, Lezioni d'Antichità Toscane.—Mazzarosa, Storia di Lucca.—Gibbon, chap. xlv., xlix.—Sismondi, vol. i.

country was ruined by misfortunes that destroyed the power or wish for such amusements, and reduced man almost to the level of those beasts which he was wont to hunt for pastime*.

Cotemporary Monarchs during the period embraced in this chapter:—Roman and Greek Emperors, from Tiberius to Constantine, Copronimus and Leo IV.—Popes, from St. Peter to Adrian I.—England: The Romans until 448.—Prince Arthur, supposed from 508 to 540.—Heptarchy from 555 to 827.—France: Romans until 481.—Then the Franks from Clovis to Chilperic III. in 737.

* Lami, Lezione v., p. 124.

CHAPTER III.

FROM A.D. 650 TO A.D. 805.

CENTURIES of historical darkness follow the foregoing times, broken only by the meteor-like course of Charlemagne whose spirit, apparently destined to rouse up mankind, soon vanished from the scene and left the world in more than pristine obscurity. His exploits were chanted in romantic numbers and adorned with fairy superstitions by groups of itinerants thence called *Charlatans*, and the deeds of his Paladins still excite the youthful spirit by their romantic and daring character. It is only from the reign of this monarch that we must take the still slight and uncertain clue of Florentine history, after some inquiry into the supposed destruction and rebuilding of the city, a theme almost as obscure as her name and origin, and the cause of much learned investigation amongst Tuscan antiquaries. Leonardo Aretino and Scipione Ammirato altogether discard the commonly received notion of its ruin by *Totila;* and the labours of Vincenzo Borghini and Giovanni Lami leave no doubt on a subject which anterior writers had handled so clumsily as to confuse this chief with the barbarian *Attila*, who was almost a century earlier and never crossed the Apennines*. But as in modern Italy the traveller is referred to French domination for the source of all moral and physical evil, so probably in those gloomy times was every national

* Leon. Aretino, Lib. i°.—Scip. Ammirato, Storia Fiorentina, Lib. i°, p. 17.—Borghini, Discorsi, Parte ii°, p. 251.—Gio. Lami, Lezione vii., vol. i°, p. 240.

misfortune attributed to him whose exploits then most fully occupied the public attention.

Totila or Baduilla, the supposed destroyer of Florence, was an Italian of royal blood and Gothic race; who after the death of Erarico, was unanimously chosen king of that nation at a moment when it quailed under the energy of Belisarius, and when five thousand warriors were the scanty remnant of all its veteran bands. The absence of that renowned captain and the weakness of his successor Alexander were soon felt by both nations and proved peculiarly favourable to Totila; for more intent on gain and vexatious prosecutions than the charge of war, Alexander soon exhausted the courage and resources of a suffering nation*. A defeat of the imperialists near Verona gave Totila complete command of that country by forcing them back in five separate columns on the fenced cities of Romagna and Tuscany: Justin with one of these threw himself into Florence, where he was soon followed by a Gothic force which, after a second victory near Faenza, was sent to surprise him; but at his earnest entreaties a body of troops assembled at Ravenna, and by forced marches drove Totila's army into the Mugello, leaving Florence free. Although quarrelling amongst themselves the imperial generals resolved to follow up their blow but were totally routed, while the victor's army was augmented by the enlistment of numerous prisoners †. After failing in this attempt on Florence, Totila renewed the campaign in 543 by a southward march through Romagna, reducing Beneventum and all the neighbouring provinces; even Rome fell; but was subsequently recaptured by Belisarius, who had reassumed the command in Italy: yet thus for ten years did the Lombard march from victory to victory, securing friends and conquering foes almost by the glitter of his arms.

A.D. 541.

A.D. 542.

It was in one of these campaigns that he added Florence to

* Muratori, Annali, Anno 541, &c. † S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 15, &c.—Borghini, Discorsi, Parte ii^a, p. 259. Muratori, Anno 542.

his conquests either by capitulation or the people's will. Belisarius was gone; but his genius reappeared in Narses; Victory unfaithful to the Gothic standard resumed her ancient post amongst the Roman Eagles, and Totila after a long and bloody resistance died at the battle of Tagina, in 552.

The place is now unknown. His orders were to use neither sword nor shaft in the battle, but trust to pike and lance alone for victory; he was defeated and of course blamed, for the issue was unfortunate; but we know nothing of the circumstances in which he acted, the nature of the ground, nor the quality or equipment of the adverse legions; and the fire-side criticism of a great general's actions is as easy as it is presumptuous.

Totila seems to have been just, clement, and chaste; as well as prudent, vigilant, and indefatigable; his virtues deserved a happier fate: he took Rome, but spent his anger on the walls, not the people; and though highly exasperated, spared that city at the remonstrance of Belisarius. He raised an expiring nation to the pride of power, baffled one of the greatest generals of the age, and dying gloriously though defeated, has been slandered both by religious and national enemies. He was a barbarian, and in that age which of them was not? But it may be a doubtful question whether the rugged northern virtues were not preferable to the morbid civilisation of polished, but immoral Greeks, even as their own writers have described them *.

Procopius does not even mention Florence amongst the cities taken by Totila, and his continuator Agathus says in the first book of the Gothic war, as cited by Lami and Borghini, that while advancing on Florence, Narses was met by the citizens, who being assured of indemnity in property and person, freely capitulated; this not only proves their ability to defend themselves, but would also argue that they had

* Paulo Giovio, Vite d'uomini illustri.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 552. —Denina, Lib. vi., cap. iv., v.—Gibbon, vol. iv., p. 281, (4to ed.)

voluntarily submitted to Totila, as a pardon from the conqueror afterwards became necessary for their safety. It follows that the Florentine defences must have been then untouched; that they had not even been affected by Totila's humane and politic custom of destroying the walls of towns in order to save the hardships of a siege and hasten the termination of hostilities in the open field. If Florence were ever ruined, it probably was under the Lombards, and less from wanton destructiveness than oppressive government: but of that unhappy age the records are wanting, and we only know that perpetual and unmitigated war raged wildly over the whole Italian peninsula *.

In a public instrument of the year 774, Florence is mentioned rather as a suburb of Fiesole, than an independent city; and even in 801 a curious document given in Giovanbattista Ubaldini's history of his own family, (by which several of them are made Knights of the Golden Spur,) describes it as deserted in consequence of the general misery. This expression probably related to what then remained of the city, as the term is "*derelict*," not destroyed †. Neither was it the custom at that epoch to appoint pastors where there was no flock or a mere remnant, insufficient to justify such nominations; and yet two bishops of Florence seem to have existed during the time of Narses. Moreover, in the acts passed at Rome, confirming those of the sixth general council held at Constantinople in 681, the name of Reparato, Bishop of Florence is, according to Borghini, to be seen. It is true that the episcopal title and functions might have existed after the diocesan capital was ruined, but this does not seem to be the case, because Borghini mentions as still existing in his day a very ancient deed of gift made by Spezioso, Bishop

* Gibbon, vol. iv., chap. liii., p. 281.

† Historia degli Ubaldini, p. 8, (Firenze, 1588,) where may be found a translation of the original instrument, made in 1279; in consequence of its then state of decay, as we are told by the author.

of Florence in 729, of the "*Lands of Cintoia*" to the Canons of the Florentine cathedral.

All this tends to prove that Florence so far from having been ruined, with the exception perhaps of her theatre and amphitheatre, was not destroyed at all; and therefore the credibility of its reëdification by Charlemagne is diminished: nevertheless, an ancient tradition adopted by all the early writers and accompanied by various details, can scarcely have sprung from nothing and may not be difficult to explain.

The Scythians and Germans,* according to Tacitus, had a strong aversion to walled towns, which they considered as a sort of prison, and under this impression razed the defences of every captured city to the ground, as much perhaps from policy as habit; and in the beginning no fortified place existed in Lombardy nor were any afterwards allowed without the royal permission*. Charters thus became necessary and were at first rare, but multiplied about the close of the ninth century when the whole country was suffering under Saracenic and Hungarian ravagers †.

Following their national customs, the Lombards probably levelled the walls of Florence and completed the ruin of all places of public amusement: this would naturally have hastened the depopulation of a place about the welfare of which they may have been less careful from their holding Tuscany more as a tributary state than a national settlement; and an impatience of their hard dominion would, on the other hand, have induced many Florentine families to seek a life of more independence in the country, as emigration was strictly forbidden by the Lombard law. The re-union of all these families by Charlemagne, coupled with a restoration of the walls and a new form of civil government, may be fairly called a reëdification of Florence; and her previously imagined

* Gibbon, vol. i., chap. ix., p. 266, 4to ed.—Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, Liv. xvi., chap. xxii.

† Muratori, Antichità d'Italia, vol. ii°, pp. 467, 469.—Sismondi, vol. i°, chap. vi., p. 247.

condition would justify the expression of "*derelict*" in the Ubaldini patent, as well as the title of refounder of Florence for that emperor *.

The Scotch historian, Leslie, amongst other actions of Charlemagne, attributes the restoration and new-born liberty of Florence to the influence of his companion William, the King of Scotland's brother; and to commemorate it, a decree passed ordering that a certain number of Lions, as emblematic of their patron, should ever after be maintained at the public expense †. Whatever credit may be due to this legend, there seems little doubt of Charlemagne's having encouraged the visits of distinguished foreigners and made use of their services: learned men from Ireland, where it would appear that most of the western erudition was then concentrated, were invited to aid in the improvement of France; and at the beginning of his reign, and when letters had little or no reputation there, two Benedictines, *Clement* and *Albinus*, arrived from the former country, both deeply versed in sacred and profane literature. These monks traversed all France, calling on the people to listen to the words of wisdom; Charlemagne summoned both to his presence, and being convinced of their talents and sincerity, engaged Clement to open a school for people of every rank who should be desirous of literary acquirements: a third named *Dungal* followed, who after the year 774 is said to have visited Italy, and in a monastery of Augustine Friars at Pavia under the auspices of this philosopher, learning was also revived in that country, and soon spread to the neighbouring states of Vicenza, Verona, Ivrea, Turin, and Fermo ‡.

* Denina, Rivol. d'Italia, Lib. vii., chap. vii., p. 454.

† Gio. Lami, Lezione.—G. Ammirato, Lib. i°.—Richa, Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Toscane, vol. iv., Parte ii^{a}, p. 49.

‡ Muratori, Annali, Anno 781.—Denina, Lib. viii., cap. xii.—But for further notice of these facts see Moore's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i.; also *The Monk of San Gallo's Life of Charlemagne, apud Duschesne, Ann. Franc., tomo* ii., cited by Muratori.

Charlemagne's arrival in Italy is an event too closely allied to the resuscitation of Florence to be passed in silence, wherefore, a rapid view may be taken of the occurrences that led to this expedition.

About the year 751 Astolfo, King of the Lombards, ambitious of annexing the Italian remnant of western empire to his own states, at once occupied Ravenna, from which place the last Exarch, Eulichius, had previously fled, and immediately invaded the Roman state, then really governed by its bishop, though ostensibly ruled by an imperial duke. After some fighting, a truce was made with Pope Stephen the Second for forty years, but observed only for four months, when a new invasion disturbed the pontiff's tranquillity, and the more so as it was accompanied by an avowal of Astolfo's design to annex Rome itself to his dominions, while an immediate reduction of her dependent cities showed the menace to be serious. Imperial remonstrances unsupported by troops were harmless against Lombard ambition and Lombard spears, so that Stephen followed the example of his predecessors, and begged assistance from Pepin, as they had from his father Charles Martel *. His application was secretly carried by a pilgrim, and he himself was invited by that king to cross the Alps, with a promise of immediate aid: after a dangerous journey through the Lombard states Stephen accomplished his object, crowned his patron "King of the Franks," made him *Patrician* of Rome, and conferred the same honour on his two sons. The last dignity would probably have been received with contempt had it come from Constantinople; but emanating from the same authority which had placed the diadem on his head with the solemn and then unusual ceremony of anointing, it was accepted as a pledge of amity and a mark of supremacy over

* Giannone, Stor. civile di Napoli, vol. iii., pp. 63, 67, &c.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 742.

the Roman senate and people, because the Patrician's jurisdiction, now scarcely understood, is supposed to have then comprehended that of the ancient Exarchate, which embraced all the Italian provinces *.

Astolfo was now earnestly entreated to restore the conquests, and on his refusal Pepin with a powerful army marched to Italy in 754, defeated that monarch and besieged Pavia, which was reduced to extremity; but by Stephen's intercession Astolfo was afterwards admitted to terms on the resignation of all his recent acquisitions †.

In the following year this unquiet spirit was again active: against all oaths and treaties he ravaged the country and invested Rome, but was once more vanquished by the Frankish monarch. These events were not unobserved in the East, whence ambassadors soon arrived and found Pepin encamped near Pavia: he was invited by them to restore the Exarchate, (for the pontiff's ambition became apparent, and a temporal ecclesiastical power, independent of Constantinople, was known to be its object;) but they were dismissed with few words,—"the province had already been given to Saint Peter, and all the gold of Christendom would be insufficient to annul the decree."

The dominions thus bestowed were those formerly under the immediate jurisdiction of the Exarchs, consisting of the province of Emilia, or modern Romagna; the marches of Ferrara and Commacchio; five maritime cities, extending from Rimini to Ancona, called the *Pentapolis;* and a second inland Pentapolis, between the Adriatic and the Apennines. Besides these, there were the three subordinate provinces of Venice, Rome, and Naples, which though separated by hostile lands from the seat of government, still acknowledged the supremacy of Ravenna.

* Muratori, Anno 742.—Giannone, vol. iii°, pp. 201, 204.—Denina, Lib. viii., cap. vi., p. 259.—Gibbon, chap. xlix., p. 120, &c.

† Muratori, Annali, vol. x., p. 258, (8vo ed.)

The Roman Dutchy included all Tuscan, Sabine, and Latin conquests of the four first centuries of ancient Rome, bounded by the sea from Civita Vecchia to Terracina. The territory of Naples was bathed by the waters of that bay, and included the adjacent isles, Capua, and the Roman colony of Amalfi, where first in this hemisphere the virtues of that mysterious key which has since unlocked the world, were applied to European navigation*. So munificent a gift was formally bestowed by offering the keys of about twenty one cities on the shrine of Saint Peter, along with the written donation of Pepin to that apostle and the *Roman Republic*, a name then fondly preserved, and synonymous with the Western Empire†.

This transaction, which annihilated the Byzantine power in Italy, is the first instance on record of temporal dominion being formally bestowed on the "*Servant of Servants*," an example never lost sight of by the divers and conflicting hierarchies of succeeding times. Astolfo's death raised several competitors for the Lombard throne, amongst them his brother Rachis who had once filled it with some reputation, and afterwards retired to a convent: wearied of seclusion, he contested the crown with Disiderius duke of Istria, and pressed him so hard in 756 as to make the Pope's assistance necessary to the latter, which was secured by a promise to restore all that remained of the imperial territory‡.

* Giannone, Storia Civile di Napoli, vol. i., pp. 65, 192; vol. iii., pp. 81, 82, 199, &c.; vol. vi., p. 50; also Gibbon, chap. xlix.—The prior claims of China to this great discovery are now generally admitted, and some think that Marco Polo first brought it thence, towards the conclusion of the thirteenth century; but it must have been in *general use* at that epoch; for Brunetto Latini, who died in 1294, mentions it (as a common nautical instrument) in his *Tesoro*, which was published in the French language during his exile at Paris, between 1260 and 1267, when the Guelphs were restored in Florence.

† The cities were Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesina, Sinigaglia, Jasi, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Montefeltro, Acceragio, Monte di Lucaro, Serra, Castella di San Mariano, (San Marino?) Bobio, Urbino, Cagli, Luccolo, Gubbio, Commacchio, and Narni.

‡ Muratori, Annali, Anno 755.

The Pontiff's influence, seconded by certain Roman and French auxiliaries, insured success; and the royal monk, after commanding armies, resigning a crown, and boldly attempting its recovery, sank the following year into the doubtful calm and certain obscurity of a cloister*. Pope Stephen II. died in 757, without reaping the fruit of his labours for Disiderius, and was replaced by Paul I., who in 761 settled this question and enjoyed a tranquil pontificate. Stephen III. succeeded, and Pepin's decease in 767, left Charles and Carloman joint heirs of his dominions. France fell to Charles, who in 768 sent twelve bishops to a council at Rome, and amongst them Tilpin, Archbishop of Rheims, who afterwards under the name of Turpin acquired an unfounded celebrity as the supposed author of the ancient romances of those times.

Charles, in despite of the Pope, married a daughter of Disiderius in 771, whom he subsequently repudiated, but Carloman dying the same year, he reunited the empire; and in 772 his brother's widow and her two children took refuge at the court of Lombardy.

Adrian the First, a stern ambitious man, succeeded Stephen: he was one of those whose proud, intolerant spirit receives the praise of churchmen for its condemnatory standard of religion and mischievous bigotry: disputes soon arose with King Disiderius, who in 773 urged him to declare the rights of Carloman's orphan children; but there was more both to hope and fear from the uncle's power than the nephew's weakness, and the priest refused. Disiderius immediately invaded the Exarchate, menaced Rome, and demanded a personal interview: Adrian closed his gates, prepared for war, and threatened his adversary with excommunication: the latter succeeded, for spiritual power was even thus early

* Giannone, Storia, vol. iii., pp. 47—61, 98.—Muratori, vol. x., p. 267.

so formidable, that the intimidated prince retired awe-struck from Viterbo*.

Charles was appealed to by the Pontiff, and unsuccessfully remonstrated, although offering to make a pecuniary compromise with Disiderius: he then crossed the Alps and laid siege to Pavia, where the Lombard had taken refuge, and to Verona, which obeyed his son Adelgiso. Both fell within eight months; the prince escaping to Constantinople while the king remained a captive in France, where he ended his existence. The Lombard states soon yielded, with the exception of Beneventum, an independent dukedom comprising most part of modern Naples; and Charles, by assuming the title of King of Italy, began a new era in her eventful history†.

The kingdom thus acquired extended from Pavia, as a centre in radii of various lengths on every point of the compass; the "*Terra-ferma*" of Venice; the Tyrol; the Milanese; Piedmont; the coast or "*Riviera*" of Genoa; Mantua, Parma, and Modena with their territories; the present Tuscany, and a great portion of the ecclesiastical state from Perugia to the Adriatic all acknowledged Charlemagne's supremacy. Beneventum subsequently fell, and thus in subduing a troublesome neighbour the Church was forced to bow to a more powerful though friendly master‡.

It was during the investment of Pavia in April 774 that Charlemagne made his first visit to Rome, and passing through Florence was petitioned by the inhabitants to rebuild the walls and reëstablish their ancient freedom.

He was only once at Florence afterwards, when marching to invade Beneventum in 786, followed by several Tuscan chiefs; amongst others, as we are told, by sixty mounted

* Giannone, vol. iii., p. 103.—Muratori, Annali, vol. x., Anno 771, 772, &c.—Denina, Rivol. d'Ital. Lib. viii., cap. iv., p. 503.

† Muratori, Annali.

‡ Gibbon, vol. v., p. 445.

knights of the Ubaldini family, with five hundred of their vassals from the Mugello province; so early did that ancient and troublesome race become powerful in Tuscany. Many privileges were probably granted during this visit, and Florence must have greatly prospered to induce the emperor to hold a royal court and spend a Christmas within its walls.

When Charlemagne visited Rome for the last time in 800, to be crowned by Leo III., he avoided Florence and took the Romagna road both going and returning; it is therefore an error of the early historians to assert that he founded the church of the Holy Apostles in 801, made many knights, and held the Easter of 805 in that city; and probably a still greater in supposing that it was repeopled by Roman families; for Rome herself had suffered too much to spare any of her population; nay, wishing about this time to restore Ostia, she was even obliged to invite colonists from Sardinia to inhabit it*.

It is far more likely that during this interval the ancient Florentine families reassembled and possibly erected the first modern circuit of walls, if they were not indeed subsequently raised in common with many other places, against the Huns and Saracens, who became the terror of Italy for near fifty years of the ninth and tenth centuries†; and to such an extent did this mania or rather necessity for defences reach in that unhappy time, that scarcely a town, village, or convent was wanting in walls and towers; if not already defended by a connected inclosure of lofty houses pierced towards the country by high and narrow windows, that secured the public safety.

These long-continued incursions gradually disciplined the people while they invested the citizen with a new and important

* Malespini, chap. xlv.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. i., p. xvi. (Fol. ed.), 1492.

† Between 889 and 938. For the character of these barbarians, see Muratori, Annali, Anno 889; also Gibbon, vol. v., chap. lv., p. 548; and vol. iii., chap. xxx., p. 161.

character: when towns were open and secure, few people took an active part in public matters, and were generally of too little consequence to become patriots; being bound together under one general government, and ruled immediately and despotically by its ministers, there was little room for local ambition or high political sentiment; but when forced to stand singly on the defensive, each man began to feel his own individual importance and the necessity of exertion: hence walls arose, militia were embodied, and a freer form of government began: the peasantry also were compelled to think and act, and a forward movement was soon imparted to the popular mass, the harbinger of still more important changes.

Now it is more probable that the Florentine ramparts were constructed at this ruffling period than at the moment when a young and powerful conqueror had nearly subdued Italy, when no external enemy existed, and therefore when both expense and necessity were against them; wherefore Dante was probably correct in all but the destroyer's name when he, without reference to Charlemagne, tells us of

> "Que' cittadini, che poi la rifondarno,
> Sopra 'l cener che d' *Attila* rimase."
>
> "Those citizens who afterwards re-founded it
> Upon the ashes that remained from Attila."
>
> INFERNO, CANTO XIII.

Cotemporary Monarchs:—Greek Emperors, from Leo IV. to the Empress Irene.—Popes, from Stephen II. to Leo III.—England: Heptarchy.—France and Western Empire: Pepin and Charlemagne.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM 801 TO A.D. 1010.

THE political institutions of Germany, from whence came the conquerors and high aristocracy of Italy, exhibited a monarch with limited authority in peace but supreme in war: her social division was in distinct confederations of clans called "*Fares*" under chiefs named "*Farones:*" hence "*Varones,*" "*Barones*" and "*Barons.*" Several of these *Fares* constituted a "*Gau*" or community governed by a "*Graf*" or Count, who with a council of assessors under the name of "*Scabini,*" besides other officers, dispensed public justice. The latter, named "*Centenarii*" or "*Schulze,*" and "*Decani*" or Deacons, were the heads of a hundred, and of ten families respectively. The community of lands made these official dignities merely personal and migratory; but the Italian conquests gave permanent property to the victors and permanent authority to the *Grafs* and counsellors: hence their judicial power. These dignities were in time given by the king to his personal friends and supporters, and gradually assuming the name of vassals were first revokeable at pleasure, then a life-interest became common until Charles the Bald reluctantly acknowledged them hereditary. Vassals were exempt from the provincial Count's jurisdiction, and amenable only to that of the palatial Count; consequently the authority of the former diminished and an order of rural Counts began. Vassals of all kinds imitated

the crown and granted sub-benefices to their supporters, and these again to theirs with civil and military obligations, so that a web of feudal subordination overspread the country *.

The "*Benefice*" was, about the year 1000, called a Fief, and the great officers of government were given possessions instead of salaries; Charlemagne is supposed by some to have created the dignity of Count, but for life only, and dependent on the crown; by others to have merely diminished the power of these officers by multiplying their number †.

The Counts of frontier places by a gradual extension of authority over several Counts, mounted one step higher and were called Marquises: these became powerful and even formidable in the ninth century, until the Bishops with increased temporal possessions opposed them, being independent of their power, and governed only by the Roman Law ‡.

The Exarch Longinus, who succeeded Narses, having abolished the ancient Rectors or Dukes of Provinces, substituted Dukes of Cities, which custom was continued by the Lombards; the chief of these was the Exarch of Ravenna, a title assumed in 568, by command of the Emperor: even Rome was not spared: her time-honoured Senate and Consuls were superseded by new titles, and her once glorious territory, including the "Eternal City," was overshadowed by the fresher honours of a modern dukedom §.

There is also reason to suppose that Tuscany, under the Lombards and Charlemagne, was governed according to the system of Longinus, in departments presided over by a Duke, for as late as 786 we read of a Reginald, Duke of Chiusi, and a Guindibrand, Duke of Florence; but between that epoch and 806, the date of Charlemagne's will, Counts were probably

* Cibrario, Economia Politico del Medio Evo, capo i°.

† Cosimo, della Rena de' Duchi e Marchesi di Toscana, Parte i^a, p. 5; Parte ii^a, p. 17.

‡ Cibrario, capo i°.

§ Muratori, Annali.

substituted and the higher title reserved for the general Governor of Tuscany.

Rejecting therefore the minuter details of Malespini, Villani, and subsequent writers, the substance of their narratives may still create a reasonable belief that the ancient families of Roman and Fiesoline extraction were encouraged by these Frankish governors to reunite in Florence, and that various privileges with a certain portion of civil liberty were freely granted by Charlemagne *. Amongst other regulations it is not improbable that two Consuls and a Senate were substituted at this epoch for the Lombard *Schulze* or "*Scabini*" as Malespini asserts, though Ammirato refers them to a much later period†. Neither should Malespini's testimony be lightly rejected, when he enumerates by name the chiefs of many distinguished families who were created Knights by that monarch for their military services; nor should we disbelieve that the church of the Apostles was, not built, but restored by his direction, although perhaps not at the assigned date; for he kept the Easter of 805 at Aix-la-chapelle and the architecture is much too pure for that barbarous period ‡.

An exposition of the various troubles that afflicted Italy from Charlemagne's death in 814 until the coronation of Otho the Great in 962 is unnecessary; Florence shared in the general misery; yet in this universal darkness the embryo republic was gradually but unconsciously forming and preparing itself for coming events. Excepting one bright gleam, the reign of Louis II., the long melancholy gloom of Carlovingian misgovernment remained unbroken: all social ties were rent asunder; nobles fattened on the prodigality and weakness of

* Giannone, vol. ii., p. 240.—Muratori, Annali, vol. xi., pp. 17, 135.

† Malespini, cap. xlv.—Muratori, vol. xi., pp. 17, 135.

‡ Richa, Notizie Istoriche della Chiese Fiorentini, vol. iv., Parte ii^a, p. 49.—Vasari, Proemio Vite de Pittori, Parte i^a, vol. i., p. 224; also in Vita di Andrea Tafi, vol. i., p. 292, (Siena ed. 8vo.)

monarchs, and the vast empire of Charlemagne insensibly slipped from the grasp of his feeble descendants. Provinces became the property of their Dukes; capitals were mastered by belligerent Prelates; cities yielded to the power of aspiring Counts, and scarcely a town, castle, or village but what acknowledged any master but the King. At length Charles le Gros the last of Charlemagne's dynasty was formally deposed in 887, and dying the next year left Italy a prey to the ruthless ambition of rival princes. The miseries of a long-continued civil war overspread the land; competitors sprang up like noxious weeds in a ruined garden, and the country was soon bristling with hostile lances*. Guido, Marquis of Spoleto, and Berenger of Friuli towered far above the rest in reckless struggles for the vacant throne: both of them young, powerful, and aspiring, both of them allied to the Carlovingian race; one a Lombard, the other a Frank; each inflamed by public rivalry and hating each other from private persecution; a dreary prospect opened on the people and was fatally realised.

For sixty years war rolled on in blood with various chance but endless fury: victor and vanquished by turns, each alternately bought the support of clergy and nobles by fresh spoliations of royal power, the defeated candidate being ever the present favourite; for he promised much and inspired no fear, while the victor required a degree of obedience which the nobles were resolved not to accord to either †.

Berenger enjoyed an interval of repose by Guido's death in 894; he governed through a wild and stormy reign, of thirty years, and died invested with the imperial dignity, which was then conferred on all the Italian kings who marched in arms to Rome ‡.

Although a man of talent and courage, and not devoid

* Gibbon, vol. v., chap. xlix.—Sismondi, Rep. Italiennes, vol. i.
† Muratori, Annali, vol. xii.—Denina, Lib. viii., cap. xi.; p. 566.
‡ Gibbon, vol. v., p. 148, (4to ed.)

of virtues, his reign was a period of the greatest disorder and complete disorganisation of society. A constant state of civil war with the everlasting ravages of Hungarian and Saracen freebooters tore the country to pieces, and threw every town, village, and feudal chieftain, nay, almost every individual upon their own resources for public and private safety, and the maintenance even of a shadow of civil government*.

The result was, that after the second Berenger's deposition in 961, when Otho the First in the following year became king and emperor, he found no such luxurious effeminate race as the corruption of Rome had left to attract without the power of repelling his northern ancestors; adversity had well kneaded, re-moulded, and as it were, stamped with pristine energy the great Italian race; a model somewhat rudely blocked perhaps, but with bold features and commanding aspect†.

He found a warlike, fierce, and independent nobility that would suffer no foreign competitor in civil or military employments; a race of gentlemen inferior in power as in rank, but equally determined; chiefs who ruled their own domains with absolute authority, and were continually exercised in arms. He found those that sternly demanded a voice in the national assemblies; men resolved to interfere in the formation of those laws which they were required to obey, and who refused all taxation but what they themselves imposed. In the inferior citizens he found similar energy, congenial spirit, and a strong determination to be free, with a union of heart and hand that finally accomplished it. He found also the cities generally governed by Counts who were often prelates, and being all Italians, not well affected to the empire‡.

* Giannone, vol. iv., p. 103.
† Sismondi, vol. i., chap. i., p. 4.—Giannone, vol. iv., p. 146.
‡ Muratori, Antichità Italiane, vol. vii., Dissertazione xlvi., p. 228.

To *their* lordly independence he opposed the spirit of civic liberty, and urged the citizens to strengthen their own position and privileges by resisting the power of these ambitious men; the imperial countenance made this an easier task, for the Counts had no regular troops, and either popular authority or popular favour became absolutely necessary to the successful issue of their enterprises. Their revenue, though sometimes increased by land, consisted of a third of all fines on criminals, which in the then loose condition of society when punishments were in general pecuniary, must have been considerable, and no doubt proved as fertile a source of injustice as it was a powerful incentive to liberty *.

The Italian cities worked smoothly with Otho, and by selling every favour for some fresh concession from the Counts, gradually moulded their several constitutions; yet while any of his descendants remained they were true to the Saxon rule, and content to accumulate materials for the advent of general freedom.

The House of Saxony finished with the third Otho in 1002, after a nominal rule of forty years over the Italian provinces, fifteen only having been really passed there and those in short interrupted visits; the general government was consequently weakened, in some departments paralysed by the absence of its chief, and naturally fell back on the great feudal barons and larger communities, which severally absorbed the powers of self-legislation and all other functions of royalty. The towns chose their own consuls and senates; each claimed the right of government and self-defence, and every citizen necessarily became a soldier: the power of arms was not only used against foreign intruders but claimed as a privilege in private war, a privilege to which they thought themselves as much entitled as any great vassal of the empire.

* L. Cantini, Saggi Istorici d'Antichità Toscane, vol. i., p. 5.—Sismondi, vol. i., chap. vi.

Magistrates were elected by their peers, the taxes were imposed by general consent, and public expenditure confided to a particular council; thus every municipality as well as each feudal chieftain gradually condensed into a separate state, which insulated and careful only of its own welfare soon forgot that it ever formed a part and parcel of the common country. No universal tie any longer united them, each sought protection in itself, and only within this limit were found any compatriots; the world without was a stranger, often an enemy, and thence one source of those divisions that have and ever will prevent Italy from taking her proper station in Europe, and which still expose her to the most powerful and unscrupulous invader*.

Except under the binding dominion of Rome, Italy never yet was united; the repulsion of discord has always been active and national gravity powerless within her; yet there was one, whose firm though despotic pressure would have compelled her to unite and be powerful: the times were adverse, his means unpopular, and his name is therefore too lightly treated by those whom he would have gradually moulded into the form of a solid independent nation†.

By Otho's coronation in 962, the western Empire passed to the kings of Germany, or more correctly speaking returned to the Franks, for Germany was then called *oriental*, as Gaul was *occidental* France; the name being even now dimly recognised in that of Franconia.

Otho was son to Henry the Fowler, and a descendant of Witikind the Saxon proselyte to Charlemagne's rough notions of propagating Christianity; at the head of a victorious army he promptly replied to the call of Italy where the second Berenger had become odious; rescued the Pope, deposed the tyrant, and placed the empire permanently in the

* Giannone, vol. iv., pp. 142—150.—Sismondi, vol. i., chap. vi.
† Bourienne, Memoires.

hands of his countrymen. This important event established two points of European policy, which, born of force and confirmed by time, remained still untouched until the course of ages brought a second Charlemagne to begin a new chapter in the history of nations: these were, that the monarch of Rome should be chosen by the German Diet and Italian States; but that he could not legally assume the titles of Augustus and Emperor until formally crowned by the Roman Pontiff*.

The death of Otho the Third, in 1002, left Italy again free; her engagements and gratitude to his family naturally ceased; the wars consequent on a disputed succession gave the young communities an occasion of trying their strength, and they soon proved that, while united, there was little need of the self-interested and ever doubtful protection of strangers.

During these dark times we have but meagre accounts of Florence: Otho I. is said to have enlarged its territory from three miles to six in the year 962; and his grandson to have appointed Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany, his Vicar in Italy, about 983, who established his court at Florence and was celebrated for his great talents but extreme licentiousness, until a vision reformed him. This vision benefited the Church by the subsequent erection of several abbeys as the most effective atonement, amongst others that of Buonsolazzo where it occurred, a fact mentioned in his own letter of thanks to the Ubaldini for their grant of that place to build the convent†. His mother Willa, daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Spoleto, and wife of Hubert, Marquis of Tuscany, with equal devotion

* Gibbon, vol. v., chaps. xlix. and lv.—Giannone, vol. iv., pp. 144, 149.—Muratori, Anno 962.—Sismondi, vol. vi., chap i., p. 36.

† This curious and evidently sincere expression of his belief is dated from his palace at Signa, March 13, A.D. 989. The vision seems to have been well got up, and very effectual both morally and physically.

in 993 founded Santa Maria de' Benedettini, better known as the "*Badia*" of Florence, and the early seat of republican government before either of the public palaces existed*.

Sigonius affirms that Florence as well as Pisa and Genoa began to make a figure about the year 1003, an assertion that Muratori, who cites him, is strongly inclined to doubt, though perhaps without sufficient reason†.

Whether Florence was or was not so distinguished, is uncertain; but that she enjoyed that progressive state of prosperity which justifies the assertion of Sigonius may be inferred from subsequent indications of national independence, while improving the opportunity afforded to all the infant States for the achievement of their liberty during the wars of Ardoino of Ivrea and Henry, Duke of Bavaria.

No sooner had the last Otho's death become public than the Italian nobles and prelates met at Pavia glad at their recovered liberty; the majority being adverse to foreign rule resolved to elect a native prince, and their choice fell on Ardoino, who was instantly crowned in the cathedral of that city, A.D. 1002: being a man of sagacity and enterprise his first act was to confirm every ecclesiastical privilege, for the clergy could not then be safely neglected; but a formidable rival soon appeared in the person of Henry of Bavaria, who was crowned the same year as king of Germany‡.

Although the Italians considered themselves absolved by Otho's decease from any further allegiance to Saxony, the new king, who was also a descendant of Henry the Fowler, differed widely from this notion, asserting that obedience was due to the crown, not the man, and moreover resolving to

* Tronci, Annali Pisani, vol. i., p. 16.—Storia della Casa Ubaldini, p. 18.—Galletti, Ragionamento dell origine della Badia Fiorentina.

† Sigonius, Hist. de Regno Italiæ, Lib. viii., p. 187.—Muratori, An. 1005.

‡ He was Henry II. of Germany, answering to Henry I. of the Italians, who only reckon those as Emperors who were crowned by the Popes, and therefore exclude Henry the Fowler.

exact it. The dissensions of Lombardy favoured him, for Milan and Pavia being rivals, whoever was elected in one city was sure to be opposed by the other.

The absence of Arnolpho, Archbishop of Milan, on an embassy to Constantinople, was another obstacle to Ardoino: this prelate on his return disputed the election altogether, on the authority of a papal decree which he said had made the archbishops of Milan arbiters of the Italian monarchy, and rendered any election invalid where he and his suffragans had not assisted*. A Diet was therefore convoked at Roncaglia, and Arnolpho succeeded in having Henry the Second also chosen as sovereign of Italy; he crossed the Alps in 1004, with a large army, and baffling Ardoino, whose followers gradually left him, was solemnly crowned by the Archbishop at Pavia, while the rival monarch waited in his own domains for a more propitious moment†. It was not long in coming, for an event occurred on the very evening of Henry's coronation that bound the Pavians more strongly to their own elected monarch, and spread a general horror of Germany throughout the Italian Peninsula.

Insults offered to the citizens, who were perhaps secretly incited by Ardoino's agents, first commenced the agitation; tumults soon followed, weapons began to flash and eyes to lighten. Henry's courtiers reported the disturbance much in the familiar strain we still occasionally hear; they described it as the "*Fury of the populace*"—"*An explosion of the arrogance of slaves that must be repelled by force*," and similar expressions. Force was accordingly used, but the citizens soon got possession of the ramparts; their anger and numbers augmented, and the monarch was finally besieged in his own

* Cosimo, della Rena Duchi e Marchesi di Toscana, Parte ii^a, p. 3.—Sismondi, vol. i., p. 70.—Muratori, vol. xiv., who does not mention the Diet.

† Fran. Mario Fiorentini, Memoire di Matilda, Lib. x., p. 8.

palace. The Archbishop of Cologne appeared at a window and endeavoured to calm them; he was silenced by showers of missiles and retired in terror; the troops then in the city joined the conflict, which lasted throughout the night and even until broad daylight glared on the furious combatants. Every street was barricaded; stones, arrows, and wooden beams fell thick and fast from roof and window; fresh forces continually poured in from the camp, but ineffectually; at last there issued an imperial order to fire the town; a thousand brands soon flamed through the air and were tossed from house to house until the ancient Pavia, the venerable seat of Lombard dominion, became a mass of blood and ashes! Henry retired to a monastery beyond the walls and left the miserable inhabitants to be butchered by his barbarian followers while he hastened away from a people so cruelly injured: he arrived at Milan and soon departed for Germany followed by deep curses from all the Italian nation*.

Whether Tuscany acknowledged Ardoino at this period is somewhat doubtful, but the inhabitants submitted to Henry and were apparently without a governing Marquis, a point of some historical interest, as it bears on the reputed independence of Florence in the subsequent war and capture of Fiesole†.

Tuscany which, under the Romans, consisted of the two provinces of "*Suburbicaria*" and "*Annonaria*," had from the time of Longinus been ruled, as before mentioned, by Dukes and Marquises, although at certain periods every trace of them as general governors is either doubtful or entirely obliterated. The first Lombard duke of whom any sure record remains, is a certain "*Alovisino*" who flourished about the year 685; and the last, though of more doubtful existence, is "*Tachiputo*," in the eighth century, when Lucca was the principal seat of

* Muratori, Anno 1004.—Sismondi, vol. i., p. 71. —Mazzarosa, Storia di Lucca, vol. i., p. 32.

† Muratori, Annali, vol. xiv., p. 174.

government, with the privilege of coining, although her Counts were not always Dukes and Marquises of Tuscany*.

About the year 800, the title of Duke seems to have changed to that of Count, and although both are afterwards used the latter is most common: Muratori says, that this dignity was in 813 enjoyed by a certain Boniface whom Sismondi believes to be the ancestor of Countess Matilda; but her father, the son of Tedaldo, belonged to another race: he was the grandson to Attone, Azzo, or Adelberto Count of Cannosa the uncle and deliverer of the Empress Adelaide from captivity in a castle on the lake of Garda†. The line of Boniface I. finished in 1001 by the death of Hugo the Great, already mentioned, whom Dante calls the

> "Gran barone il cui nome e'l cui pregio,
> La festa di Tommaso rincomforta ‡."

After him, on account of the civil wars between Ardoino and Henry, there was no permanent Duke until 1014, when the latter appointed Ranieri, whom Conrad the Salique deposed in 1027, making room for Boniface the father of Countess Matilda §.

This heroine died in 1115 after a reign of active exertion for herself and the Church against the Emperors, which generated the infant and as yet nameless factions of Guelph and Ghibeline. Matilda endured this contest with all the enthusiasm and constancy of a woman combined with a manly courage that must ever render her name respectable, whether proceeding from the bigotry of the age or to oppose imperial

* Muratori, Annali, Anno 773.—Mazzarosa, Storia di Lucca, vol. i., p. 19, who cites a MS. of the year 636, in the archives of the archiepiscopal palace of that city.

† Her interesting story would make a good subject for a romance.—Sismondi, vol. i., p. 19, (note).—Fiorentini, Vita di Matilda, Lib. i., p. 8; Lib. iii., p. 45.—Muratori, Annali, Anni 951, 1001, 1003, 1004, and 1027.

‡ Parad., Canto xvi.

§ Mazzarosa, Storia, vol. i., p. 32.

ambition in defence of her own defective title. According to the laws of that time she could not as a female inherit her father's states, for even male heirs required a royal confirmation: Matilda therefore having no legal right, feared the Emperor and clung to the Popes, who already claimed among other prerogatives, the supreme disposal of kingdoms *. Both religion and policy and even natural feeling were probably combined with the superstitious detestation of what was generally deemed the impious conduct of Henry IV. and the German priesthood. From earliest youth Matilda had seen nothing but imperial persecution in her own family; her father, who was both feared and envied for his opulence, hardly escaped the emperor's machinations; her mother, made prisoner by treachery, remained a hostage until the death of Henry III.; her step-father was persecuted by that monarch, his brother forced to shield himself under the monastic habit from similar injustice, and the death of her infant brother and sister was supposed to be accelerated by these misfortunes.

The Church had ever come forward as the friend of her house and from childhood she had breathed an atmosphere of blind and devoted submission to its authority; even when only fifteen she had appeared in arms against its enemies and made two successful expeditions to assist Pope Alexander II. during her mother's lifetime †.

No wonder then that in a superstitious age when monarchs trembled at an angry voice from the Lateran, the habits of early youth should have mingled with every action of Matilda's life, and spread an agreeable *mirage* over the prospect of her eternal salvation: the power that tamed a Henry's pride, a Barbarossa's fierceness, and afterwards withstood the vast ability of a Frederic, might without shame have been reverenced by a girl whose feelings so harmonised with the sacred strains

* Pignotti, Storia della Toscana.

† Fiorentini, Mem. di Matilda.—Denina, Lib. x., chap. iv., p. 118.

of ancient tradition and priestly dignity. But from whatever motive, the result was a continual aggrandisement of ecclesiastics; in prosperity and adversity; during life and after death; from the lowliest priest to the proudest pontiff.

The fearless assertion of her own independence by successful struggles with the Emperor was an example not overlooked by the young Italian communities under Matilda's rule, who were already accused by imperial legitimacy of political innovation and visionary notions of government.

These seeds of liberty began first to germinate amongst the Lombard plains, but quickly spreading over the Apennines were welcomed throughout Tuscany: increasing numbers gave confidence to new opinions; commerce and industry were speedily unchained; a brilliant light broke into the human mind, and the march of independence became inconceivably rapid. The ancient municipal government had never entirely ceased, and the already-mentioned magistrates called "*Schulze*" or "*Schulthiess*," "*Echevins*" and "*Scavini*" by the Lombards, Franks, and Italians, still formed the council of the Count: they were a popularly elected representation of the citizens, and under Frankish government judged all common pleas. Under the Othos these northern forms were annulled, and consuls elected by public suffrage after the ancient Roman manner which, in defiance of conquest, seems to have still clung to the Italian heart.

The functions of General and Judge had previously been united in the Count, (whose authority, however, ceased in presence of the Duke or Marquis,) and were transferred to the consuls on the suppression of that office: his powers extended even to the granting of life to condemned criminals, and in the royal Frankish instructions it is ordered, that he should "make himself acquainted with the laws by which the people are to be judged; that he love justice and be quick in administering it; that he hold '*Malli*' (or public courts)

every month, and be careful to have a particular regard to the complaints of widows, orphans, minors, and the poor; and lastly, that the court should sit *before dinner*." He also held "*Placiti*" or tribunals for private actions, assisted by the *Scavini* and minor judges, with whose aid judgment was given*.

All causes were ordered to be concluded in four days, and in cases of appeal six, or even twelve if the cause were intricate; after which it was carried before the king: no counsel was allowed, as every man was considered competent to speak of what he knew, and truth more likely to be elicited from principals than advocates: half the fines in general went to the sufferer, with an obligation to pardon his enemy, in order to promote peace and good will.

Their form of process was clear and concise. A calls B into court, and shortly prefers his charge. B denies and justifies. The judge says, "Prove this or lose thy cause." Death was a rare punishment, for the object was to dissolve hatred, and stop contention. The Lombards were also very humane to their slaves, who were not capitally punished even for robbery and desertion: torture was unknown: a culprit deserving death was delivered up to the injured person, who was allowed to pardon, but forbidden to use any cruelty in executing the sentence†.

The dignity of Count was very distinguished, and as an Italian prince, he voted amongst Dukes, Marquises, and Prelates in the election of Italian monarchs‡. Most of his authority afterwards devolved on the Consuls who presided in three different assemblies, namely, the "*Credenza*" or privy council, the "*Senato*" and the general assembly of the people or "*Parliament*." The first, which in some states was chosen from the "*Great Council*," managed the finances and foreign

* Muratori, Antichità Italiane, Dissertazione 32.
† Denina, Rivol. d'Italia, Lib. vii., capo vii.
‡ Cantini, Saggi Istorici, vol. i., p. 5.

affairs, and served as a check on the consuls. The second, generally composed of a hundred members, under the various names of "*Senate*," "*Great Council*," "*Special Council*," and "*Council of the People*," prepared all public acts previous to their being offered for confirmation to the parliament, which however commonly required the sanction of the Credenza.

The third was the sovereign power of the nation; the people assembled at the sound of the "*Campana*" or public bell, and discussed all national questions in the great square of the palace, whence they were usually addressed, and laws thence offered for their sanction. Some communities in addition to their Consuls, elected ministers of war, justice and public economy; they had no Senate, but only the "*Great Council*" composed of heads of families, and the *Credenza* chosen from it*.

This was the general form of free Italian government in the eleventh century; but there are no accurate accounts of the precise period of its introduction to Florence, although as we have seen, the testimony of her earliest writers refers it, and possibly with truth, to the age of Charlemagne†. If this be correct, Consuls must have been there long subordinate to Counts, and therefore, not an invariable symbol of complete liberty, as Muratori believes, only an approximation to it, which through Charlemagne's favour might have been obtained somewhat earlier in Florence, but was generally acquired in Italy under the Saxon Othos‡.

In their wars with each other the young republics soon threw off every restraint, and with a professed obedience to the emperor's person no longer heeded either prince or minister.

It seems probable that in Tuscany, towards the commence-

* Muratori, Antichità d'Italia, tomo iv., Dissertaz^e 45 and 46.—Annali, vol. xv., pp. 362, 365; vol. xvi., pp. 206, 258, 346, 8vo ed.

† Malespini and Villani.—Mar di Coppo Stefani.—Boninsegni and others.

‡ Muratori, Anno 1107.—Sismondi, vol. i., p. 249.

ment of the twelfth century, the Count's authority had passed entirely into the principal communities, leaving that of the Marquis as yet untouched; but there are reasons for believing that the Countess Matilda in some of her difficulties was induced to sell or cede a portion of her power, and probably all that of the Counts, either to create a war-fund, or to secure a more cordial support from the rising communities. As an example, we have the authentic account of her mother. Beatrice, having sold in 1005 all jurisdiction over the 'Castello di Porcari' for two hundred pounds weight of silver, when she was pressed for money near Pisa, while an unwilling hostage to the emperor Henry III. *

Altogether, there appears little reason to doubt the internal freedom of most Tuscan cities very early in the eleventh century; when no efficient governor existed, when the country was convulsed by civil war, and when each town consulting only its own interests, sided with either monarch and extracted concessions from both. The war between Pisa and Lucca in 1002, and the defeat of Lucca at Acqualunga in 1004, coupled with certain expeditions of Pisa against the Saracens about the same epoch, all show us how early these cities began to feel their strength, although not yet bold enough to emancipate themselves from the supreme power of the provincial dukes. Yet the latter seem to have allowed these private wars in the heart of their dominions, either says Fiorentini, because it was lawful under the Counts to arm in their own defence, saving the emperor's authority; as may be gathered from the laws of those days; or because the exhaustion of their treasury, and the vent which such dissensions opened for the exhalation of turbulent spirits would make them more tolerant of that yoke that they had so frequently attempted to shake off in the preceding century, and which the distance of imperial support

* Fiorentini, Mem. di Matilda, Lib. i., p. 58.

rendered every day less tenable *. But this anomalous state may be accounted for by what has already been narrated about the need of arming against the Huns and Saracens: men once accustomed to self-government and the use of arms are not easily subdued: that which sprang from a combination of weakness in the governors with strength and necessity in the governed, would naturally stand its ground long after both the necessity and weakness had disappeared: the sweets of liberty overcome its bitters; they are not relinquished without a struggle; and this neither dukes nor emperors were then in a condition to attempt.

A free spirit was now widely spread; nor were the civilisation and industry of these young commonwealths less worthy of praise than their steady pursuit of liberty, if we may trust the account of Otho, Bishop of Frisingen, the uncle of Frederic Barbarossa, who has left a curious and instructive passage on both these points: he marvelled that the Italians assembled at Roncaglia in 1154 retained none of the barbarism of their Lombard ancestors, but in manners and language possessed much of the grace and polish of Rome. So much were they attached to liberty, he says, that they would not be governed by a single person, but elected Consuls chosen from the three orders of Captains, Vavassours and Plebeians, to the end that none of these orders should gain the ascendant. They were also accustomed to change their consuls every year; and in order to increase the civic population all the high nobility and lesser barons of their diocese, although independent chieftains, were compelled to submit to their authority and reside within the city walls: "they admitted," continues the bishop in great admiration; "they admitted artisans belonging to the vilest and most mechanic trades into their militia as well as to the

* Fiorentini, Lib. i., pp. 10, 11, 1001-2-4.—Denina, Lib. ix., chap. &c.—Tronci, Annali di Pisa, vol. i., i., p. 104.
p. 18.—Muratori, Annali d'Italia, An.

highest public offices:" and he then acknowledges that Italian cities far outdid all others in power and riches *.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—Emperors, from Charlemagne to Henry II., including the race of Carlovingian kings, the numerous competitors for the Italian crown, the first and last Berenger, and the three Othos.—Popes, from Leo III. to Sergius IV.—England: The Saxon kings, Egbert, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstane, Edmond, Edred, Edwy, Edgar, Etholred.—France: From Charlemagne and his race to Louis the Sluggard in 989.—Then Hugh Capet.

* Muratori, Annali d'Italia, Anno 1154.

CHAPTER V.

FROM A.D. 1010 TO A.D. 1085.

WE now come to the first great event in early Florentine history, but are not yet sufficiently advanced to see our way clearly out of the obscurity that involves it; A.D. 1010. for amongst many contradictory accounts of these misty times the choice is difficult, and nothing has been more disputed than the capture of Fiesole. Malespini, who could hardly have been born later than 1220, is our earliest Florentine guide for the transactions in and near his own times; the recollection of some must have still lingered amongst the aged, and even tradition could not have been greatly disfigured as to the main fact in its transmission through three or four generations. We may fairly suppose that he could not have been very much mistaken in his belief of the true date and circumstances of this transaction; for the remembrance of such a conquest was unlikely to fade, and some record would assuredly have been preserved in both public and private archives at Florence as well as by oral tradition, of an event so important in her early history. "I have written," says Malespini, "many things which I saw with mine own eyes in the said city of Florence, and of Fiesole; and in Rome I dwelt from the second day of August of the year 1200 * until the eleventh day of April in the year ——. And

* This must be erroneous, unless Malespini lived to above 100 years of age, because his chronicle is continued to 1282, and he scarcely could have begun to write before 18 or 20 years of age.

when I returned to our said city of Florence, I searched out many writings of the past events of this same matter, and I found many writings and chronicles; and in the manner that I did find them so have I written them and mentioned them; and for the time to come I will write more at large and of my own nation*."

The above date is uncertain, most probably erroneous, and the manuscripts vary; but his nephew, who continued the history, adds:—"And I Giachetto Malespini continue to write the chronicle begun by the said Ricordano my uncle, of which he had a part from Rome, as already has been told, and a part from the Abbey of Florence: that is to say, ancient writings of those times from the said Abbey that were in the said Abbey, in which are contained many past events of the cities of Florence and of Fiesole †."

We can hardly refuse credit to this plain statement as regards the main fact, an event comparatively so recent and momentous, and which he so simply relates, although disgraceful to his country, followed too as he is by all the principal Florentine historians ‡.

We learn from this author that under the Emperor Henry II. Florence had by favour of the Saxon dynasty been steadily increasing in power and population, and Fiesole proportionably decreasing from a constant emigration to the plain; but that Florence, thinking such a neighbour dangerous and convinced of the impossibility of openly reducing the Fiesolines, resolved to do so by stratagem.

For this purpose a truce was concluded which by successive renewals inspired reciprocal confidence and apparent friendship: the gates of either city ceased to be any longer guarded, and

* Vincen°. Follini, Ed^n. of Malespini, cap. xli., Firenze, 4to, 1816.

† Ricor. Malespini, Istor. di Firenze, cap. xli. and ccxiv.

‡ Viz. G. Vilani.—M. di Coppo Stefani.—Dom°. Boninsegni.—Nic°. Macchiavelli.—S. Ammirato.

the most familiar intercourse existed between them; but whether from previous design or sudden temptation, a plan was finally arranged to get possession of Fiesole on the festival of Saint Romulus. A body of young Florentines was placed in concealment round the town while the remaining force stood ready in the plain to act at a given signal. Thus posted after nightfall, they continued quiet all the eve of Saint Romulus, and when the Fiesolines hailed the morning festival of their patron Saint a number of the enemy with concealed arms passed through the gates as they had been accustomed, without awakening any suspicion. Groups of treacherous neighbours thus crowded the Fiesoline gateways, assembled in various quarters of the town, spread over the walls and towers, and thence made signals to the plain. The citizens were quietly enjoying their forenoon repast when a sudden movement amongst the rocks and thickets without, followed by some noise at the gates began to alarm them, although mistaken at first for an accidental affray of the peasantry who crowded every street in Fiesole. Ere long the shouts of Florentine soldiers, the quick trampling of steeds and cries of wounded men, told a different tale and at once laid bare the treason and its successful issue: defence was unavailing; a small body of citizens threw themselves into the citadel* while the Florentines scoured the streets with shouts and menaces, but committed no outrage nor harmed any who offered no resistance. The citadel made a long and brave defence, but Fiesole was lost: the victors spread over all the surrounding district and reduced every stronghold but the "*Rocca*" or citadel, which still held out when the town was evacuated.

This fortress was afterwards partly destroyed by mutual agreement; and the cathedral, and some other churches, perhaps

* Now the Franciscan Convent, at the west end of Fiesole.

the Bishop's Palace with the ecclesiastical residences, alone remained of all the superior buildings: a capitulation followed by which Fiesoline citizens were either admitted to the freedom of Florence or allowed to retire elsewhere with their property. Numbers in consequence became Florentines; others withdrew to their country residences; many probably remained amongst their native ruins; but multitudes sullenly retired to Pistoia and were welcomed as a valuable accession to its growing power and population. Nevertheless most of the Fiesolines settled in Florence and, according to Ammirato, a senate and consuls were then first created, and chosen indiscriminately from both nations *. Columns, sculptures and other valuables were removed to Florence; amongst them a celebrated rostrum or pulpit of carved marble called the "*Ambona*," with the "*Ruota*" or Wheel, probably some piece of antique marble sculpture, which was attached to the front of San Piero Scheraggio and remained there until the church itself was demolished by the ducal Medici to make room for the present gallery and public offices. The *Ambona* served for ages as the pulpit and rostrum of that edifice, which was long used as a place of public assembly both for the vindication of general liberty, and the voice of faction †.

The union of two nations in such circumstances, although it augmented the common population was also a source of discord: cordiality could scarcely exist: the Fiesolines were too numerous for oppression; too angry to forgive; and too ambitious to remain inactive spectators of public events.

* S. Ammirato, Stor. Fior., Lib. i., p. 33.—Dom. Boninsegni, Stor. Fior., Lib. i., p. 21.—M. di C. Stefani, Lib. i., Rubr. 33.—Ric. Malespini, cap. xl.—Gio. Vilani, Lib. iv., cap. v.—Mic. Ang°. Salvi, Hist. di Pistoia e Fazione d' Italia, Parte ii^a, Lib. i°.—Ben°. Varchi, Stor. Fior., Lib. ix., p. 75.—G. Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, Lib. viii. (Fol. ed.), Frankfort, 1632.

† Malespini, cap. liv.—Osservatore, Fiorentino, vol. v., p. 210.

Wherefore the first seeds of Florentine troubles are said to have sprung from this unnatural infusion, and the poet's exclamation may be fairly echoed by history*:

"Sempre la confusion delle persone
Principio fù del mal della Citade"†.

In order more effectually to amalgamate the two races a new national standard was formed of the united arms of Florence and Fiesole: those of the latter were an azure crescent on an argent field: the former, which the Florentines prided themselves on having borne since the times of ancient Rome, was a white lily on a field of red; but now both lily and crescent were removed, and the fields alone, divided vertically, remained as the union standard of the new republic.‡ This influx of fresh citizens rendered an extension of the city necessary, wherefore a stockade was driven round the line of recent dwellings beyond the walls, which sixty-eight years afterwards was changed into ramparts of solid masonry and called the "*second circuit* §". A few more words are now necessary on the much disputed point of this capture of Fiesole.

* Benedet°. Varchi, Stor. Fior., Lib. ix., p. 75.—Gio. Villani, Stor. Fior., Lib. iv., cap. vi.

† Dante, Paradiso, Canto xvi.; and in Canto xv. of the Inferno, he says:—

"Faccian le bestie Fiesolane strame,
Di lor semente, e non guastin la pianta,
S'alcuna surge ancor nel lor letame,
In cui ruina la sementa santa
Di quei Roman, che vi rimaser, quando
Fu fatto il nido di malizia tanta."

"The herd of Fiesole
May of themselves make litter, not touch the plant,
If any such yet spring on their rank bed,
In which the holy seed revives, transmitted
From those true Romans, who still there remained,
When it was made the nest of so much ill."

CARY'S DANTE.

‡ Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Istor. Fior., Lib. i., Rub. 33.

§ This was really the third Circuit; but the line of primitive or Roman Walls is now a mere antiquarian guess, which supposes them to have included

Muratori is very suspicious of any documents that would exhibit Florence as a free city so early as the eleventh century,

the Baths, Theatre, and Amphitheatre, of which last some traces still remain. The first Circuit, or that commonly ascribed to Charlemagne, was pierced by four principal Gates and several Posterns, the names of five being still preserved. The East Gate called Porta San Piero stood at a point anciently named *Canto del Papa* from a family of that name; now *Canto de' Pazzi*, at the end of the present *Borgo degli Albizzi*, whose former appellation like that of the gate was taken from the Church of San Piero now in ruins. From this point the wall ran along the present Via de' Balestrieri, passing the small Church of *Santa Maria in Campo*, the *Guadagni Palace*, and the "*Opera*" of the Duomo; then continuing to the *Via de' Servi*, anciently *Bisdomini*, where a Postern stood, called by the latter name. Turning towards the Baptistry it had a second Postern at the end of *Via de' Martelli*, anciently *degli Spadai*, or *di Balla*; and still further on at the *Canto alla Paglia* and entrance of *Borgo San Lorenzo*, stood the *Porta del Duomo*, or *del Vescovo*, which was the second great entrance. From this spot the line continued in the same direction to the Church of *Santa Maria Maggiore*; then turning by the *Canto de' Carnesecchi* towards *San Michele Bertelde*, or *degli Antinori*, generally called San Gaetano, it reached in a straight line the houses and *Loggia de' Tornaquinci*, now Palazzo Corsi, in Via Tornabuoni (the second and political name of the Tornaquinci family) where the great Western Gate called *Porta San Pancrazio* once stood and probably filled the space between that palace and the Strozzi near the still existing Church of *San Pancrazio*, standing in a suburb of that name a little beyond the ancient walls. After passing the end of *Via Porta Rossa*, so called from a third Postern, the ramparts took a more easterly course near the present *Casa Buondelmonte*, (which anciently belonged to the *Scali* family) and with a slight curve in the space between the *Via de' Termi* and Borgo Santi Apostoli reached the tower and houses of the Baldovinetti at the eastern extremity of that suburb then situated beyond the city. From this spot called *Via Porsanmaria* where stood the great South Gate of that name opposite the *Ponte Vecchio*, the wall continued through the present site of the Church of *San Stefano* to the *Palazzo de' Castellani*, anciently the *Castle of Altafronte*, and thence cut sharp away from the river and passing behind the Royal Gallery and through the space now occupied by the *Palazzo Vecchio*, rejoined the eastern gate of San Piero. It was however broken by two posterns; one at the entrance of *Via del Garbo*, now *Via Condotta*, and another named after the ancient family of Peruzzi whom Dante calls "*Quei della Pera*" from their armorial bearings, and thus mentions them and the entrance.

"Nel picciol cerchio s'entrava per porta
Che si nomava da quoi della Pera."

This Postern probably terminated the present *Borgo de' Greci* next to the Church of San Firenze. The Church of *San Piero Scheraggio*, now displaced by the north end of the Royal Gallery; the *Badia*, and part of the

and leaving it to his readers to believe what they please of the tale is himself doubtful of such boldness in times when the Italian cities had neither the habit nor the power of making war on their own account or of thus destroying each other *.

Few authorities on Italian antiquities and history should be received with more deference than Muratori, yet this opinion is in direct opposition to his own account of the Pisan expedition against the Saracens of Calabria in 1006, and the battle of Acqualunga in 1004, which last he cites as the first example of a private war between two Italian cities; and also to the war between these states in 1002, of which the above battle was a consequence according to most of the ancient chroniclers, supported by such antiquarians as Cosimo della Rena and especially Fiorentini, on whom Muratori himself bestows the epithet of "*accuratissimo* †".

But besides these examples Milan and Pavia were about the same period engaged in hostilities arising from their own local disputes; though nominally for the rival princes whose cause became an excuse for many republics to exercise their incipient liberty in private war. Both cities and nobles indeed used this

space now occupied by the Palazzo Vecchio were all within the walls: but the Church of *Santa Maria Sopra Porta*, after which that gate was named no longer exists, although part of its walls are said to be incorporated in the present Church of *San Biagio*. Such was the circumference of the primitive City of Florence including a diameter of about eight hundred Florentine paces of *three Braccia*, or five English feet and three quarters each; one thousand of which make a Tuscan mile. The present Tuscan "*Braccio*" is supposed from its coincidence with the measurement of ancient buildings to be exactly *two Roman feet:* the "*Passo*" or *Pace*, was afterwards shortened to 2½ *Braccia*. At least this is the measure used by *Il Tribolo* in his survey of Florence in the 16th century. (*Vide Benedetto Varchi, Stor. Fior.*, Libro ix., pp. 74 and 99 [a].)

* Muratori, Annali, Anno 1010.

† Cosimo, della Rena Duchi e Marchesi, Parte ii[a], p. 7.

[a] Borghini, Discorsi.—Lami, Lezioni d' Antichita Tosc[a].—D. Manni del Parlagio e delle Terme.—Richia, Notiz. Istor., vol. iii., p. 248.—Villani, Lib. iii., cap. ii.—Rastrelli, Firenze Antica e Moderna illustrata, vol. i., p. 89.

self-assumed privilege until the Diet of Roncaglia in 1158, when they were deprived of it by Frederic Barbarossa, who thus aimed a sharp blow at civic independence; but the many evils that sprang from private war amongst the nobility prevented a single Lombard voice being raised against the ordinance *. With respect to Fiesole it has been urged that no sovereign prince would allow two cities under his dominion to make war for mutual destruction; but it has also been shown in the example of Lucca and Pisa that this custom not only did exist but was sanctioned, no matter whether from policy, necessity, or law: and if suffered at Lucca, the ducal residence and probably the provincial capital, how much more likely in places further removed from the seat of government †.

It has been already remarked that no notice exists about any permanent Marquis or Duke of Tuscany from the death of Hugo the Great in 1001 until the appointment of Ranieri in 1014, for during this epoch there was no steady government; and precisely at this time the above mentioned wars took place. The tide of fortune ebbed and flowed; the province was convulsed and alternately possessed by each contending monarch: the vicissitudes of war were continual; dukes and marquises were rapidly appointed and as rapidly expelled; the people avoided both the contending princes, and neither the names of Henry nor Ardoino are mentioned, as we are told, in any act of the time. Hence the young communities, like suckers from a severed trunk, sprouted with freshening vigour and offered peace, war, or obedience, according as their passions or interest dictated: nor were the rival kings much displeased at their quarrels or neutrality, for each feared to see them in the hostile ranks, and it was precisely during this disturbed epoch that Florence attacked and captured Fiesole ‡. Neither could the

* Sismondi, vol. i., cap. ix., p. 340.
† Fiorentini, Mem. di Matilda, Lib. iii., p. 8,—Mazzarosa, Storia di Lucca.
‡ Cosimo, della Rena, Parte ii^a, p. 4. —Mazzarosa, vol. i., p. 32.

city have then been far from independence if, as Borghini thinks; she had previously exercised the sovereign right of coinage; but like other Tuscan states her lords paramount were Boniface, Beatrice, Godfrey of Lorraine, and the Countess Matilda: like them too she was internally free and in diurnal progress towards complete emancipation *.

It would be useless to enter into a discussion of other trifling antiquarian objections to the authenticity of this expedition; they are fully discussed by Lami; but Salvi (who cites the historians *Pandolfo Arferoli* and *Giovanni Niccolo Dolieni*) asserts that the Florentines having greatly increased in force did with the aid of Pistoia attack Fiesole in 1004, this was probably what convinced Florence of the impossibility of taking that city by open siege, and occasioned the truce recorded by Malespini. But in the year 1010, he adds, "the city of Pistoia was much augmented in population by the many fugitives from Fiesole which the Florentines had *nearly destroyed the year before.*" This slight disagreement of dates does not annul but rather confirms the main fact of Florentine independence, which is the only real point for decision.

It is clear that Fiesole was not entirely desolated in the year 1010: the citadel remained uninjured; the walls were partially destroyed; the greater houses ruined; and their materials removed to Florence; but the inferior classes who were not feared, and to whom the honours of citizenship were probably never offered, were permitted to remain and along with the clergy still preserved that city's ancient denomination. Marchionne di Coppo Stefani says that the belligerents agreed by treaty to destroy all but the churches, to remove the materials necessary for reconstructing each citizen's dwelling in Florence at the public charge, and to give a A.D. 1010.

* Borghini, Discor., Parte ii., p. 157, della Moneta Fiorentina.—Fran°. Vettori, Fiorino d'Oro Illustrato.

premium of ten per cent. to all who settled in this city or its suburbs*.

After such a blow the Fiesoline population would naturally decline, but it needs many days to tear a whole people from their fathers' graves, their ancient temples, and the earlier scenes of childhood; wherefore we find on record another attack of this city in 1125; not as would appear by a public decree of the Florentines in which the Fiesoline population must have concurred; but the private aggression of a part only, and probably the Florentine portion of the republic; for this the citizens were not only reprimanded but punished by Pope Honorius the Second. Atto Abbot of Vallombrosa intercedes for them in a letter quoted by Lami, assuring the pontiff that it was the "sudden, capricious, and inconsiderate resolution of a few," who nevertheless (according to an old chronicle cited by the same author) scoured the whole country and managed to besiege the citadel of Fiesole for three months. It was ultimately taken by famine; and this long siege proves either secret connivance at the act or extreme weakness in the government †.

According to Malespini the citadel was occupied by certain *Cattani* or chiefs of Fiesoline race, who trusting to its strength plundered the whole neighbourhood; they had probably repaired it, for a law was immediately passed to forbid the reëstablishment of any ruined fortress without public leave ‡. After this the town gradually melted away, and the removal of Bishop Hildebrand to Florence in 1228 left only the name and shadow of a city with probably about its present population §.

The importance of this event may not justify so long a dis-
A.D. 1010. cussion; yet where an author's account of disputed

* Storia Fiorent^a, Lib. i^o, Rubrica 33.

† Giov. Lami, Lezione viii.

‡ Malespini, cap. lxxvii.

§ Giov. Lami, Lezione viii.

points can be fairly reconciled with facts his authority is strengthened in other matters, and the value of his narration proportionally increased. Those who doubt have taken no notice of the important circumstance before mentioned, namely that Tuscany was without a general governor and in a state of complete municipal independence for thirteen years: Lami nevertheless asserts that a certain Duke Boniface (not Matilda's father) governed during this period; but there is strong ground for believing that no Boniface regularly or permanently ruled Tuscany from the ninth century until the year 1027 when Countess Matilda's father became Duke *.

After every research we still find Malespini's details of this expedition sufficiently perplexing; he may have exaggerated its consequences by confusing them with subsequent events and the wasting influence of time, seen only in its effects; but modern writers reject the whole without sufficient reason. Many authorities have been here cited to confirm it, not to accumulate evidence; for except Salvi, almost all must have drawn from the same source, namely the chronicle of Malespini; merely to show how generally the story has been received.

That Florence was a town of comparative importance in the eleventh century (about the year 1055) is evident not only from its having been the favourite place of residence and election of several Pontiffs, but also because a General Council was then held there by Pope Victor the Second and Henry III. of Germany; the latter at the same time exercising some acts of high authority against Godfrey of Lorraine and his wife Beatrice, who was a hostage at his court; and the former unfrocking many Bishops for simony and unchastity †.

In 1063 a quarrel arose between Bishop Pietro supported

* Lami, Lezione viii.—Cosimo della Rena, Duca Bonifazio, Parte ii^a, p. 11.

† Malespini, cap. lxiv.—G. Villani, Lib. iv., cap. xv.—Platina, Vita de' Papi.—S. Ammirato, Stor. Fior., Lib. i., pp. 38—40.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1055.—Mecatti, Stor. Cronologica di Firenze, vol. i., p. 29.

by Godfrey and Beatrice; and the monks of Florence under the auspices of Giovanni Gualberto founder of the Vallambrosan convent, in which the whole population took a part and filled the city with tumult. This prelate charged with the crime of simony, fell in the public estimation and was finally overcome by a furious adverse faction and more furious monks. Pope Alexander II. then residing at Lucca displeased with this violence endeavoured to restore tranquillity but in vain; the citizens became still more disorderly; swarms of turbulent friars poured from the cloisters and by accumulated evidence so clearly proved the crime that they not only accused the Bishop before the Roman Council, but bold in superstition or in cunning, offered to substantiate their charge by the fiery ordeal. The Pope and Council wisely declined this tribunal, but the Florentines with truer faith instantly accepted the trial and shouted for faggots. The monks unable or unwilling to retreat chose Peter a Vallambrosan of exemplary virtue as their champion: he fearlessly advanced and passed uninjured through the flames.

A.D. 1063.

The Pontiff received immediate notice of this by "*a special letter of the Florentine people*," and the Bishop thus convicted was at once deposed; while the bold and lucky friar (ever afterwards known as *Pietro Igneo*) became successively Abbot of Fucecchio, a Bishop, and Cardinal of Albano*.

Besides this example of priestly arts and influence on superstitious credulity, the incident strengthens our notions of Florentine independence both as regards the direct communication with Pope Alexander in free community, and the Duke of Tuscany's feeble power, which even with the Pontiff's aid could neither preserve order amongst the citizens; protect the faction which he favoured; nor save the Bishop from persecution. Yet with so early an independence as respected both

* Denina, Riv. d' Ital., Lib. x., capo v.—Fran. M. Fiorentini, Mem. di Matilda, Lib. i°, p. 76, Anno 1063.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 40.

external relations and internal government Florence still acknowledged the imperial supremacy and nominally that of the provincial chief as its legitimate representative.

The crime of simony which bore so dark a character in this age became more hateful from the fact that ecclesiastical benefices were conferred by temporal sovereigns A.D. 1074. and thus interfered too much with church patronage to be tamely endured: it was not so much the crime itself as the recipients of its offerings that was condemned, and the practice was accordingly denounced with far more virulence in proportion to its distance from the great treasury of Christian piety and devotion. When therefore the monk Hildebrand under the name of Gregory VII. assumed the Popedom a council was convened at Rome from whence denunciations issued against all that should be convicted of this sin as well as against married priests, who were degraded without mercy; and this was accompanied by a politic, sagacious, and long-sighted decree forbidding the future admission of any person to Holy Orders that would not make a vow of chastity. These blows were particularly aimed at the Emperor, Henry IV. and the German priesthood, who sinned openly in both points, and their publication carried dismay and confusion throughout the imperial states. An absolute prohibition of priestly marriages was well calculated to strengthen ecclesiastical power; yet the priests rose in a mass, refused to abandon their wives, and would not even allow the papal decrees to be promulgated. Gregory nevertheless repeated his anathemas in the following A.D. 1075. spring against all recusants, and accompanied by new decrees prohibiting under pain of excommunication the investiture of Abbacies and Bishoprics to all those ecclesiastics whom the King of Germany had nominated by his own authority, and condemning the practice as a novelty and a source of simony and disunion.

The ancient custom of electing Bishops by the united

suffrages of clergy and people had not fallen completely into disuse during the minority of Henry IV. but his tutors nevertheless took advantage of their power to nominate incumbents to the richest Abbeys and Bishoprics. Henry on coming of age continued this lucrative practice; because in presenting the prelates with the Staff and Crosier, which was called the "*Investiture*," valuable presents were expected according to the worth of the benefice; but the Pope who participated in these elections without sharing the spoil branded such proceedings, perhaps justly, with the epithet of Simony, notwithstanding that the ceremonial part was of long standing in Germany*.

Another cause of dispute between these two potentates was the election of Pope Alexander II. by means of Hildebrand, without reference either to the Empress Regent or the young King of Germany whose predecessors from the times of the Othos had always interfered in papal elections; yet as Gregory applied for the Emperor's consent to his own election no opportunity for an open rupture presented itself until the year 1076 when the above decrees were followed by haughty letters with threatenings of church censure in case of disobedience. His orders, his menaces, and his Legates were treated with equal scorn, and the indignant monarch at once convoked a Diet at Worms where with the concurrence of all his discontented prelates he met the papal denunciations by a decree that declared Gregory illegitimate and excommunicate. This was accompanied by an order from the angry monarch as Patrician of Rome commanding that Pontiff's instant abdication of the papal dignity and its delivery into the hands of a holier man: Rowland a priest of Parma was despatched on this perilous embassy and delivered his message boldly nay even audaciously to the Pope in full council at the Lateran: he first called with a loud voice on Gregory

A.D. 1076.

* Denina, Lib. x., cap. v.

to descend from the pontifical chair; then turning to the astonished prelates summoned them to appear before the Emperor and receive a true pontiff at his hands for he before whom they then stood was nothing but a wolf. Gregory had the good nature to save this audacious messenger from the weapons of his guard, and sure of Beatrice and Matilda's aid with the favour of many German princes, he calmly rose and with all the decision of his character pronounced in a stern voice the long-menaced anathema; he declared Henry to be excommunicated and deposed, and his subjects absolved from every oath they had taken in his service*.

The assembly were awed and even astounded by this act for it was the first instance of a pope's having exercised so tremendous a power, and Gregory himself, bold and resolute as he was, only attempted to justify it by the perilous conjuncture: he nevertheless felt secure in his position, which the Emperor did not; the malediction proved omnipotent; its effects instantaneous, loyalty shrank trembling from the cursed king; chiefs and princes abandoned him, and he was stript like a lofty oak by the winter's blast.

Amongst the first who left him was Guelph Duke of Bavaria, son of Albert Marquis of Este a prince strongly attached to the Holy See, and Henry was forced unaided to bend before the storm: his pride soon yielded to expediency, he had rashly seized a position that he could not maintain, and in the depth of one of the severest winters ever known in Italy crossed the Alps with his wife and child and appeared as a suppliant under the treble-walled castle of Cannosa. Matilda was already there as a mediatrix; Gregory as an implacable priest to trample on the pride of disobedient royalty. A.D. 1077.

A train of penitent ecclesiastics followed their king and

* Fran. M. Fiorentini, Mem. di Matilda, Lib. ii°, pp. 154, 160.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1074, &c.

wandered like spirits round the frowning towers: the Pontiff was long inflexible; but finally yielding to their prayers vouchsafed an ungracious and tardy absolution. Not so with the Emperor. All the unbending rigour of Gregory was now sternly manifested: neither Matilda's influence nor the earnest entreaties of all those princes who had flocked around him were of any avail: the haughty monk still frowned on the degraded king, and when he at last vouchsafed to pardon, the terms were so humiliating that the imagination can scarcely conceive a man of Henry's character ever deigning under any circumstances to accept them as the price of his reconciliation. Yet when he thus acted who shall justly accuse Matilda of superstitious weakness, for devotion to that church which had ever protected her, even in the moments of its greatest necessity? To merit this disgraceful pardon, all manly spirit, and royalty even to its very robes, were sacrificed; then, but not until then, the Emperor was contemptuously received within the second circuit of the castle walls where covered only by a woollen shirt, shivering with bare extremities in the cold of a rigorous winter and the ground black with frost, did this humbled image of the Roman Cæsars remain for three successive days, and denied all sustenance until the evening shades periodically released him from his sufferings!

On the fourth day prostrate at the Pontiff's feet he implored a wretched pardon for his imputed sins; while the haughty priest took off the malediction and then proudly gathering up his robes moved on to Reggio leaving Henry's restoration to the judgment of a German Diet*!

Such was the ominous commencement of fierce disputes between Church and Empire: born of avarice and ambition, nourished by scorn and defiance and matured by solid acts of shame and

* Giannone, Stor. Civile, vol. v., Lib. x., chap. v., p. 210.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1077.—S. Ammirato, Stor. Fioren., Lib. iº, accresciuto, p. 43. —Sismondi, Rep. Ital., vol. i., cap. iii., p. 125.

injury; they generated a long succession of misfortunes and retarded human civilisation. There were indeed some casual intervals of repose; and though the particular dispute about investitures was terminated in 1121 by mutual concessions from Henry V. and Calistus II. causes of quarrel still smouldered with many outbursts until a general conflagration blazed wildly forth between the mighty factions of Guelph and Ghibeline *.

Florence imbued with Matilda's politics became essentially attached to her cause and followed all her fortunes; the citizens did not for a moment suppose that A.D. 1078. Henry would passively submit to such contumely; wherefore, comparing the prospect of immediate war with the unguarded position of their suburbs, they determined to inclose the whole town with new walls and in 1078 began the "*second circuit.*" The city was divided into six parts called "*Sesti,*" five of which occupied the north or right bank of the Arno, each named after its own particular gate; three small suburbs on the left bank formed the sixth division, both these portions being linked together by the "*Ponte Vecchio*" then the only bridge of Florence †.

* Denina, Rivol. d'Ital., Lib. x., cap. ix.

† Beginning at the eastern end of *Borgo degli Albizzi*, the new walls inclosed the now ruined Church of San Pier Maggiore passing behind its altar, near which a gate of that name stood; then turning a little towards the north it formed an elbow where a postern was situated, called "*Beranelli*" or "*Albertinelli*" from a family of that name, and probably corresponded to the second street after passing San Pietro, or that which goes straight towards *Via dell' Orivolo* and *Santo Egidio*, and is now called *Via dello Sprone*, (perhaps from its facing the acute angle formed by these two streets) and this I suspect is the ancient and original *Porta Pinti* mentioned, though rarely, in the old Chronicles [a]. From this place the wall must have turned sharp to the north towards the Hospital of *Santa Maria Nuova*, taking the line of *Via Santo Egidio*, *Via de' Cresci*, *Via de Calderai*, and *Via de' Pucci*, including the Church of *San Michele de' Visdomini*, until it came to the side door of the present Church of *San Lorenzo;* or more probably at the *Via de' Ginori* where

[a] Lami, Lezione xi., p. 353.

Though many years were expended in perfecting these defences yet so extensive a work, originating entirely with the

a gate once stood. Thence continuing to the *Canto de' Nelli*, or *Canto de' Gori*, the wall then turned towards the *Piazza di Madonna* where near the entrance of *Via della Stipa* there was a postern called *Porta di Mugnone* which river anciently passed this spot, but has been gradually repelled by the expanding city[a]. From the Piazza di Madonna, formerly *Campo Corbolini*, the wall continued to *Canto del Mandragone*, and thence directly to *La Croce al Trebbio*, pierced however by a postern (probably at the *Via degli Acenni*) called *Porta Baschiera*. Continuing towards the junction of *Via della Spada* and *Via de' Fossi* it was broken by another gate called *Porta di San Paulo* and then the *Via del Moro*, (probably Muro) indicates its direction to *Ponte alla Carraia* which did not then exist, but where a gate of that name stood[b]. From this corner a lower wall led along the river to *Ponte Vecchio* where it probably joined the first circuit at the *Porta Santa Maria*, and thence to the present *Palazzo de' Giudici di Ruota*, or Castellani. The rampart now quitting the river left a street outside into which opened two posterns; and near the present Alberti Palace was *Porta de' Buoi*, afterwards *Porta de' Ruggieri da Quona*, called so from the neighbouring houses of that family[c]. This part of the wall followed the line of *Via de' Tintori* or *Saponai*, and *Via de' Vagellai*, where an angle of it still seems to exist in the form of a cobbler's shop; and near this is another Via del Moro or Muro, of the first circle. From the last-mentioned gate which opened near the present bridge of *Le Grazie* or *Rubaconte* the wall ran about north-east to its rejunction with the gate of San Piero Maggiore, but in such a manner that the Church of *San Jacopo* in *Via de' Benci* formed part of the rampart; its back, now the front, standing over the ditch and hence called *San Jacobo tra Fossi* or between the first and second ditch, which name it still retains. The still existing wall of the old prisons called the *Stinche* in *Via del Diluvio*, now about to be demolished, is supposed to be a remnant of the second circuit. It is curious that a butcher's shop still exists at the corner of Borgo de' Greci in *Piazza Santa Croci* which was mentioned as a mark for indicating the old walls by Scipione Ammirato nearly three hundred years ago! So long does the "custom of a shop" continue in Florence, nor is this a solitary instance. Beyond the Arno were three suburbs all beginning at the head of Ponte Vecchio. One was called *Borgo Pidiglioso* from its low and dirty population: at its southern extremity was a gate called *Porta Romana* situated at the end of the present *Via de' Bardi* near *Santa Lucia de' Magnoli* or as it is now called (from an accident in the sixteenth century) *delle Rovinate* on the hill-side. The second was that of *Santa Felicità*, called *Borgo di Piazza*, which had a gate at *Santa Felice* called as is reasonably supposed, *Porta a Piazza*, a name

[a] Lami, Lezioni, xcviii. [b] Ibid. xcvii.
[c] Ben. Varchi, Storia Fioren., Lib. ix.

citizens, proves the independence and prosperity of Florence and its confidence in native energy and resources alone for safety: they were, as the Florentines anticipated, soon destined to be proved; for the Emperor ashamed of his late humiliation became again the Pontiff's declared enemy and was moreover compelled to defend his own crown against Rodolph Duke of Swabia who had been elected king by a new Diet of the discontented princes. A war of three years which began in 1077 and a battle lost by Henry in 1080 determined the Pope to acknowledge Rodolph, redouble his curses on the king, and anathematise the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna who had steadily adhered to his cause. A golden diadem with the legend "*Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodulpho**," was on this occasion sent to Henry's antagonist, A.D. 1080. which so moved the Emperor that he assembled about thirty schismatic prelates besides a numerous following of German and Italian barons, and at Brixen in the Tyrol was again rash enough to declare Gregory deposed, and to elect the many-times excommunicated Archbishop of Ravenna in his place under the name of Clement III. a man, say his enemies "whose first thought was ambition, and his last the fear of God †."

afterwards changed to that of *Porta Romana* and opening on the Siena road. The third was then and is still called *Borgo San Jacopo* with a gate at, or near the *Piazza de' Frescobaldi* leading to the Pisan road. There was no defence for these suburbs, except the backs of the houses which looked upon gardens and orchards, until after the Emperor Henry IV. besieged Florence, when a wall was carried up from the Porta Romana along the hill-side (behind *Santa Felicità*) and part of the Boboli Gardens; then crossing by the present church of Santa Felice it ran directly to *Via de' Serragli*, probably following the line of *Via Sant' Agostino* where it turned sharp and terminated at the *Piazza de' Soderini* opposite to the present bridge, and ancient Porta alla Carraia on the other bank of the Arno, already mentioned. (*See Rastrelli, Firenze Antica e Moderna Illustrata*, vol. i., pp. 90, 94 &c.—*Lami, Lezione* i., p. 6; *Lez.* xi., p. 354.—*Borghini, Discorsi.*—*Malespini*, cap. lvi.—*Gio. Villani*, Lib. iv., cap. vii.—*Scip. Ammirato*, Lib. i., p. 41.—*Benedetto Varchi*, vol. iii., Lib. ix., p. 78.

* "The Stone (Christ) gave the Diadem to Peter and Peter gives it to Rodolph."

† Messia, Vite di tutti gl' Imperadori, Tradotti da Dolci, p. 270.

This event, which occurred in June 1080, was followed after a few months by a fourth pitched battle in which Rodolph was killed and his army totally defeated, while on the same day at a place called *Volta* in the Mantuan States, Matilda's army was routed in attempting to expel the Antipope, and all Lombardy declared for the Emperor.

Henry elated by this success marched to Ravenna and with words of peace on his lips determined to crown the Antipope at Rome: but neither Gregory nor Matilda were disheartened; he relied on Robert Guiscard the Norman, who had been freed from ecclesiastical censure for the occasion and ruled the Neapolitan States; and she, confident of her own courage and resources, was true to the cause in which both her heart and conscience were engaged.

A.D. 1081.

Florence attached by habit to the Church was steady and determined, for while the Emperor marched in triumph through northern Italy she seems to have stood forward almost alone, and resolutely closed her gates against the conqueror. According to her own writers, who however are not too impartial, the Emperor indignant at such resistance from a single town had no choice but arms, and with Senese assistance began the siege believing that nothing could withstand him. Approaching Florence from the northward he encamped at a place then called *Cafaggio* (now occupied principally by the Church and Convent of the Santissima Annunziata) and extending his left wing to the Arno, commenced operations in the month of April 1081.

"There is no wall," says Ammirato, "however strong it may be, so difficult to surmount as Union;" and the Florentines moved by this spirit not only dared the imperialists but harassed them so sharply by repeated sallies that after a while Henry being fearful of Matilda's daily increasing numbers, raised the siege and made a disorderly retreat with considerable loss of baggage.

Authors disagree about the precise date of this siege: Ammirato, apparently after Malespini, continues it from the beginning of April to the twenty-first of June; but Villani in asserting that it finished on the twenty-first of April agrees better with Muratori's statement that Henry and the Antipope were before Rome in May of the same year, where meeting with unexpected resistance and no friends, he retired without accomplishing his purpose; nor was it until after a succession of annual sieges that by dint of bribery he mastered that capital in 1084. Clement was then crowned A.D. 1084. and Henry received the imperial diadem in return, while Gregory was closely besieged in the castle of Saint Angelo. Guiscard soon advanced to the rescue with a powerful army augmented by a body of Saracens who either drove or frightened the Emperor away and restored the Christian Pontiff to liberty.

Some authors aver that he retreated three days before Guiscard's appearance although favoured by the citizens whose support he had bought with the golden byzants of Alexius the father of Anna Commena: it is certain that the Romans rose tumultuously, attacked the Pope's deliverers, and fought with vigour until the Norman calling fiercely for torches Rome was straightway in flames from the Coliseum to the Lateran*. Soon after this barbarous feat Guiscard and his myrmidons quitted the scene of desolation with multitudes of prisoners, and accompanied by Gregory who under that rough protector retired to Salerno where he expired the following year; still invoking Heaven's vengeance on the schismatic emperor and his wicked adherents†. A.D. 1085.

This conflagration was the real and phœnix-like death of ancient Rome and the birth of the modern city on the

* Dante alludes to the blood shed by Guiscard in Italy in his fine opening to the 28th Canto of the Inferno.

† Malespini, cap. lxviii.—G. Villani, Lib. iv., cap. xxii.—Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 44.—Muratori, Annali, Anni 1081—1084.—Messia, Vite Henerico IV°.—Orlan. Mallavolti, Storia di Siena, Lib. iii., Parte i^a, p. 25.

Campus Martius, for before this her antique splendour had been scarcely injured*. The Emperor's attempt on Florence too, as Villani avers, kindled a flame amongst the citizens which produced those fatal quarrels between the church and imperial factions which, thus early engendered, soon found in this stormy region a congenial habitation and a name.

Florence being angry with Siena for assisting Henry, moved with all her force against it and carrying devastation to the very gates; but the Senese suddenly issuing with six thousand men defeated them at Leceto on the Florentine road; and on this occasion, to recompense the services of the *Incontrati* family, a lofty tower was erected at the public expense near their houses as a mark of honour: these buildings were at first uninhabitable like the round towers of Ireland, but many were afterwards adapted to and used for defence, as in Florence, Pisa, and other parts of Italy†.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—Emperors and Kings of Germany, Henry II., III., and IV.—Popes, from Sergius IV. to Victor III.—England: Danish Kings, Sueno and Canute, Harefoot and Hardiknute; Saxons, Edward the Confessor and Harold, then William the Norman (1066).—France: Robert the Pious (1031), Henry I., Philip I.—Greek Emperors, Basil II., Constantine IX. (1028), Romanus III., Michael IV. (1034), Michael V. (1041), Zoe and Theodora (1042), Constantine X. (1054), Michael VI. (1056), Isaac Comnenus (1057), Constantine XI. (1059), Eudocia (1067), Romanus III., Michael VII., Andronicus I., Constantine XII. (1071 to 1081), Alexius Comnenus (1081).

* Muratori, Annali, Anni 1081—1084.—Sismondi, vol. i., p. 128.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. iv., cap. xxii.—Orlando Malavolti, Storia di Siena, Lib. i°, Parte i^a^, p. 25, &c.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM A.D. 1085 TO A.D. 1170.

ALTHOUGH strong presumptive proof has been given of the independence of Florence during nearly all the eleventh century, still no tangible document, no act of sovereign authority performed in her own name, is extant before the twelfth, and her history during the whole of this period is merged in that of Italy; being at best but a doubtful patchwork of insulated uncertainties. A.D. 1100.

Matilda as Marchioness of Tuscany exercised her powers of public jurisdiction up to the year 1100, and while she lived probably enjoyed the honours and authority if not the emoluments of Florentine royalty; but after that year her name is no longer heard of *within* the walls. An attempt has been already made to explain the somewhat paradoxical connexion between the free cities and the crown of Italy; but for greater perspicuity and as an introduction to the account of Florentine government it may not here be irrelevant to quote the historian Sigonius as well as some extracts from records of an older date adduced by Cosimo della Rena: they describe a state of things that existed even to the close of the twelfth century, somewhat differing, it is true, from our present notions of civil liberty, but which like all great and continued evils finally roused the angry spirit of freedom awakened the slumbering dignity of man, and burst those ties that bound the Italian cities to aristocratic privilege and imperial supremacy*.

* Duchi e Marchesi di Toscana, Parte iia.

This produced a most wholesome movement throughout all northern Italy which in its day was accused of turbulence, visionary projects of political improvement, and restless democratic innovation. Innovation! Time, says Bacon, is the great innovator: the elements are unstable; all is mutability, even the very races of created beings that once inhabited the crust of this changing planet have been successively blotted from its surface; that surface no longer the same, and the present race of man perhaps destined to be in its turn extinguished before some higher creation. And shall we then still continue to stigmatise those who, in their endeavours to enlighten mankind, would alter the effete institutions of other times to suit the wants intelligence and habits of their own, with the crime of restless and wanton innovation? But let us contemplate for a while the good old times of Italian servitude under Frankish and German rulers; let us examine privilege and scan the admired prerogatives of legitimacy, and we shall no longer marvel that the inalienable rights of man were sternly asserted and intrepidly maintained.

"It was an ancient custom," say these records, "after the Roman empire had passed to the Franks, and still practised in our own days, that whenever the kings of Italy intended to go into that province they sent forward some of their most experienced people to visit all the cities and castles in order to receive the contributions due under the name of '*Foderum*.' The result was that many cities, towns and castles where the payment of this tax had been altogether resisted or only a portion of it acknowledged, were punished for their audacity and razed to the ground." "There is a tradition that from ancient custom is derived this kind of justice; by virtue of which on the king's arrival in Italy it is understood that all dignities and magistracies immediately cease and are re-disposable at the sovereign's pleasure according to legal provisions and the opinion of jurists. It is moreover asserted

that the judges of the land acknowledge so ample an authority in the king's person, and that they believe the people are bound to furnish for the use of the court and army everything usually produced by the earth, both of the necessaries and delicacies of life, according as they are demanded; scarcely even excepting the oxen that till the ground or the seed for the next year's crop."

From this plenary power arose the various exemptions and privileges conceded by the monarchs of those times with such benefit to their exchequers; and those lords distinguished by feudal holdings repaid themselves by forced contributions from their serfs and vassals to most of whom they left no more than what was requisite for their daily sustenance*. Sigonius at a later day gives us a similar picture but deriving his information partly from the same source: in the year 973 he says, "The emperor Otho after conquering the rest of Italy left the greater number of Italian cities in liberty but all tributary, he having in some created marquises and counts to govern them yet always reserving to himself the rights of sovereignty. He reduced the freedom of cities to this, namely, that they might have their own laws, customs, jurisdiction, and magistracies with the power of imposing local taxes at their pleasure after having sworn allegiance to their sovereign the king of Italy. Following this system part of the executive government was nominated by the king to represent his person and part was elected by the community: those elected by the king to administer justice in the provinces were called "*Messi*" or messengers; in other words *Envoys*, *Nuncios*, *Legates*, or *Imperial Ambassadors*. The magistrates elected by the people were called *Consuls*, and their number was two or more according to the ancient usage of the Roman commonwealth. These took a yearly oath of allegiance in presence of the bishop

* Cosimo della Rena, Duchi e Marchesi di Toscana, Parte ii^a, p. 12.

or royal Nuncio; and even before the time of Frederic Barbarossa foreign presidents were nominated under the title of "*Podestà*." Hence it is that Otho bishop of Fresingen a cotemporary and relation of that emperor justly writes that in their civic institutions and the conservation of their republics the people of Lombardy imitated the wariness of the Romans; and in order to avoid the rigid imperial government they preferred the rule of consuls to the authority of a podestà*." For a clearer explanation it may be necessary to say that at the diet of Roncaglia in 1158 Frederic I. dexterously imposed a magistrate and master of his own creation on every town of the Lombard kingdom under the specious and perhaps to a certain point real pretext of justice. A prodigious number of causes having been brought before him he declared that a whole life would be insufficient to determine them, and therefore gave full authority to a class of imperial officers, called by the appropriate title of Podestà with the condition that they should always be strangers living at a considerable distance from the place they were to govern and entirely unconnected with it. The consequences were soon felt; for the new podestàs being nominated solely by the crown and taken from nobles or civilians devoted to it, found themselves in direct opposition to the consuls who were freely chosen by the people; hence quarrels became so frequent that the Emperor in an angry mood determined to abolish the consulate. Words soon changed to blows and though the people everywhere succeeded in preserving their magistrates they could not entirely throw off the podestàship, which had in fact much to recommend it, so retained the functionary but reserved his nomination to themselves. In the course of time this minister superseded the consuls and by introducing the habit of looking to one chief for the settlement of public

A.D. 1100.

* Carlo Sigonius, de Regno Italæ, *Lib.* viii.

justice and private disputes paved the way in several instances, says Sismondi, for the retreat of liberty and the advance of absolute authority*.

"The Emperor or King of Italy," continues Sigonius, "maintained the Frankish tributes, which were the '*Foderum*,' the '*Parata*,' and the '*Mansionaticum*.' The Foderum was a tax by which the Italians were obliged to furnish entertainment for the king whenever he visited the province, or else pay many times its estimate in money. The Parata were intended for repairs of bridges and roads in the sovereign's passage; and the Mansionaticum for the maintenance of his house and quarters: under this name were comprised all the contributions that the country furnished for the royal army, and so amply and rigorously enforced was the king's power, that every necessary of life, every production of the land, the seed and labouring oxen only excepted, belonged to the service of the court and the soldiers' daily consumption." Otho having thus disposed of the cities did not neglect the opportunity of securing the good-will of private individuals by especial favours, not only for his own immediate advantage but to increase the splendour of his court: following the Franks' example he invited the most valorous and distinguished to join his armies and rewarded those by whom he was well and faithfully served. "His rewards consisted principally of dignities and the possession of some peculiar privileges occasionally conceded to his favourites. The dignities were titles of Duke, Marquis, Count, Captain, Vavassour, and Vavassin†. The privileges were the right of imposing duties and tolls of divers natures; such as coining money, grazing cattle, erecting mills, making salt, and using rivers and streams in every way

* Repub. Italiennes, vol. i., chap. ix., pp. 340-370-428.

† "*Valvasoro*," and "*Valvasino*," also "*Cattani*" for *Capitani* or Captains.

that might turn them to most advantage." "A Duke was he who obtained a duchy; a Marquis, a marquisate; a Count, a contado, contea, or county, under a feudal tenure.

"The '*Captains*' were those empowered by the sovereign or some of the above-mentioned dignitaries to rule either a portion or all the lower classes of the people. The '*Varasours*' were ministers subordinate to the Captains, and the '*Vavasins*' to the Vavasours. The three first were called '*King's Captains*,' and the others greater or lesser Vavasours, with inferior ranks besides." By this a new nobility was introduced into Italy, those alone being considered noble who either personally or through their ancestors had been dignified by such titles and privileges. This however did not generally apply to the civic nobility: those of Venice for instance arose out of a pure and primitive democracy gradually condensed into a nucleus of privileged nobles, around which a new population of foreign emigrants, unentitled to civic privileges, had insensibly formed and became the Venetian people of after times. The Genoese nobles derived their title from the office of principal magistrate or from having been one of the podestà's council an office which only began in the twelfth century; and in general high civic office conferred a dignity equal in fact if not in name to high nobility*.

Otho's system subsequently acquired strength and became a fertile source of military rewards and distinctions all intended to gain the affection and secure the fidelity of those by whose means the country was governed, under the various names of *Feudatories*, *Vassals*, *Uomini*, and *Fedeli*; and the *Feudo*, the *Vassallaggio*, the *Ominio* and the *Omaggio*, or *Homage*, were rights of the crown, by virtue of which those who obtained dignities or the possession of lands were obliged with their posterity to acknowledge the king for their master by taking

* Uberto Foglietta, Delle Cose di Genoa, p. 28, Ed. 1575.

the oath of allegiance and being always ready to expose both life and fortune in his service*.

Three sorts of dominion therefore existed: the *superior*, the *middle*, and the *inferior:* the first was that of the emperor; the second, of the duke count or marquis; and the third that of private individuals over their own allodial property, for which was due neither rent nor service. Hereditary succession to the greater fiefs gradually diminished the royal authority and they soon began to assume the form and character of independent states: but while their lords exercised certain acts of jurisdiction within the towns, these last during the eleventh century enjoyed municipal freedom, and up to a certain period remained unshackled in all their external operations; therefore if antiquarians be correct in assigning the sovereign prerogative of coining to Florence so early as the year 1000 it will go far to prove that she also was well advanced in the road to independence†.

The relation between Italian kings and civic communities during the Saxon dynasty, as well as the connexion of these last with the provincial dukes after that office became hereditary, (the power of making war excepted) was not unlike the present relationship between Great Britain and some of her colonies: the latter enjoy, or are said to enjoy a free internal legislature on popular principles under a representative of the crown; and as the Italian cities rejected even this semblance of superiority the moment they were able, so probably will the British colonies assert their freedom whenever their native vigour and independence abate the necessity of support.

It does not appear how or when Florence became independent, but one of Matilda's last acts there exists in the archives

* Giannone, Stor. Civ. di Napoli, vol. iii., p. 175.—C. Sigonius, De Regno Italæ, Lib. viii. Cited at length by Cosimo della Rena, Parte ii^a, p. 13.—Lorenzo Contini, Saggi Istorici, vol. i°, p. 3.—Denina, Rivol. d' Ital. Lib. vii., capo vi., p. 448, &c.

† Borghini, Dis. della Moneta Fiorentina, Parte ii^a, p. 157.

of the archiepiscopal palace or "*Capitolo Fiorentino*" and is given at length by *Cantini* in his Historical Essays on Tuscan Antiquities. It is an investiture made of the court and lands of Campiano by Count Guido in her presence on the 1st of March 1100 to the canons of Saint Reparata of Florence: also another exercise of royal authority in the following June in favour of the Vallombrosan monks as quoted by Fiorentini: after this no more is heard of her jurisdiction having been actively employed within the city although she visited Florence as late as 1105, and in 1103 granted some new favours to the above-named convent*.

The next document in proof of the complete emancipation of Florence is its first authenticated act of independent power, namely a contract with the castle and town of Pogna in the Val d'Elsa in 1101 where the two consuls are named as representatives of the Florentine people, who on their part promise to defend those of Pogna against all enemies except the Emperor or his Nuncios, without allusion to Matilda or any other superior †.

A.D. 1101.

If the dates of these instruments are correct, for Borghini seems doubtful of the latter, they mark with great precision the setting of regal power and the early dawn of popular rule in Florence; wherefore its independence may be with some confidence dated from the year 1100, but whether this liberty were a boon from Matilda, or whether it had gradually fed and fattened on times and circumstances until too strong for regal control there are no documents to prove. It is however scarcely credible that Florence could have suddenly broken from Matilda's grasp, for she was not wont to suffer any opposition to royal power as may be judged from the whole

* Cantini, vol. i., cap. iii.—Fiorentini, Mem. di Matilda, Lib. ii°, p. 282 and 290.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1103.

† Cantini, *Saggi d'Antichità*, pp. 70, 74, 75, who gives a copy of the treaty, the original being in the Archivio delle Riformagioni at Florence. (See also S. Ammirato, Stor. Fior. Lib. i°, p. 46.)

tenor of her reign; and the siege of Prato in 1107 for a revolt against Florence, (which from this would appear to have been under her especial protection) is an instance in point. She also assembled a large army about the same time to punish Ferrara which had rebelled when she was in distress; and moreover exercised several acts of authority in the neighbourhood of Prato the same year, and in the Mugello in 1105; all tending to prove that her power was still hovering around Florence but never after settled within its walls. Yet at this very time the Countess Matilda was almost Queen of Italy; her dominions not only extended over a great part of Lombardy including Mantua and Milan, but also beyond the Alps where she inherited great possessions from her mother: all her acts show clearly enough how jealous she was of the royal authority but the wars of Pisa and Lucca prove that either force or inclination were sometimes wanting to exert it*.

These acts of private hostility between rival cities may have been exercised by virtue of an original imperial grant with which it became dangerous for provincial lords to meddle, except as mediators; and in fact the right of an appeal to arms was fully recognised by the laws and customs of the age; it was considered as the voice of God, and therefore acknowledged universally from the private gentleman to the independent city, from duels to national contests. Matilda was in continual movement through her states; constantly occupied in public works, administering justice, bestowing favours or granting privileges; but especially in the aggrandisement of convents and churches with the idea of reënforcing religion, or what she believed to be such, by the addition of great temporal power, while she simultaneously worked out her own salvation†. Amongst her numerous acts of grace more especially towards

* Denina, Lib. x., cap. viii., pp. 167, 170. Fiorentini, Lib. ii°, pp. 282, 284, 286.

† Ibid., Lib. ix., cap. i°, p. 104.—

those who had always remained faithful, the unflinching loyalty of Florence was perhaps rewarded by complete emancipation; but that no documents now exist of these conjectured acts is not surprising, because all the public and private archives of the city were consumed in the successive conflagrations of 1115 and 1117 which ruined most part of the town leaving only obscure and detached notices of anterior history.

The foregoing evidence being deemed sufficient to prove that Florentine independence existed at the beginning of the twelfth century if not long before, a rapid sketch will now be made of the particular form of civil government adopted by this infant state, and thus spare some interruptions in the general story of a city against which her great poet sarcastically exclaims—

> "Atene e Lacedemona che fenno
> L'antiche leggi e furon si civili,
> Fecero al viver bene un picciol cenno
> Verso di te che fai tanto sottili
> Provedimenti ch'a mezzo Novembre
> Non giunge quel che tu di' Ottobre fili."*

The general outline of that form of government chosen by the free Italian cities during the Saxon dynasty has already been traced; also the supposed institution of a senate and consuls at Florence according to the conflicting accounts of Malespini and Ammirato; the former referring this institution to the days of Charlemagne; the latter to those of the Fiesoline conquest; while the first authentic proof of their existence is in the above-mentioned treaty with Pogna in 1101. Their number was originally two; afterwards one for each quarter of the city; and finally a consul for each "*Sesto*" or sixth—when the town was thus divided†. The Duke of Bavaria's occupation of

* Dante, Purgatorio, Canto vi.—In this beautiful and bitter passage we may still recognise much of the present Florentine character; now however almost as much lowered in general force and intensity as might naturally be expected in a nation that has fallen from the high-tempered energy of republican institutions through various stages to the mild but leaden languor of despotism. For the translation of this passage see *Appendix*.

† S. Ammirato, *Lib.* i°, p. 35.—Poggio Bracciolini, *Lib.* i°, p. 8.—Ric. Malespini, cap. xcviii.

Florence along with all the rest of Tuscany in 1135 or 1137 probably crushed the consular authority while he remained, as no record appears of any person having held that office during three subsequent years from the former date*. In 1138 Buccllo and Florenzetto were consuls; after which, documents are wanting up to 1172 when Foreze Forteguerra and Arlotto filled that station: in 1184 there seems to have been no less than eight, and afterwards more; thus fluctuating from two to twelve over a period of about ninety years. They probably augmented with the augmentation of people and increase of public business for magistrates like laws are multiplied by civilisation. The number was finally reduced to one for each "*Art*" or Trade who not only presided over those of his own calling, but was also a member of the supreme government, one consul taking the foreign, another the civil, and a third the criminal department of state, as was the custom about the same epoch in Genoa†. It is believed that when two consuls only existed, one administered the political one the civil affairs: but in 1181 another consul was added with the title of "*Ordinary Judge*" apparently unconnected with trade or politics; and also three "*Consuls of Justice*" who seem to have formed a court of appeal from his decisions‡.

In an old treaty with Guido di Ridolfino and other lords of Trebbio in 1193, the first sure indication of a change in the form of government occurs by the mention of a *Podestà* and his council, as well as of another magistracy composed of seven citizens called "*Rectors of the Arts*§." The spirit and forms of liberty seem even thus early to have penetrated into the smallest fiefs and curbed feudal despotism; for the lords of

* Muratori, Anno 1137.—Annalista Sassone, cited by Cantini, vol. i., cap. iii., p. 85.

† Foglietta, Delle Cose di Genoa, p. 28.

‡ Cantini, Saggi, vol. i°, cap. iii., p. 84.—Muratori, Antichità Italianet, tomo vii., p. 226, Dissertazione 46.

§ Cantini (vol. i°, p. 123) copies the treaty at length from Lib. xxvi. de' Capitoli, nell' Archivio delle Riformagioni at Florence.

Trebbio "*along with the consul of that place*" promise to receive a Florentine garrison and consider themselves under the jurisdiction of that government, making peace or war at it's bidding: for every new castle built they engage to offer at the Baptist's shrine in Florence a large waxen torch; and to the municipality one silver mark; while the Podestà promises on the part of his countrymen that no person shall be suffered to molest the Trebbians, who are to be considered in all respects as Florentines*.

The "*Rectors of the Arts*" were in 1204 called "*Priors,*" and afterwards "*Consuls:*" they seem to have formed a chamber of commerce and manufactures besides exercising the functions of judicial magistrates in their respective trades and the higher duties of general administration. Ammirato asserts that the government at this time consisted of eleven "*Consuls of the Arts;*" two "*Military Consuls;*" three "*Priors of the Arts*†;" a "*Senator of the City;*" a "*General Council;*" a "*Special Council;*" and lastly ten "*Buoniomini*" or "*Goodmen*" from each "*Sesto,*" besides one officer for the administration of justice whose title does not appear‡.

How all these were elected and the exact nature of their duties are points not well ascertained and embrace too wide a field for present discussion; but there is reason to believe that they collectively formed the General Council at which the consuls presided, one being commonly distinguished by the name of "*Rector.*" Whether this was a fluctuating title of honour or a permanent dignity with superior power is not clear;

* S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, Accresciuto, p. 62.

† Amongst the "*Arts*" or Trades of this period are mentioned those of the Judges and Notaries; Bankers; "*Calimala*" (or Trade in Transalpine and other foreign cloths) Merchants of the City; Wool-Trade; and Silk-Trade. The latter showing either a domestic advancement in luxury and refinement or extensive foreign commerce. The mention of Priors of the Arts at this epoch proves that the office was not new at the time of its more permanent institution in 1282.

‡ S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, Accresciuto, p. 67.

but probably the latter, as it was always given to the Podestà, of whose office a more explicit notice becomes necessary.

There are no accounts of the exact time when this magistrate first appeared in Florence nor of her being immediately affected by the institution or revival of that office in 1158 at the Diet of Roncaglia: it seems probable that all the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany were included in the same decree for none could fairly avoid so apparently just an act of regal power based as it seemed to be on a rigid sense of justice. As there are indications of such a functionary in 1184, and the certainty of one in 1193, we have additional reasons for believing that Florence was also compelled to receive these governors but perhaps, without much interruption of the ancient consular authority, for it is not until the year 1207 that the Republic seems to have been really governed by such magistrates*. "Hitherto," says Malespini, "the city had been ruled by a seignory of Consuls selected from the most distinguished citizens of the Senatorial Council of a Hundred *Buoniomini;* and these consuls directed the republic in all things and administered civil and criminal justice: their office lasted one year, and their number was four while the city was divided into quarters, and afterwards six when changed into *Sestos;* but our ancestors only mention one of them who was of the greatest consequence, or at most two.

"The city increasing in numbers and in vice, and evil offices becoming frequent amongst the citizens; in order to improve the condition of society and to save the inhabitants from the hateful necessity of punishing malefactors; or by prayers, or relationship, intimidation, necessity, enmity; or any other reason whatever, that justice should be defeated; it was resolved to invest a foreign gentleman with the authority of *Podestà* for one year; that he should preside in their civil courts with his Judges; that he should administer criminal

* S. Ammirato, Lib. i., p. 62.—Lor. Cantini, Saggi, vol. i., cap. iii.

justice, pass sentence on those convicted of capital crimes, order corporal punishments, and carry into execution all the orders of the community"*.

The first podestà was Gualfredotto of Milan who inhabited the Bishop's palace: nevertheless the consuls were not discontinued but still retained the administration of every other affair.

From the podestàship of Gherardo Capponsacchi in 1193 to the year 1199 there is no notice of that office, but in the last-mentioned year Paganello de' Porcari, or Porticari, of Lucca filled this station, and so much to the public satisfaction that he was continued until 1201, or double the usual period. The office was however, at this epoch, of inferior power and dignity to that of 1207; and if Porticari were invested with more than common authority, it was probably either as an experiment or from some peculiar ephemeral circumstance, for he is not quoted by any of the early historians as the first regular podestà; and in his time as we have seen this new magistracy had not quite obscured the consular dignity†.

Paganello's name is to be found in several public acts while he held office; but the very year of its expiration no less than twelve consuls signed a charter of liberties granted to some of the inhabitants of San Donato in Poci for assistance given to Florence in the Semifontine War. The Podestà of 1207 should therefore be considered in conformity with Malespini and Villani's account, as a new state-officer with increased powers; and not as the mere successor of former magistrates under the same title. His power was very extensive; because independent of the administration of civil and criminal justice he interfered in all foreign affairs, commanded in war, and seems to have assembled and directed the general council,

* Malespini, cap. xcviii.—S. Ammirato, Stor., Lib. i., Veneto, p. 68.

† Capitoli del Archivio delle Riformagioni, Libri xxvi. to xxix, cited by Cantini, vol. i., p. 51.

besides holding a separate one called the "*Council of the Podestà:*" there is however much obscurity about these early fluctuating forms of Florentine government; it seems indeed to have been a mere chain of expedients forged link by link from existing circumstances, rather than any regularly digested system, a natural consequence of the lightened pressure or rather total removal of the fixed weight of royal authority from a people not yet sufficiently steadied by self-government*.

During the Ghibeline ascendancy in 1250, the citizens tumultuously suppressed this office and substituted a "*Captain of the People*" to watch over their rights, besides other changes. It was re-established the following year in all its pristine authority which afterwards became considerably extended; but whether by the natural expansion and encroachment of power or by public decrees, is now very difficult to determine, for the Florentines were continually pecking with almost capricious jealousy at their institutions, or recklessly increasing power at the nod of faction and expense of freedom. In 1270 they limited the term of office to six months, but the Captain of the People still continued conjointly with this and a new council of twelve citizens called "*Anziani*" or elders, who superseded the consuls.

The "*Capitano del Popolo*" when first appointed was intended as the people's advocate and protector, an office somewhat analogous to the Roman tribunes; but it soon lost this character and became a part of the regular executive government, the prevailing features of which for a long period were mutability and the frequent exposure of public liberty in times of external danger. In such times the Republic was wont to implore the protection of some foreign potentate with dictatorial authority, and was ever rewarded by his shameless and unmeasured rapacity: the Romans with a finer spirit trusted their safety and freedom to a fellow-citizen and their own

* Muratori, Antichità Italiane, vol. vii., pp. 233—236, Dissert^ne 46.

native courage, and were never disappointed. Haply the Florentines preserved their independence; but these protectors, or their vicars, governed with mercenary, selfish, and almost absolute sway, and often with tyranny; and the only wonder is that they did not take permanent possession of the state. When their power ended, the regular constitutional government resumed its functions and continued in activity until 1502, when the podestà's authority was confided to a Council of Justice called the "*Ruota*" or Wheel, because each individual like each spoke became in his turn uppermost and presided with all the potency and attributes of Podestà. Such is the general outline of Florentine institutions, the various parts of which we shall make an attempt to fill up in the course of this History.

The Florentines increasing in riches and strength, and all the ambitious confidence of a rising nation, were no longer content with a domain, limited and chequered by the possessions of proud and powerful barons, who with a nominal friendship scorned the dominion of ignoble citizens and even rendered but an uneasy obedience to imperial vicars. Wherefore indulging the natural propensity of strength to command weakness, and hiding incipient ambition under the cloak of compassion and justice, Florence covertly intimated to the rural population and small communities, that behind the republican ægis shelter would be found against feudal oppression; and even the chiefs themselves were invited to acquiesce in Florentine supremacy. Those who hearkened were received joyfully and acquired the rights of citizenship; those that resisted were reduced by force and their castles demolished or occupied as best suited the victors' convenience.

The first enterprise was against Monte Orlando where some
A.D. 1107. of the principal citizens governing under the title of "*Cattani*" refused the proffered hand of Florence: an army was instantly assembled; the place assaulted carried

and levelled to the ground without any hesitation or delay. The siege of Prato, then in its infancy, was the next expedition: its inhabitants had previously occupied a hill called *Chiavello* between the site of their present town and Pistoia, and not far from Monte Murlo; but they afterwards purchased land from Count Guido and moved down to a plain at the foot of Monte Morello where they hoped under his auspices to escape from Florentine ambition and gave to their new settlement the appropriate name of *Prato**. On refusing obedience to Florence preparations were made to reduce them, and under the conduct of Countess Maltida in person, who took the place, they were taught an early lesson of prudence.

Matilda's presence has led some to believe that as yet the Florentines were unable single-handed to reduce so insignificant a town the siege of which had been commenced a long time before her arrival; and the fact of her co-operation is singular enough, because it would seem as if Florentine aggressions were not only tolerated but seconded by that princess†. A denser mist is thus cast over all these early transactions; but the Counts Guido who then protected Prato were powerful chiefs with strong mountain territory, and gave Florence much trouble even in her better days; they might possibly have embraced the imperial cause nay were likely to do so, and Matilda was as unlikely to permit the example of a petty town renouncing its allegiance to a faithful adherent only to increase the power of and gain protection from an enemy; for it was discontent at the Florentine government that first made them quit Chiavello and seek peace and favour from those potent chieftains.

The star of Matilda was now in the ascendant; her Italian influence was paramount, and her great enemy Henry IV.

* Malespini, Stor. Fior. cap. lxx., lxxi.—Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. i., Rub. 38.

† Fran. M. Fiorentini, Mem. di Matilda, Lib. ii., pp. 297, 299.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1107.

after having been defeated and imprisoned by his own son, had died of starvation in 1106 while vainly soliciting the humble office of clerk to the Church of the Holy Virgin at Spires which he had himself erected and endowed*!

This miscreant Son had made his father a prisoner by stratagem; threats of death forced him to resign the then royal insignia of the Holy Lance, the Cross, and the Imperial Sceptre; and Pasqual II. at whose unchristian incitements so unnatural a war was chiefly begun, soon felt the evil consequences of his conduct. Henry V. descended into Italy at the head of a large army, and after an honourable reception at Florence proceeded with overflowing protestations of duty and reverence to be crowned at Rome; but no sooner was he there than the old dispute about investitures with many other grievances revived with augmented bitterness until the impetuous monarch broke into open acts of violence. He imprisoned both Pope and Cardinals, made Pasqual swear not to visit him with ecclesiastical censure; demanded for his father's body, which had remained years unburied, the rights of sepulture; and insisted on his own instant coronation †.

A.D. 1110.

A.D. 1111.

These acts soon convinced the world that the dethroner and murderer of his own father was not the man to regard word or oath; or bow to the dictates, or brook the ambitious pride of grasping churchmen. After visiting Matilda he returned to Germany leaving a deep impression of his power in the Italian mind; yet Florence, ever faithful to the church from which no danger to public liberty was feared, disdained to conciliate that church's enemy and therefore directed her arms more particularly against the neighbouring barons of the imperial faction ‡.

* Denina, Rivol. d' Italia, Lib. x., capo viii., p. 363.
† Sismondi, vol. i.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1111.
‡ Messia, Vite degli Imperatori, Vita Henry V. p. 380.—Fiorentini, Lib. ii., p. 306.

The Emperor's Vicar who then resided at the town or *castello* of San Miniato del Tedesco *, seeing the hostile conduct of Florence towards all who really were, or pretended for protection to be his master's friends, immediately took the field, captured Monte Casole, and even menaced the capital; but the citizens who resolved to answer words by deeds instantly marched to the place, and after some hard blows, exasperating language, and the Vicar's death, the town was recaptured and destroyed†. This short decisive war against the imperial representative himself, who had actually been provoked to hostilities, and waged with such vigour under the eyes of Matilda, exhibits the growing audacity of Florence; and she, then amusing herself by superintending the construction of the Pisan baths, could scarcely have been displeased at any successful opposition to the imperial arms in Tuscany ‡.

A.D. 1112.

A.D. 1113.

Scarcely two years from the date of this event, being then at a place called Monte Baroncione and in her sixty-ninth year, this celebrated woman breathed her last after a long and glorious reign of incessant activity, during which she displayed a wisdom, vigour, and determination of character rarely seen even in men; she bequeathed to the Church all those patrimonial estates of which she had previously disposed by an act of gift to Gregory VII. without however any immediate royal power over the cities and other possessions thus given, as her will expresses it, "for the good of her soul and the souls of her parents §".

A.D. 1115.

Whatever may now be thought of her chivalrous support,

* Hence its name. This town is the ancient residence of the Buonaparte family, whose sepulchre still exists there; but that name is now identified with the world's history.

† Malespini, cap. lxxiv.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i., p. 48.

‡ Fiorentini, Lib. ii., p. 312.

§ Domenico di Guido Mellini Fatti di Matilda, Parte ii., p. 107.—Fran. M. Fiorentini, Mem. di Matilda, Lib. ii., pp. 180—319.—Sismondi, vi., p. 139.—Denina, Lib. x., capo iv., p. 118.

her bold defence, and her deep devotion to the Church, it was in perfect harmony with the spirit of that age and has formed one of her chief merits with many even in the present. Her unflinching adherence to the cause she had so conscientiously embraced was far more noble than the emperor Henry's conduct: swinging between the extremes of unmeasured insolence and abject humiliation, he died a victim to papal influence over superstitious minds; an influence which amongst other debasing lessons, then taught the world that a breach of the most sacred ties and dearest affections of human nature was one means of gaining the approbation of a Being who is all truth and beneficence.

Matilda's object was to strengthen the chief spiritual against the chief temporal power, but reserving her own independence; a policy subsequently pursued, at least in spirit, by the Guelphic states of Italy: she therefore protected subordinate members of the Church against feudal chieftains, and its head against the feudal emperor. True to her religious and warlike character she died between the sword and the crucifix, and two of her last acts even when the hand of death was already cold on her brow, were the chastisement of revolted Mantua and the midnight celebration of Christ's nativity in the depth of a freezing and unusually inclement winter *.

Only indistinct accounts are extant of these early transactions of Florentine History; the original records as already remarked, having perished in a fire which this year did great mischief, and was followed two years afterwards by another much more destructive that not only devoured houses and palaces as yet scarcely rebuilt, but multitudes of those that had escaped the former calamity. In these two conflagrations it is supposed that almost all the public and private archives were consumed, an irreparable loss, which by

A.D. 1117.

* Sigonius, Hist. de Regno Italiæ, di Matil., Lib. ii., p. 316.—Mellini, Lib. x., p. 250.—Fiorentini, Mem. Fatti d' Matilda, Parte iia, p. 104.

effacing the vivid memorials of past ages has left nothing but obscurity and dim shadows to evade the inquiries and satisfy the wants of the historian.

Such misfortunes were attributed to divine wrath, the corruption of manners, and heretical doctrines: the latter were then extremely common in Florence, and religious opinions so strong and various that theology was often forced to decide its arguments by the sword. These disputes were maintained up to the time of Saint Francis and Saint Dominic before complete tranquillity was restored; and even the disciples of these honest bigots subsequently quarrelled on an absurd point of doctrine that was first mooted in this century *.

The Florentine Epicureans are particularly blamed for gluttony lasciviousness and other vices, which were quite enough, says Malespini, to account for every calamity. But whatever may

* The celebrated Paul Sarpi of Venice in his History of the Council of Trent, tells us that towards the year 1136, the Canons of Lyon having dared to introduce the feast of the Immaculate Conception into the ecclesiastical offices, Saint Bernard who passed for the most able and pious theologian of his century and who in a strong commendation of the Virgin called her the throat of the Church by which channel all influences and mercies passed from the head to the members, wrote a sharp rebuke to the Lyonese Canons for having introduced a dangerous novelty which was without reason or example in antiquity: he told them that there was a sufficiency of *real* virtues to praise in the Virgin, who could never be pleased by a presumptuous novelty, the mother of rashness, the sister of superstition, and the daughter of lightness. John Scott in later times asserted that the Immaculate Conception was probable, and the Franciscan Order to which he belonged argued warmly for the exemption of the Virgin from original sin. The Dominicans on the contrary took the other side, and disputes ran high between them until Sixtus IV., himself a Franciscan, confirmed the doctrine by two Bulls in 1476 and 1483. But the contention between these orders lasted until the council of Trent, where after warm debates it was adjusted at the Pope's earnest request by the exertions of his Legates (without however coming to any agreement in opinion) in order to unite the whole force of the Church against the Lutheran heresy.—See clxxiyth *Epistle of Saint Bernard*, page 74, *Edition of Giunti, Venice*, 1596; also, *Histoire du Concile de Trente*, vol. i., Livre ii., page 323, *4th Edition, Basle*, 1738; *translated by P. F. Le Courayer, D.D. of Oxford University.*

have been their private immorality the Florentines as a people seem at this time not only to have had the confidence of their neighbours but to have deserved it also: the Pisans, who were then in the full tide of military and commercial glory, on sending an expedition against the Saracens of Majorca requested them to protect Pisa from an apprehended attack of the Lucchese its bitterest enemies. The Florentines accepted this charge without hesitation, equipped a strong force, occupied a position two miles from that city and prohibited on pain of death the entrance of any Florentine into the town: the old men with the wives and daughters of their allies alone remained there, and the object was to prevent a shadow of suspicion from darkening the minds of absent citizens which might tarnish the reputation of their women or reflect on the honour of Florence. In despite of this penalty one soldier had the audacity to enter the forbidden place and was instantly condemned to death: the aged Pisans vainly petitioned for his pardon, and to save him forbade the execution of any sentence on their territory. The Florentine general in conformity with his instructions bowed to their commands, but determining neither to suffer a breach of discipline nor encourage the repetition of a crime which might dishonour his country, he purchased a field from one of the neighbouring peasantry in the name of Florence, and hanged the culprit there in despite of every supplication from the Pisans.

In due time the Florentines being relieved, were offered as a mark of gratitude, the choice between a pair of metal gates or two truncated columns of highly polished porphyry, the spoils of their late expedition. The latter were selected and afterwards sent, adorned with scarlet cloth, in grand pomp to the people who had so honourably served the Republic, and are still to be seen attached by massive chains, which tell a different tale, to the brazen gates of the Florentine Baptistry, a lasting memorial of the high spirit,

discipline, and honesty of that nation. "In the polished surface of these magic columns," said the Saracen slaves that accompanied them to Pisa, "are to be seen all treasons or machinations against that state which possesses them:" but history further records that the Pisans hearing and believing this, yet unwilling to recede from their offer, passed them through a furnace, and at once destroyed their lustre and dangerous enchantment *.

We have already said that the Rocca or citadel of Fiesole was still standing in the year 1125 as a stronghold for the *Cattani* a set of predaceous chiefs who harassed the whole neighbourhood by levying contributions on travellers and merchants: such employment was then far from rare or even dishonourable, but far too stinging to be long suffered by a mercantile people; it was therefore reduced by famine, but this act drew down strong ecclesiastical censures on Florence †. The why is not easy now to explain except by supposing that its feudal Lord the Bishop, in his anxiety to preserve that town interwove temporal and spiritual interests so closely in complaining of the outrage as to interest the Pontiff in his quarrel: nor is it unlikely that the disputes which arose nearly a century later without any assigned cause between the Florentines and Hildebrand Bishop of Fiesole, might have arisen from the churchman's efforts to attract a population round his episcopal residence in direct opposition to their policy, which was always jealous of any attempt to repeople that city: it was moreover a political maxim of all free Italian communities that their Bishops should be divested

A.D. 1125.

* Malespini, cap. lxxvi.—M. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. i°, Rubric 41.—S. Ammirato, Stor. Libro i°, Accres°., p. 49.—Tronci Annali Pisani, vol. i°, p. 89.—It was in consequence of this deception that the Florentines, as is said, were called *blind*. Dante alludes to it, "Inferno," Canto xv.:—

"*Vecchia fama nel mondo li chiama Orbi:*
Gente avara, invidiosa e superba."

† Malespini, cap. lxxvii.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 50.

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of feudal power as being utterly inconsistent with their sacred duties, and that they should be compelled to live under civil jurisdiction. This was a probable cause of quarrel; and in fact the dispute after lasting several years became so violent as to make Pope Honorius III. stop them by giving Hildebrand the Church of Santa Maria in Campo as his residence and commanding his permanent removal to Florence*.

When once the Republic began to feel its power and had determined to allow of no independent chiefs in its dominion, the haughty nobles who though attached to the Emperor scarcely vouchsafed obedience to his Vicars, clearly foresaw their own downfal in its increasing and uncontrolled authority†. They were not likely therefore to fall tamely under the shadow of her flag or surrender a jot of feudal independence without a struggle, and hence continual disputes arose between them, to which the contention of Popes and Emperors was ever adding new bitterness. But in these conflicts the Clergy although rich and powerful, were generally left untouched, and the Bishop of Florence was allowed to enjoy his vast possessions in tranquillity; for by adhering to the party of Matilda and the Republic, the Bishop and Clergy necessarily ranked amongst its firmest allies and their disputes were personal or local, not political‡.

The nobles on the contrary were almost all imperialists, yet unable to resist the march of republican greatness successively fell beneath it. The Figiovanni, Firidolfi, and Fighineldi lost their domains in the *Mugello*, *Valdarno*, and other places: the ancient Pazzi of Upper Val d'Arno surrendered many a castle: the Buondelmonti of Monte Buono were compelled to follow and become Florentine citizens: the Ubertini shared a similar fate: the Lamberti of Monte Ghiso

* Lami, Lezione viii°.—Denina, Lib. ii°, cap. vi., p. 257

† Muratori, Anno 1137.

‡ Rastrelli, Firenze Antica e Moderna Illustrata, vol. i°.

and Calenzano were not more fortunate: the Ravignani in the Mugello, and the Catellini, Guigni, and Buonaguisi of Monte Morello, with the Galli, the Abati, the Guidi and Ferrantini who dwelt about Pratolino, Montile and the flanks of Monte Morello, all successively sunk under republican ascendancy. The Agolanti of Veglia; the Capponsacchi, Arrigucci, and Corbizzi of the Fiesoline hills: the Greci, Bisdomini, Tosinghi, Della Pressa, Nerli, Pulci, Franzesi, Ricasoli, and a host of others all successively yielded and augmented the population, fame, and riches of Florence*. Hence Dante exclaims,

> "Io vidi gli Ughi e vidi i Catellini,
> Philippi, Greci, Ormanni, e Alberichi
> Già nel calare illustri Cittadini." &c.†

The emperor Henry V. dying at this time without issue a Diet assembled at Mentz and was long divided in its choice between the rival houses of Bavaria and Franconia, but at the Bishops' suggestion Duke Lothario of Saxony was elected King of Germany. As an enemy of Franconia he attached himself to the rival party by marrying his daughter to Henry IV. Duke of Bavaria, with the Duchy of Saxony as her portion; but on this both Franconia and Suabia flew to arms, and Conrad chief of the former state returning from Palestine joined his brother Frederic of Suabia‡. Assuming the title of King he passed into Italy and endeavoured to conciliate the Lombards; the Milanese, probably by a previous agreement, received him with open arms; he was crowned at Monza, and afterwards by Archbishop Anselmo at Milan as legitimate King of Italy, and was acknowledged by nearly all Lombardy and Tuscany. The Pope, a formidable enemy in those times espoused the party of Lothario; many Lombard cities followed this example; and the Papal malediction, mercilessly launched against Prince and

A.D. 1128.

* Malespini, cap. lx. † Paradiso, Canto xvi. ‡ Muratori, Annali, Anno 1126.

Bishop, scattered most of his adherents and reduced him to the last extremity. He was nevertheless enabled to hold some ground in Italy until 1132, when fearing the presence of Lothario he escaped secretly into Germany while his adversary pushed on to Rome and was crowned by Innocent II*.

A.D. 1132. As the two famous names of Guelph and Ghibeline originated in these rival houses of Bavaria and Franconia, and by their pernicious influence destroyed Italian prosperity and happiness, a short account of them will not here be irrelevant, especially as they were the principal though remote source of that inveterate disunion which has left the Peninsula a constant prey to transalpine ambition. For many ages these factions prowled over Italy like lions seeking whom they could devour; they divided city from city, house from house, family from family: they tore asunder all domestic ties, undermined the dearest affections, and scattered duty, obligations and humanity to the winds. But these fatal appellations were originally nothing more than the distinctive names of two princely German families whose chiefs were rivals in personal ambition and feudal power. The enmity of one to the Popes was reason sufficient for the other's determined adherence to the Holy See; and though mere leaders of a petty feud, their names became, from circumstances, the rallying cry of two great opinions which penetrating with the wonted subtilty of religious and political rancour into the smallest branches of national life, affected Italy and Germany to the quick.

When Conrad III. was crowned King of Italy, the last four emperors had been chosen from the House of Franconia a family that received its name from the Castle of *Waiblinga*, or *Gueibelinga* situated amongst the Hertfeld Mountains in the diocese of Augsburg and which was called indiscriminately "*Salique*" or "*Gœibelinga.*" The rival House, originally of

* Muratori, Anno 1128—1132.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°., p. 51.—Sismondi, vol. i., p. 288.

Altdorf, at this period governed Bavaria, and in consequence of several of its princes being named "*Guelpho*" or "*Welph*," both the family and its partisans received that appellation. The two last Henrys of the Ghibeline House of Franconia had long contests with the Church, as already related, while the Bavarian Guelphs on the contrary always declared themselves its protectors from the days of Guelph IV. son of Albert Azzo lord of Este in 1076. From this branch is descended in a direct line the royal family of England and from his brother Folco the ancient Marquises of Este, Dukes of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio*.

These things, springing as they did from rivalry and disappointment, sharpened hereditary feuds while the Pontiff's support of Lothario augmented the Ghibelines' enmity to holy Church: these names were not however permanently attached to the two factions until 1210 when Innocent III. drove the fourth Otho from the imperial throne and took young Frederic of Sicily under his charge. The Pope was then supported by the Ghibelines; but when the same Frederic turned to rend the Church the Guelphic banner again waved over it and there continued until the final dissolution of these adverse factions, long after the original cause of their quarrels had melted entirely away†. A.D. 1135.

Ten years of peace made the Florentines impatient of repose and the Buondelmonti of Monte Buono became their first victims: this family, so famous and so fatal to Florentine happiness, possessed a small castle about five miles distant from the town which commanding the Siena road enabled them to impose a toll on all merchandise in its passage. Florence complained of this imposition and being refused redress

* Sismondi, Rep. Ital.

† Poggio Bracciolini, Storia di Firenza, Lib. i°, p. 9, (Ed. 1598.)—Sismondi, vol. i., page 287.—Mazzarosa, Stor. di Lucca, vol. i°.—Muratori Antichità d' Italia Dissertazione 51.—Denina, Lib. xi., cap. i°.—Muratori Annali, Anni 1076 and 1152, who cites Otho of Fresingen at length on this subject.

destroyed their castle, obliging them without farther spoliation to become Florentine citizens *: others followed; and so they continued adding bit after bit to their possessions, by money, conquest, or persuasion, but still maintaining a close alliance with Pisa which at this period although the most commercial and military nation of Tuscany was rivalled by Florence in ambition and warlike propensities if not in power and celebrity.

In the year 1144 all Tuscany was in arms, partly on account of these republics but more from those dissensions that spring from mutual jealousy in rising states commencing the race of ambition and of blood, who league for war as a pastime, and regard the butchery of their fellow-creatures as legitimate amusement. Lucca and Pisa were in constant collision, and the friendship of the former with Siena, of the latter with Florence, occasioned a quadruple war between those states, each jealous of the other's ascendancy: the necessities of commerce, untouched as yet by its rivalry, kept peace between Pisa and Florence; and the distance of the other two diminished their points of contact and consequently their chances of quarrel.

A.D. 1144.

Ulric, Marquis or vice-Marquis of Tuscany and imperial Vicar, commanded the Florentine army with which he advanced to the gates of Siena and burned a suburb; the Senese demanded assistance from Lucca, who answered by declaring war on Florence, not only to draw the enemy from her ally, but also in aid of Count Guido Guerra of Modigliana a Ghibeline chief and confederate of Siena, who had already suffered from Florentine aggression. Pisa on the other hand took the field at the request of the Florentines and Count Guido's posses-

* To reach Florence from Monte Buono it is necessary to cross the *Ema* river; hence Dante's meaning when he addresses Buondelmonte:—

"Molti sarebber lieti, che son tristi,
Se Dio t' avesse conceduto ad Ema
La prima volta ch' a citta venisti."
Paradiso, Canto xvi.

sions were devastated by these combined forces while the Senese, covertly advancing on Florence, fell into an ambuscade and were nearly all made prisoners. More bitter was the struggle between Pisa and Lucca where no exchange of prisoners took place, no ransom was accepted, and where a strong personal feeling of hatred pervaded every class: perpetual incarceration was with them the consequence of defeat, and we are told by the Bishop of Fresingen that several years afterward he saw "the Lucchese officers, wasted squalid and miserable in the dungeons of Pisa drawing tears of compassion from every passing stranger" *.

At this period however not Tuscany alone but all northern Italy seems to have been in similar confusion from similar causes; from jealousy, faction, and that ever boisterous passage between comparative bondage and complete independence, for Conrad with full employment in Germany was forced to leave Italy uncontrolled, a prey to angry passions, unsettled institutions and political anarchy †. The particular causes of discord between the Tuscan cities are now difficult to trace; vicinity, by multiplying the points of contact increased the chances and was always a source of dissension; but the peculiar enmity between Siena and Florence, according to the Senese historians originated in the assistance given to Henry IV. during the siege of 1081; an injury in itself not easily forgiven, but fostered as it was by national emulation lasted until long after the ruin of both republics, and even now is scarcely obliterated ‡.

Elated by success and jealous of the Counts Guidi by whose possessions she was nearly surrounded, Florence assembled an army in February 1146 and besieged Monte Croce, a Castello about nine miles distant which A.D. 1146.

* Malespini, cap. lxxviii.—M. di C. Stefani, Lib. i°, Rub. 42.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°., p. 51, who cites Otho of Fresingen.

† Muratori, Annali, Anno 1143.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 52.

‡ Orl°. Mallavolti, Stor. di Siena, Parte i^a, pp. 24, 25.

belonged to that family; but confidence in superiority of force created carelessness of conduct, and Count Guido aided by the people of Arezzo defeated them with great loss. For a time they were quieted by this sharp military lesson, and
A.D. 1147. a crusade the following year under the emperor Conrad III. carried off some of their more enterprising and devout spirits to Palestine; amongst them Dante's ancestor *Cacciaguida* who after having been knighted by Conrad, fell in battle against the Infidels*.

After the submission of this Conrad and Frederic of Suabia, the emperor Lothario made one visit to his Italian provinces and died in the mountains near Trent on his return to Germany in 1137. Conrad who had already been crowned at Milan in 1128 and abdicated in 1135 succeeded him, but was for a while opposed by Henry called afterwards "the Proud," duke of Saxony and Bavaria, marquis of Tuscany, and son-in-law to the deceased emperor. Haughtiness to the German princes cost him the throne and made way for Conrad III. who in 1138 was crowned King of Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle; but being opposed by the German Guelphs, he became too much occupied to interfere with Italian politics or even once visit Italy for his coronation, and died on his return from the
A.D. 1152. Holy Land while about to hold a Diet at Bamberg. At his especial wish Frederic of Suabia, surnamed Barbarossa from the colour of his beard, was elected instead of Conrad's own son by all the German princes and many of the Italian nobility who met at Bamberg for that purpose†. Besides avoiding the evils of a long minority it seems to have been Conrad's wish thus to terminate all existing dissensions between the united Ghibeline houses of Suabia and Franconia on the one hand, of which Barbarossa was the chief; and the

* M. di C. Stefani, Lib. i°, Rub. 43. † Muratori, Annali, Anno 1152.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 53.—‡ Sismondi, vol. i°, pp. 297—301. Dante, Parad°. cxv.

Guelphs of Saxony and Bavaria on the other, who were represented by their dukes Henry the Lion and Guelph VI.

Barbarossa was the son of Frederic of Suabia and Judith daughter of Henry the Black, duke of Bavaria (of the Guelphs of Este) father of the above-named Guelph VI. who was his maternal uncle; and Henry the Lion duke of Saxony his cousin. Uniting in this way the interests of both factions all party quarrels ceased during his and the succeeding reign, and the united powers of Germany were amicably arrayed beneath the imperial standard; but concord terminated with the reign of Henry VI.; the knot was then severed, families once more divided, former enmities returned with conflicting interests, the old poison spread throughout both nations, and centuries of blood scarcely sufficed to satiate the demon of Italian discord.

The Florentines mortified by the check they had received at Monte di Croce resolved to recover their reputation by a new attack, but as the place was strong and well defended several unsuccessful attempts were made ere they succeeded in taking the town even by stratagem, and razed it to the ground. This deepened the hatred of Counts Guidi which lasted with little intermission, except in the Battifolle branch, until their ultimate spoliation in 1440: they were lords of many castles in the provinces of Casentino and Upper Val d' Arno and are too closely connected with Florentine history to render any apology necessary for giving a short account of them *. A.D. 1154.

Sprung, like most of the Italian Barons, from German blood, they are supposed to have accompanied Otho I. into Italy and received the lordship of Modigliana in Romagna where they settled, and in time acquired the seignory of a considerable portion of that province, Ravenna being the seat of government. Their tyranny and licentiousness ultimately produced insurrection and all the family were murdered but one child then

* Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. i°, Rub. 43.—S. Ammirato, Stor. Lib. i°, p. 54.

nursing at Modigliana, who was called "Guido Besangue" in commemoration of the bloody catastrophe. This chief, or his son who was called Count Guido Vecchio, received large grants of land in the Casentino from Otho IV. and married Gualdrada daughter of Bellincion Berti de' Ravignani, one of the most distinguished Florentines, all of whose possessions finally centered in the Counts Guidi. We learn in fact from Dante that in a certain quarter of Florence

> "Erano i Ravignani ond' è disceso
> Il Conte Guido e qualunque del nome
> Dell' alto Bellincione ha poscia preso"*.

Amongst all the Florentine ladies who had assembled to do him honour on his arrival, Gualdrada Berti most attracted the Emperor Otho's attention by her extreme beauty and peculiar modesty of demeanour. His admiration seems however to have been at first unaccompanied by due respect: an impudent attempt to kiss her at a festival in the cathedral church, or, as some say, her father's offer to allow of more questionable intercourse, was met by an indignant repulse, with a spirited declaration that "no man should take that liberty except her husband." The Emperor appreciated and applauded this conduct, and by his advice Count Guido married her without a dowry notwithstanding the difference of rank†.

From their five sons all the Counts Guidi were descended: one died soon after his father, leaving the Counts Guidi of Poppi his heirs: the eldest survivor Guglielmo was father of Guido Novello and Simone, both originally Ghibelines, but in

* Paradiso, Canto xvi.

† Borghini ridicules this story by a comparison of dates, and places it amongst the poetical fictions of the Troubadours; for, says he, Count Guido had grown up sons in 1202 by Gualdrada, and certainly Otho IV. never entered Italy before 1209!—Vide *Discorso dell' origine di Forenze. Quarto Edition, Firenze*, 1755, p. 6. That many fables and romances were adopted by the early chroniclers as historical facts is most true, and this may be one; but Dante, who was born in 1265, alludes to the "*Buona Gualdrada*," and Villani, no mean authority, relates it historically.

consequence of a quarrel, the latter, who was ancestor of the Counts of Battifolle, joined the Florentine Guelphs. Another son Rugieri was father of Count Guido Guerra* and Salvatico, both of the Guelphic faction; from the third Guido were descended the Counts of Romena a family divided between both parties; and from the fourth, Tegrimo and the Counts of Porciano who were always Ghibelines†.

With Pistoia's assistance and the subsequent protection of Florence Prato had increased her strength and riches; and either voluntarily or at the latter's instigation was ungrateful enough to claim the castle of Carmagnano, then under the jurisdiction of Pistoia, as her property, and immediately attacked it with an auxiliary force of Florentine troops. The Pistoians indignant at such ingratitude not only repelled this assault but with some aid from Siena routed the allies while the ambassadors of that state remonstrated with Florence on her injustice, declaring their obligation to assist Pistoia according to treaty and reminding her how much easier it was to begin a war than to finish it‡. Hostilities recommenced in the following year when after an obstinate engagement the confederates were defeated and the revolted castle of Carmagnano recovered: Prato was in its turn besieged, and the combined forces of Florence and Pisa were completely routed at Montemurlo in a vain attempt to relieve it; their loss was considerable, and as Fiesoline auxiliaries are mentioned amongst the Florentine troops, that city must still have

A.D. 1155.

* Dante places this chief in the seventh circle of hell with Brunetto Latini and others of that stamp.

"Questi, l' orme di lui pestar mi vedi,
Tutto che nudo e dipelato vada,
Fu di grado maggior che tu non credi.
Nepote fu della buona Gualdrada:
Guidoguerra ebbe nome, et in sua vita
Fece col senno assai e con la spada."—(*Inferno, Canto* xvi.

† Giov. Villani, Lib. iv., cap. i°; Lib. v., cap. 37.

‡ Orlando Malavolti, Stor. Sen. Lib. viii., Parte i^a^, p. 29.

been in a comparatively flourishing state notwithstanding its subjugation. According to the Pistoian chronicles a continued course of hostilities seems to have been followed by Prato in 1156 with occasional aid from Florence and several battles were fought; but Pistoia to punish the Pisans for their interference in these wars made a close alliance with Lucca by which she was to send the latter a hundred and fifty horse, two hundred foot, and two hundred crossbowmen, for one month in each year; also a certain number of cavalry and infantry for twenty days when needed*. This treaty was renewed in 1161 and 1171, and the Pisans and Florentines having been defeated in 1162 Pistoia lost no
A.D. 1157. opportunity of making the former feel all the force of their enmity.

The English Pope Adrian IV. died in 1159: twenty-three Cardinals out of twenty-eight united in choosing Rolando de' Paperoni as his successor: he was a native of Siena and became afterwards celebrated under the name of Alexander III. but the remainder fixed their election on Cardinal Octavian of Rome who was called Victor IV. and Barbarossa by promptly acknowledging him avowed his enmity to Alexander in the most decided manner. When the latter was Adrian's legate at the imperial court they had quarrelled on divers points of diplomacy, but especially because he had been mainly instrumental in persuading Adrian to crown the Norman William II. king of Sicily against Frederic's will, who himself aspired to that throne; and thus more fuel was added
A.D. 1163. to the flames of faction†. Alexander after a variety of fortune sought refuge in France from the power and persecution of Barbarossa who boasted that he would

* Malespini, cap. lxxviii.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 54.—M. di C. Stefani, Lib. i^a, Rub. 44, p. 62.—Mic. Ang. Salvi Hist. di Pistoia, vol. i°, Parte ii^a, Lib. ii°, pp. 88, 91, 97.

† Dal Borgo Dissertazione iv. dell Istoria Pisana, vol. i., Parte Prima, p. 154. —Orlando Malavolti, Parte i^a., Lib. iii°. p. 38.

put all Italy in order: but instead of this he found his authority disputed and carried death and destruction throughout the northern provinces. In 1162 he laid Milan waste without remorse, and exasperated the whole country by a series of barbarities so great that they roused a spirit which being embodied in the famous League of Lombardy baffled all his power, cruelty, and ambition *. Four successive Antipopes thus powerfully supported maintained a long schism in the Church which shook pontifical infallibility, disturbed consciences, and augmented the bitterest feelings of the Italian community: all this at a moment too when Guelph and Ghibeline humours were rapidly fermenting under a more definite form and character; and when another source of dissension had been reopened between the Church and Empire about their conflicting claims to Matilda's patrimony †.

Excepting some hostilities with Pistoia unnoticed by the historians of Florence in which the latter seems to have been worsted, little is said of her affairs for fifteen years after the war of Prato; it may therefore be supposed that the republic enjoyed an interval of peace, for it is a favourable augury when the transactions of civilised countries offer no exciting subject for the historian. War, tumult, ambition, victory, misused powers, and all the desolating consequences of unregulated passion and misapplied talent, are generally the most prominent, and if rightly studied perhaps amongst the most instructive materials for history; while silent unobtrusive ameliorating institutions hide their less brilliant heads, and though failing to excite so deep and universal an interest, are steadily working on the spirit of the age and softening the general character of man.

A.D. 1170.

* Messia, Vite degli Imperadori.—Villani, Lib. v., c. i°.—Platina, Vite de Papi.

† M. A. Salvi, Lib. ii°, Parte ii°, p. 97.—S. Ammirato, Storia, Lib. i°, p. 55.—O. Malavolti, Parte i^a, Libro iii°, p. 30.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—Emperors, Henry IV. and V., Lotharic, Conrad III., Frederic I., (Barbarossa).—Popes, from Pasqual II. to Alexander III. Antipope, Victor IV.—England: Henry I., Stephen, Henry II. (The first Plantagenet.)—France: Philip I., Louis VI. (1137), Louis VII. (1180).—Greek Emperors, Alexius Comnenus, John Comnenus (1118), Manuel (1143).—Scotland: Alexander I. (1106), David I. (1124), Malcomb IV. (1153), William the Lion (1166).

CHAPTER VII.

FROM A.D. 1170 TO A.D. 1200.

AMONGST the Italians of this age and for centuries after, private offence was never forgotten until revenged, and generally involved a succession of mutual injuries; vengeance was not only considered lawful and just, but a positive duty dishonourable to omit*; and, as may be learned from ancient private journals, it was sometimes allowed to sleep for five-and-thirty years, and then suddenly struck a victim who perhaps had not yet seen the light when the original injury was inflicted†. With a combination of such individual feelings it was unlikely that Florence as a community would forget the unprovoked attack of Arezzo in aid of Count Guido; or that Count Guido would easily forgive the destruction of Monte Croce; his frequent inroads on the Florentine territory quickened this feeling and an A.D. 1170.

* Even Dante, who was beyond his age in liberality of sentiment proves this in Canto xxix. of his Inferno where speaking of his kinsman Geri del Bello's violent death he exclaims to Virgil,

"O duca mio, la violento morte,
Che non gli è vendicato ancor, diss'io,
Per alcun, che dell'onta sia consorte,
Fece lui disdegnoso: ond' ei sen'gìo
Senza parlarmi, sì com' io stimo:
Et in ciò m' ha e' fatto a se più pio."

The time may come when duelling will be as much execrated by our posterity as the vengeance of the middle ages is now by ourselves. Again in one of his Canzoni Dante exclaims "*Chè bello honor s'acquista in far vendetta.*" (*Vedr di Fratecelli, p.* 21, *tomo iº, Parte iiª.*)

† Cronica di Donato Velluti, pp. 4, 5, &c.

alliance of these two powers caused war to be declared against Arezzo.

A body of troops immediately marched on that town whose citizens disdaining the shelter of their walls at once offered battle: fortune was unfavourable and they were beaten with great loss both in killed and prisoners: to ransom these a truce was requested, and granted by the victors on condition that they renounced Count Guido's alliance and maintained the peace with Florence.

The cordial assistance given to Pistoia in the Prato war although just, had disturbed the recent harmony between Siena and Florence, and no friendly feeling returned until the publication of Barbarossa's intention to be crowned at Rome arrested their hostilities, and made them join the Tuscan states in preparing against this enterprise*.

According to the chronicle of Pistoia as quoted by Salvi, two separate leagues were then formed by the Tuscan states to defend themselves against German insolence and rapacity: in one was comprised the cities of Lucca, Florence, Prato, and the lords of Garfagna: in the other; Pisa, Pistoia, Siena, Arezzo, and the Counts Guidi of Modigliana.

A.D. 1170.

The love of liberty and national independence was now vigorous and enthusiastic; it glowed in separate and often adverse breasts upon the Tuscan soil; but throughout there was a strong national feeling which gave life and nourishment to the mass and for a while united it against every foreign intruder: private dissensions were wisely dropped on the appearance of public danger; and those primitive times of liberty gave an example of political union that if it had been subsequently followed might have changed not only the fate and character of Italy but the whole history of Europe.

* Malavolti, Parte ii^{a}, Lib. iii^{o}, p. 29.—M. A. Salvi, Parte ii^{a}, Lib. ii., pp. 91, 97.

The close alliance between Lucca and Pistoia convinced Pisa of the advantages likely to accrue from her own connexion with Florence which was now confirmed by stricter ties, and engagements were made to protect Florentine subjects in person and property throughout the Pisan territory for a term of forty years; to grant them a permanent residence within the city for the pursuit of commerce; and to freight Pisan merchant vessels with Florentine goods and persons at the same rate of duty as was charged to native citizens. They also engaged to assist them with a body of four hundred horse in any Tuscan war except against the Bishop of Volterra Count Ildebrandino and Count Alberto; and in case of an invasion of the Florentine territory all their military force was to take the field within eight-and-twenty days after the first requisition. They moreover bound themselves not to make peace with Lucca or any enemy of Florence without her sanction and to renew this treaty every ten years, but reserving their allegiance to the Emperor*. A.D. 1171.

All the Italian cities even the most determined of the Lombard league were willing to respect what they deemed his legitimate prerogatives and only withstood encroachments: in doing so they exhibited a bold and proud independence worthy of admiration from freemen of every age and country; as an instance, it may be here mentioned that the very next year after this loyal reservation of the Pisan commonwealth, when Barbarossa dispatched the Archbishop of Mentz to reduce and tranquillise Tuscany, all the deputies assembled at San Genisio, or Siena, were willing to accept his arbitration except those of Pisa and Florence, who declared themselves both able and determined to govern without imperial interference†. For this audacity both were imprisoned, A.D. 1172.

* Dal Borgo, Diplomi Pisani, p. 307. —S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, pp. 55, 56.

† Repetti in his very valuable and laborious work "*Dizionario, Geografico, Fisico Storico della Tuscana,*" places this meeting in 1160.

but not without war on the imperial vicar which was carried on until he yielded, even with the force of Lucca at his side, to the energy of these infant republics, by releasing their ambassadors unconditionally*.

In the year 1170, according to the old chronicles, but Ammirato says in 1174, a war broke out between Florence and Siena the immediate and nominal cause of which was a dispute about the petty castle of Staggia on the Siena road, but really the increasing power and ambition of both commonwealths; while it was yet peace Siena alarmed Florence by suddenly investing the city of Montepulciano which the Florentines succoured with a well-protected convoy of provisions; these troops were fiercely though unskilfully attacked at Asciano on their return but repulsed the enemy with great loss. The victors continued their march until they arrived at the *Borgo di Marti* or *Marturi* a small frontier town where a Florentine's ill-usage of one of their women caused a furious attack by the people who killed many of the former, and feeling insecure against Florentine vengeance prepared to shift their abode. The latter pursued their march but the Marturini united with eight of the neighbouring communities and for greater safety all agreed to demolish their villages and concentrate in one community on an adjacent hill belonging to a neighbour called *Bonizzo*, and this from its original appellation of "*Poggio Bonizzo*" received the present name of *Poggibonzi* although its site was subsequently changed†.

A.D. 1174.

One street of the new settlement was appropriated to the inhabitants of each village with their parish church; the place

* Repetti, Dizionario Topografica di Toscana.—Muratori, Antichità Italiane, tomo vii., p. 218, Dissert^ne 45.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 56.—Tronci, Annali Pisani, tom. ii°, p. 20.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1172.—Dal Borgo, p. 308.

† Malespini, cap. lxxx.—G. Villani, Lib. v., capi vi. and viii.—O. Malavolti, Parte i^a, Lib. iii., p. 30.

was defended by walls and towers, and the general detestation of Florence signalised by an immediate alliance with Siena and ceaseless molestation.

In this account of Poggibonzi's origin Villani differs from the Senese historian Malavolti who refers it to a much earlier though uncertain date by speaking of that town as a stronghold of long standing in 1148, without mentioning his authority; but the anecdote is interesting as an example of the rise of small Italian communities: it shows how men were forced to quit the plain and congregate in small towns on strong positions, a necessity which may have produced that marked difference of character now so conspicuous between the stillness of Italian landscape and the bustling animation of our own, where no such need existed *.

Seeing what a nest of hornets their own licentiousness had engendered the Florentines united with two of those fenced towns called "*Castelli*" situated in the Val di Pesa, and joining their population to that of some neighbouring villages, founded the present city of *Colle* in Val d' Elsa, and it is a curious trait of then existing manners, that the lime of the foundation-stone was slaked with blood from the arms of two Florentine commissioners who superintended the work, as a mark of perpetual amity between the republics †.

On the rumour of Barbarossa's fourth visit to Italy Florence and Siena once more abjured all private differences at the altar of Tuscan independence by a truce A.D. 1175. which afterwards ripened into a solid peace, with engagements for mutual support: half of Poggibonzi was now ceded to Florence, Siena still keeping the church of A.D. 1176. Saint Agnes which along with the town belonged to her, though not to the diocese, by the donation of a Count Guido; and this

* O. Malavolti, Parte i^a, Lib. iii^o, p. 29. 46.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i^o, p. 56.—
† M. del Stefani, Stor., Lib. i^o., Rub. Giov. Villani, Libro. v.

circumstance would seem to prove the existence of Poggibonzi before the date assigned by Villani*.

Peace was scarcely re-established when divers calamities in succession disturbed the current of public happiness, and were followed by domestic quarrels the harbingers of long enduring misery. Twice in the year 1177 did the town become a prey to fire: in the month of August all between the old bridge and Mercato Vecchio was consumed, and only a few days after the whole mass of buildings, then principally of wood, between the present Strozzi palace, San Martino del Vescovo, the cathedral and the royal gallery became one vast mound of smoking ashes. Scarcely was this ruin cleared and men were beginning to look cheerful when winter brought additional misfortunes: the Arno swoln with mountain rains rushed down on Florence in a heavy flood, drove wildly through the town, destroyed the Ponte Vecchio with a fearful crash and rolled its beams and timbers to the sea. This was the only bridge and its loss completed the general dismay; the public mind already weakened by previous calamities, became gloomy and superstitious and these events were believed to be palpable manifestations of divine anger and precursors of greater evil.

A.D. 1177.

The unavoidable accidents of nature although productive of extreme momentary and partial suffering are soon repaired by the mental elasticity and energy of man; but when misfortunes spring from the mind itself; when they originate in morbid feelings, oppression, or uncontrolled passions, then misery assumes a more fearful and decided aspect and with the peace of individuals destroys the peace of nations.

Such was the fate of Florence, which hitherto as her great poet tells us had remained undisturbed.

* Orlando Malavolti, Parte i^{a}, Lib. iii^{o}, pp. 42, 43.

" Con queste genti, e con altre con esse,
Vid' io Fiorenza in sì fatto riposo,
Che non avea cagione, onde piangesse.
Con queste genti vid' io glorioso
E giusto 'l popol suo tanto, che 'l giglio
Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,
Nè per division fatto vermiglio*."

The commentary will soon be manifest: "These misfortunes," says Malespini, "were a judgment of God; for the Florentines had become very proud from their success; and full of sins, dishonest practices, and ingratitude amongst themselves, and full of dissensions that ever after continued, the sad consequences of riches luxury and repose."

At the annual election of consuls on the twenty-fifth of March which commenced the Florentine year, the potent family of Uberti which had been hitherto accustomed to govern these nominations, found itself for the first time in a minority from the unlooked for opposition of other powerful citizens who would no longer submit to such dictation. Angry at defeat and resolved to recover their influence, the legality of this election was impugned by the Uberti, while their antagonists on the contrary maintained it to have been in strict conformity with ancient custom and would therefore be supported. Passions ran high; resolution and anger soon led on to blows; each faction armed, all Florence joined in the conflict and the battle raged long and fiercely for many days. The *Uberti* at length yielded and retreating to their towers prepared for new struggles: their rivals were no less determined; they declared it shameful for a free people to be thus

* Dante, Paradiso, Canto xvi.—
With these old denizens and such as these
I saw our Florence in such calm repose
That no occasion offered for her tears.
With these old denizens I also saw
Her ancient people, glorious, free, and just,
So that her lily flag was ne'er reversed,
Nor yet by civil discord changed to red.

ruled by the obstinate ambition of a few private individuals, to the detriment of a whole community: the former still maintained it to be contrary to the spirit of their constitution that under the specious names of liberty and the people, an oligarchy should wantonly domineer over the Florentine Republic: neither party would give way and both prepared for a storm which like the first eruption of Vesuvius burst in terror and desolation over a peaceful country.

It was not the simple movement of one great body against another; not the force of a government in opposition to the people; not the struggle of privilege and democracy, of poverty and riches, or starvation and repletion; but one universal burst of unmitigated anarchy. In the streets, lanes, and squares; in the courts of palaces and humbler dwellings, were heard the clang of arms, the screams of victims and the gush of blood: the bow of the bridegroom launched its arrows into the very chambers of his young bride's parents and relations, and the bleeding son, the murdered brother, or the dying husband were the evening visitors of Florentine maids and matrons, and aged citizens. Every art was practised to seduce and deceive, and none felt secure even of their nearest and dearest relatives. In the morning a son left his paternal roof with undiminished love, and returned at evening a corpse or the most bitter enemy! Terror and death were triumphant; there was no relaxation, no peace by day or night: the crash of the stone, the twang of the bow, the whizzing shaft, the jar of the trembling mangonel from tower and turret*, were the dismal music of Florence not only for hours and days, but months and years. Doors, windows, the

* "*Mangoni*" and "*Mangonelli*" were machines for casting stones and generally used by and against besieged towns, but in Florentine tumults they were mounted on the towers and played against each other. For an account of these and other machines of war, see "*Giulio Ferrario, Storia ed Analisi degli Antichi romanzi di Cavalaria, &c.*" The Milanese edition. And also "*Miscellaneous Chapters*" of this History.

jutting galleries and roofs, were all defended and yet all unsafe: no spot was sacred, no tenement secure: in the dead of night, the most secret chambers; the very hangings, even the nuptial bed itself were often known to conceal an enemy.

Florence in those days was studded with lofty towers; most of the noble families possessed one or more, at least two hundred feet in height, and many of them far above that altitude*. These were their pride, their family citadels; and jealously guarded; glittering with arms and men, and instruments of war. Every connecting balcony was alive with soldiers, the battle raged above and below within and without; stones rained in showers, arrows flew thick and fast on every side; the "*seraglj*" or barricades were attacked and defended by chosen bands armed with lances and boar-spears: foes were in ambush at every corner watching the bold or heedless enemy; confusion was everywhere triumphant, a demon seemed to possess the community and the public mind reeling with hatred was steady only in the pursuit of blood. Yet so accustomed did they at last become to this fiendish life, that one day they fought, the next caroused together in drunken gambols, foe with foe, boasting of their mutual prowess; nor was it until after nearly five years of reciprocal destruction, that from mere lassitude they finally ceased thus to mangle each other and, as it were for relaxation, turned their fury on the neighbouring states.

Faction for a season was exhausted, but the ambitious Uberti failed in recovering their former influence, and the consular government remained in full vigour and purity; but "these

* The Lordship of the Tower and Loggia (or Portico) was in those days a distinctive mark of ancient nobility, particularly the pure blood of the *first circle* of walls, beyond which, except a few at the south end of Ponte Vecchio, and its immediate vicinity I believe none are now to be found. Within "*La cerchia antica*," says Dante, the ancient Civic blood "*Pura vedeasi nell ultima artista*," was pure even in the veins of the lowest tradesman. (*Paradiso*, Cantos xv. and xvi).

disturbances," says Malespini, "*were the cradle of those cursed factions that afterwards arose in Florence**."

Why Nerli, Macchiavelli, and other writers, leave such events unnoticed and fix upon Buondelmonte's death as the beginning of Florentine troubles is not easy to guess except as a more romantic opening to Florentine history. Malespini was almost a contemporary and might easily have known some of the actors even in his own family; and his transcriber and continuator Villani could, if false; have corrected him; for these occurrences in his younger days were probably familiar to every one.

That the death of Buondelmonte was the spark which fired up two adverse factions then for the first time assuming the party names of Guelph and Ghibeline in Florence, may without hesitation be admitted; for faction must have a name, and these had long been used in Italy: even as early as 1174 Guglielmo Adelardi was Guelphic chief at Ferrara; but it does not appear that they had yet openly infused their venom into Florence although the church and imperial factions had already divided public opinion there.

The Italian nobles were generally imperialists for the sake of their feudal independence, which had originally been exempt from civic dominion: the citizens on the contrary in achieving their own liberty also determined to reduce those places which had formerly belonged to the ancient Counts' jurisdiction; and by thus forcing the rural nobility to obey, indirectly opposed themselves to the Emperor from whom all baronial exemptions and privileges were derived. At first the Counts' jurisdiction was in general coincident with the diocese, even where the bishop and that officer were not identical; but portions of the county had been from time to time separated and bestowed by imperial

* S. Ammirato, Storia, Libro i°, p. 58.—Malespini, cap. lxxxi.—G. Villani, Lib. v., c. ix.—Simone della Tosa, Cronica.—Dom°. Boninsegni, Storia Fiorentina, Lib. i°, p. 31.

grants on certain gentlemen with the title and privileges of Counts, and commonly called "*Rural Counts*" to distinguish them from the governors of cities. Many of those small fortified towns and communities already mentioned under the name of "Castelli" acquired either by grant or force a certain degree of internal liberty, and elected their own consuls; in many instances without renouncing the paramount authority of their Counts; so that the contado of every great city was chequered with independent jurisdictions which it became expedient for any dominant state to reduce to a general level of obedience*.

In Florence the Uberti were Ghibelines from the natural affinity between nobility and royalty, from their German descent, as rural counts; and finally from their own ambition, which led them to oppose a government that they had no longer strength to control, and which had ever been thoroughly attached to the church: for; says Malespini in speaking of Buondelmonte's death; "Long ere this there were sects amongst the said parties on account of the said quarrels and questions between the Church and the Empire."

The general condition of Italy was this year improved by the reconciliation between Alexander III. and Frederic Barbarossa at Venice; if that can be called so which makes a stern and haughty monarch bend before the angry countenance of a prouder priest, and offer his head as a footstool to the Roman bishop! "*I will tread upon the aspic and basalisk,*" said the pontiff as he placed his foot upon the emperor's neck, "*and the lion and the dragon will I trample beneath my feet.*" "*Non tibi sed Petro,*" replied the prince. "*Et mihi et Petro,*" haughtily returned the priest while he pressed more firmly on the humbled monarch†. Alexander had the singular

* Muratori, Annali, Anni 1185, 1197.—Also Antichità Italiane, Dissert^e 47.

† Muratori, Anno 1177.—Denina, Lib. ix., cap. v., p. 233.—Dal Borgo, Dissertazione iv., Sopra la Storia Pisana, p. 153.—Daru in his Venetian History gives this story on the authority of Andrea Dandolo; Sabellico and other writers also affirm it; Fra Luigi Vulcani, ("*Cronica et Historia*

fortune to survive two Antipopes and force a third, after humbly resigning all his honours, to lie prostrate, in company with a powerful emperor, at his feet; and moreover to exact that emperor's renunciation of all the three.

In 1179 for the better regulation of papal elections and the prevention of popular tumults which left only a nominal freedom of choice, he abolished the turbulent voting of the clergy and people and restricted the right of election to the College of Cardinals, which consisting of bishops, priests, and deacons; and being chosen from all nations was in a manner the representative body of the catholic church and the supreme pontifical council. Two-thirds of these votes were made necessary for a papal election; and, as no "*Conclave*" then existed, it was often delayed by private interests or political enmity to an indefinite period. A vacancy of three years preceded the election of Gregory X. in 1270, and induced him to issue a bull which not without some opposition finally established the "*Conclave.*" By this nine days are allowed for the arrival of absent cardinals; on the tenth they are locked up (and hence the appellation of Conclave) with one attendant each in a common apartment having one window for the supply of their wants and guarded by the city magistrates: after three days they are reduced to a single dish at dinner and supper, and beyond the eighth to bread and wine and water alone. During the vacancy most political functions were

A.D. 1179.

della Cittadi Napoli," *M. S.*, p. 159), adopts it. Denina ridicules it, and blames *Laugier* (*Hist. de la Repub. de Venise*) for believing it on Sabellico's inaccurate authority: Muratori, a host in himself, denies it; and neither Platina nor Messia notice it. The story is however very old, though not more true, perhaps, for its antiquity, because lies as well as truth endure long and men become tenacious of the *honour of a falsehood* that they have once believed and long defended. Barbarossa kissed the pope's foot, as was usual, in a kneeling attitude, and received the apostolic benediction; but whether the pontiff seized this occasion thus to insult him by the above quotation, or not, must rest on the conflicting testimony of older writers and the credit that the peculiar disposition of the reader's mind chooses to give to it.

denied them, all promises amongst themselves declared invalid, and an oath of integrity was taken by all: some relaxations have subsequently been introduced but the principle of confinement remains in pristine vigour, and the practice of secret voting preserves general urbanity*.

After thus depriving the Romans of the high privilege of choosing their own prince and bishop, Alexander III. expired in 1181, and so closed a long series of troubles, sufferings, and final victory. A.D. 1181.

In Florence, where civil contests had continued from a point of honour after the general hatred was exhausted, the people wakened as from an uneasy dream and resumed their accustomed employments, amongst which the subjugation of neighbouring powers was not the least conspicuous. The people of Monte Grossoli in Val di Chanti were spirited enough to wish for liberty and reject Florentine domination but brought a heavier yoke upon their necks: Empoli, from force, intimidation, or perhaps really desiring the protection of Florence, next acknowledged her ascendency, engaged to assist in every war, except against Count Guido, and offer annually a waxen torch at the Baptist's shrine greater in value than that presented by the neighbouring people of Pontormo who had also been reduced to obedience. A.D. 1182. A.D. 1183.

The next year was tranquil, and during this period the Bishop of Florence exerted himself to heal the remaining wounds of civil war; but external hostilities were still continued, and the capture of Castello di Pogna added another considerable possession to the republican territory. Count Albert of Prato held numerous fiefs of the empire in the vicinity of Florence, and amongst them Pogna, a strong town with a daring and restless population which infested all A.D. 1184.

* Gibbon, vol. viii., 8vo ed., chap. lxix., p. 291.

the district between the rivers Elsa and Pesa: even in the Florentine territory both merchants and travellers were plundered while the thieves found shelter within its walls. As complaints were useless the Florentines assembled a strong force and suddenly invested Pogna which being destitute of food, after a short blockade surrendered at discretion, and the Count who happened to be there was also made prisoner. To destroy the walls of Pogna with the exception of his own fortified palace, to lower the towers of Certaldo, Semifonte, and other strongholds, and never make war on Florence, was the price of his ransom; besides which a secret assurance was given that he would sell his jurisdiction over the town of Semifonte and its district, and thus Florence prepared for an extension of her power on the north-west frontier of Siena, whose jealousy they had already awakened in that quarter*.

In addition to the above stipulations, Count Albert, his Countess Tabernaria, along with their sons Guido and Mainardo obliged themselves to protect all Florentine subjects and deliver one of the towers of Capraia into the hands of that community for the purpose of retention or destruction as best suited them: they also submitted to the imposition of a new tax upon all their possessions between the Arno and Elsa, possibly without much reluctance as a moiety was for their own benefit without the odium of its imposition: they further engaged to pay four hundred lire of "*good Pisan money*;" to make war or peace at the pleasure of Florence, with the obligation of annually residing there for two months in time of war and one during peace.

Pisa and Lucca having concluded a long course of hostilities, a treaty was also signed by the latter with Florence in which Lucca engaged to protect the persons and property of

* Pace di Certaldo, Guerra di Semifonte, p. 10.

Florentines within their state; that no debtors of either people should be arrested until after two months' warning were given to their own government, and even then the imprisonment was to be effected in a manner best suited to spare the honour and sensibilities of the unfortunate: that for twenty years Lucca would bind itself to assist the Republic in any war within the dioceses of Fiesole and Florence, especially against Pistoia, their contingent of troops being bound to keep the field for twenty days; and in every other war at the simple request of the consuls, podestà, or other rector of Florence, a hundred and fifty horse with five hundred foot and crossbow-men were to be furnished at the latter's expense, without whose permission the Lucchese were to make no separate peace. Lucca further engaged not to give any assistance, even by advice, in the rebuilding of strongholds within the Florentine diocese, more especially between the Elsa and that city, within which limits the Lucchese were to make no acquisitions, but on the contrary restore those they had already made, even though they belonged to the church. They further promised not to prevent foreigners from proceeding to Florence, unless enemies of their own people; and after excepting everything from the treaty tending to endanger the peace with Pisa or Genoa, or interfere with the imperial rights, it was sworn to by six hundred citizens of Lucca and its renewal every five years agreed to by both parties*.

Count Albert's recent humiliation probably induced the inhabitants of Mangone to place all the external affairs of their community in the hands of Florence, and acknowledge all their possessions to be held of that state, besides promising the yearly tribute of a pound of silver, a waxen torch at the Baptist's shrine, and the maintenance of a permanent dwelling in their town for the Florentine consuls. This treaty was confirmed by Alberto and his family, as regarded peace and war

* S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 59.

with a further engagement that its provisions should be rigidly observed as well by Mangone as by the people of Vernio and Ugnano*.

These contracts have been minutely stated not only because they afford a glimpse of national customs in that remote age, but also because they partly unfold the nature of Florentine policy, which leaving the vanquished in full enjoyment of their own laws, and not unfrequently with additional privileges, endeavoured to secure their fidelity by a light and almost nominal subjection. These acquisitions became in fact integral parts of the dominant state which thus increased its force and reputation while the subdued barons being compelled to maintain an establishment in the capital with all the duties as well as the power and honours of citizenship, augmented the national greatness by the re-annexion of property formerly alienated for the personal aggrandisement of themselves or their forefathers†.

This system was not confined to places acquired by capitulation; its principles were also applied to those taken by storm or purchased, as will be seen hereafter in the war of Semifonte. By steadily pursuing this ambitious course Florence, in less than eighty years had conquered the citadel of Fiesole, confirmed her rule over Prato, taken Monte Orlandi, Monte Cassolli, Monte Buoni, Monte di Croce, Monte Grossoli and Pogna with their respective territories and dependencies: she had vanquished the Senese armies, received many towns under her protection such as Empoli, Pontormo and Mangone; defeated the Aretines, and brought Arezzo to her own conditions; made advantageous treaties with Pisa and Lucca and had rapidly advanced to a degree of power that filled her neighbours with jealous apprehension and its attendant hate. The latter saw that no moral consideration would restrain the ambition of a republic which by conquest or intimidation was

* S. Ammirato, pp. 59, 60.
† Muratori, Antichità Italiane, Dissert. 47, p. 260, vol. vii.

rapidly absorbing all the lesser states and lordships, destroying those towns it deemed impolitic to retain, and as it were steadily kneading place after place into its own accumulating mass. Wherefore in a secert meeting of the feudal chiefs and communities it was decreed that ambassadors should be dispatched to the emperor, then on his march towards Naples, with a strong memorial of their fears and grievances and a prayer for redress. Frederic soon after arrived at Florence, which he disliked for its Guelphic principles, and gave a public audience to these complainants. The deputies led by those of Siena, dwelt on the alarming increase of Florentine power, and declared that the object of that ambitious people was no less than a complete subjugation of Tuscany. That they were moreover determined enemies of the empire and had proved it by their unrelenting persecution of the Guidi, a charge that Count Guido Guerra, then present in the imperial service, could amply corroborate by his own individual sufferings: that one of their proudest boasts was the repulse of the emperor's predecessor with dishonour from their walls; and finally, that pride so overbearing required a prompt rebuke from imperial power while a strong lesson of obedience should be enforced, ere they became bold enough as they soon would, to fling a gauntlet in the face of the emperor himself. "It "was not," they significantly added, "It was not the bright and "cheerful blaze of the great hall fire, to which the whole house-"hold looked, but the little hidden and neglected spark that "set the mansion in a flame; and if to the acuteness of Floren-"tine intellect were added extensive power, military reputa-"tion, dominion, and a close alliance with the church*, the "northern Cæsars might at once bid adieu to all their Tuscan

A.D. 1185.

* Dante embodies this argument very concisely in three lines with a general application (*Inferno, Canto* xxxi.)

"Chè dove l'argomento della mente S'aggiunge al mal volere, et alla possa, Nessun riparo vi può far la gente."

For where the intellect Is joined to evil wishes and to power, There is no shelter.

"influence and abandon that province to the Florentines." The truth of this reasoning was apparent even to an unprejudiced mind and it struck with peculiar force on the willing ears of Frederic who without hesitation convicted Florence of having presumed to usurp imperial rights and seize on other people's possessions without the imperial sanction. She was accordingly deprived of all her jurisdiction and every foot of territory beyond the walls; an imperial vicar administered the general government within the city, and individual justice throughout the district.

The patriotic union of 1170 no longer existed, for patriotism was nearly melted in the heats of faction, therefore Florence was not the only sufferer on this occasion; all the Guelphic cities of Tuscany fell more or less under the imperial lash; and Siena herself although then essentially Ghibeline excited Frederic's indignation by refusing to admit him or his troops within her walls. The result was a siege, and Henry King of the Romans who remained to conduct it, having failed in his attacks relinquished the enterprise and rejoined his father at Viterbo; but the Senese on making a slight apology were, two years after, readmitted to imperial favour.

While Barbarossa was yet in Florence the Senese deputies informed him of a report that Count Albert intended to cede the town of Semifonte to that state, and procured an imperial mandate against the purchase; also alarmed at such a neighbour they endeavoured to secure themselves by exciting Semifonte to revolt and independence*.

The death of Pope Lucius III. successor to Alexander made room for Urban III. between whom and the emperor disputes arose about the inheritance of Countess Matilda; or as it was commonly called the Patrimony of Saint Peter, which Frederic

* M. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. i°, Rub. 52.—Malespini, c. lxxxii., Giov. Villani, Lib. v. cap. xii.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 60.—O. Malavolti, Parte i°, Lib. iii., p. 35.—Muratori, An., Anno 1185.—Malespini Villani and Malavolti place these events a year earlier, but I follow Muratori.

still retained. Other ecclesiastical grievances fostered this quarrel; but Urban's anger principally rested on a contract of marriage which Frederic after great difficulty had concluded between his son Henry and Constance, daughter of Roger King of Sicily whose grandson William II. was then reigning. Constance was at this time about one and thirty years of age and presumptive heiress of both the Sicilies; she had long resided in a convent without having taken the veil although for party purposes called a nun*. The kingdom of Sicily, ultimately to be her dower, was a prize worth Barbarossa's ambition and the pope's resentment; it consisted, besides that island; of Calabria, Naples, La Puglia, and the principality of Capua, and Urban regarded with an evil eye this ecclesiastical Fief slip quietly into the hands of a race of Ghibeline emperors even without his having been consulted on the subject†; hence new aliment for existing faction and future war, as from these, "*unholy nuptials*" sprang the Emperor Frederic II. a more able and more bitter enemy than his grandfather to superstition priestcraft and the See of Rome, of which he was at first the child and champion‡.

Pope Urban died in 1187 of grief, as we are told at the fall of Jerusalem and general success of the Infidels: he was replaced by Gregory VIII. who instantly began to rouse up all Italy to the rescue; but death overtook him A.D. 1187.

* Dante considered her a *Nun*.

"*Quest' è la luce della gran Gostanza,*
Che del secondo vento di Soave
Generò 'l terzo, e l'ultima possanza."
Cant. iii°. *Paradiso* and again *Cant.* iv.
"*E poi potesti da Picarda udire,*
Che l'affezion del vel Gostanza tenne,
Sì che ella par qui meco contraddire."

† Platina (Vite de' Papi) places this marriage after the death of Frederic and in the pontificate of Celestine III. but the testimony of Godfrey of Viterbo who was present at the nuptials, (as cited by Muratoir and Messia, and who makes Constance only 20 years old) is not to be doubted. Denina seems to believe that she had taken the veil, perhaps the white one; but it is very unlikely that the presumptive heiress of a large kingdom should have done so.

‡ Giannone, vol. vii., pp. 70, 71, 133 and 151—158, Libri xiii. and xiv.—Messia, Vite degli Imperadori (Dolci.) —Muratori, Annali, Anni 1185, 1186, 1189.

too scarcely two months after his elevation while personally superintending the equipment of an armament at Pisa against the Saracens. Gregory was succeeded by Clement III. who zealously following up the views of his predecessor made peace between Pisa and Genoa and preached a third crusade in Christendom. He was well answered by the religious and restless spirit of the time, and Florence roused by the Bishop of Ravenna's eloquence poured forth her enthusiastic sons with an ardour worthy of more rational and legitimate objects although then considered one of the most sincere demonstrations of pure religious feeling *.

A.D. 1188.

Pleased at this devotion Clement immediately induced Barbarossa to enlarge the forfeited Contado to a distance of ten miles from Florence; and that emperor himself, old, experienced, and sagacious as he was; he who had bearded priestcraft in its den and laughed at the infallibility of popes; HE also caught up the burning spirit of the age, assumed the cross, and at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand followers marched to Palestine.

Fifty two Pisan galleys under Bishop Lanfranco joined the Venetians and sailed for Syria; neither was Genoa backward in the race, and legions after legions followed from every state of Christendom; lastly the English Richard and Philip Augustus of France with their numerous and hardy followers augmented this roaring torrent of catholic devotion.

A.D. 1189.

The emperor never returned; he was either drowned in Arminia, or died from the effects of checked perspiration by plunging suddenly into the chilling waters of the Saleph: the whole movement was disastrous; much blood was spilt; infinite and long-enduring misery desolated Asia and Europe; few pilgrims returned with the tale of their misfortunes; the east was ruined and the west impoverished:

A.D. 1190.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. v., cap. xiii.

neither religion nor morals were immediately improved, but a new and ameliorating intercourse was opened between man and man, remote nations became acquainted, and in a manner united by commercial intercourse, which, with its full share of crime, promoted general civilisation, and is still working beneficially for the world *.

Frederic was succeeded by his son Henry VI. who had more than his father's ferocity without his talents, and when Barbarossa's death became known the electors at once advanced him to the throne of Germany where he made preparations for an immediate coronation at Rome.

It would have been difficult, says Ammirato for the most valuable gift to produce such joy in Florence as the restoration of her territory; yet that which was shown about the same period on receiving the arm of Saint Philip the Apostle was immeasurably greater. This precious relic was procured by the exertions of Monaco Patriarch of Jerusalem, and received by the whole Florentine population in solemn procession with deep reverential awe; but such devotion produced the Crusades and excuses many of the extravagancies of that age †.

Pope Clement III. died in 1191 and was succeeded by Celestine III. the sixth pontiff within ten years: he postponed his own inauguration on purpose to retard the coronation of Henry who with Queen Constance was on his way to Rome; but after the settlement of certain important conditions connected with the Sicilian succession it was allowed to take place. A.D. 1191

Tusculum, then a town of some consequence, was given by agreement to the Germans and they with Celestine's connivance afterwards abandoned it to the Romans by whom this ancient city was destroyed in one of those frantic outbursts of

* Malespini, c. lxxxiii.—G. Villani, Lib. v., c. iii.—Tronci, Annali, vol. i°, p. 51. —S. Ammirato, Sto. Fioren., Lib. i°, p. 51.—Muratori, Anno 1190.

† S. Ammirato Stori., Lib. i°, p. 62. —Giov. Villani, Libro v., cap. xiv.

popular passion that mark the age and country and to which Rome above all other Italian cities was peculiarly subject. The miserable inhabitants constructed temporary huts in the neighbourhood with "*Frasche*" or branches of trees, which subsequently became permanent dwellings, and gave their name to the still existing town of *Frascati* *.

From Rome Henry proceeded to occupy the kingdom of Sicily in right of Constance the heiress of her nephew William II. deceased in 1189, but Tancred Count of Lecce the illegitimate son of Roger Duke of Puglia, a man of great talent and virtue, was with Celestine's concurrence placed on that throne by the Sicilian Barons who indignantly refused to let their country be degraded to a German province †.

Tancred was well worthy of their choice and defended his kingdom with various fortune but always with valour and ability: Henry after a while retired by Genoa into Germany leaving Constance in charge of the Salernians by whose treachery she became a prisoner to Tancred but was generously treated and finally released without a ransom.

This prince died in 1194 of a broken heart for the loss of his eldest son Roger, who expired in 1193, leaving his widow Sibilla and her infant boy an easy prey to the arts and treachery of Henry. The latter had just received from Leopold of Austria one third of Richard Cœur de Lion's almost incredible ransom of a hundred thousand marks, which enabled him to pursue the Sicilian conquest: with the aid of a Genoese fleet he besieged Gaeta, took Naples, captured Ischia, and destroyed Salerno with such barbarity that it never afterwards recovered: pushing rapidly on through both Calabrias he passed the Faro intimidated Messina and lodged himself without resistance in that city ‡.

A.D. 1194.

* Platina, Vita de' Papi, p. 295.—Messia, Vite degli Imperadori, p. 412.
† Gibbon, ch. lxix.—Muratori, Annali.
‡ Giannone, Storia Civile di Napoli, tom. vii., pp. 119—144.

When this was known at Palermo Sibilla fortified herself in the royal palace and sent her son to the strong castle of *Calatabillotta*, but was soon beguiled by Henry's artful promises to give him the county of Lecce and the principality of Tarento. Mother and son surrendered on this condition and the emperor was crowned King of Sicily, where his treachery rapacity and tyranny soon became proverbial: friends and foes suffered equally; from his allies the Genoese to the unhappy Queen; her child and the Sicilian people.

About this time also the Empress Constance was delivered of a son who afterwards became so celebrated under the name of Frederic II. the cherished pupil of Holy Church and successively her tool, her champion and her bitterest enemy*.

When Henry had partly satiated his vengeance on Tancred's Sicilian adherents he passed into Italy and held a parliament in Puglia where amongst other occurrences his brother Philip was married to Irene the widow of Tancred's son, and daughter of the Greek Emperor, Philip being simultaneously created Duke of Tuscany and invested with all the Countess Matilda's estates in that province. Loaded with the plunder and ruin of thousands the rapacious emperor then returned to Germany accompanied by Queen Sibilla her son and three daughters all of whom he kept closely confined until his death at Messina in 1197 or 1198 †. A.D. 1195.

This slight and general sketch of mixed German and Italian politics is requisite to a clearer view of Tuscan affairs of which political mutability and domestic troubles were the strongest characteristics.

In 1186 the Florentines were governed by three Consuls with the title of "*Messere*" given as Ammirato conjectures either from their having been Judges or Knights, or because

* Muratori, Ann., Anni 1193—1194. Giannone, Storia di Napoli. Messia, Vite, who makes his death occur in 1198.

† Muratori, Anni 1193-4-5-6-7.—

that appellation might have been conceded to the office of supreme magistrate itself, as "*Noble*," and afterwards "*Magnifico*" was in Genoa, according to Uberto Foglietta*. Neither can the former minute and indefatigable historian assign any certain cause for that continual fluctuation in the number of governing Consuls already mentioned, who within two years diminished from twelve to three, the year 1193 having been remarkable for the cessation of this office and the substitution of a Podestà; but the very next year the Consular Magistrates again assume their station, and as already remarked were probably the experiments of a young, unsettled, and now somewhat tumultuous community, in which the most efficient form of civil government was yet an unsolved problem: for a long time must generally elapse before the absence of restraint, which is not liberty, can subside into the sober reality of manly freedom. We have the example before us of almost all the South American Republics in a similar state of uneasiness and vacillation, but entirely from the virulence of faction which will neither allow foreigners or natives to repose in safety. "Self-tormented," says President Jackson, "by domestic dissensions, revolution succeeds revolution; injuries are committed upon foreigners engaged in lawful pursuits; much time elapses before a government sufficiently stable is erected to justify expectation of redress. Ministers are sent and received, and before the discussions of past injuries are fairly begun fresh troubles arise; but too frequently new injuries are added to the old to be discussed together with the existing government, after it has proved its ability to sustain the assaults made upon it; or with its successor if overthrown†." But the subsequent history of Florence will furnish stronger resemblances to this melancholy picture of a state of society that makes the enemies of liberty rejoice, and its friends blush for the name.

A.D. 1197.

* Lib. i. p. 29, Delle cose di Genoa.

† See President Jackson's Message to the U. S. Congress of 1835.

The death of Henry VI. offered an occasion for the recovery of lost independence not to be neglected by Tuscany: while cramped and tormented themselves by the hard rapacity of imperial Vicars and provincial Dukes, the Tuscan Republics saw Lombardy enjoying unmolested liberty without even the shadow of a trans-Alpine tyrant to cool its ardour: they had been successfully outraged by Frederic, by Henry, and by Philip; but the last being now called away to contend with Otho of Saxony for the German sceptre, they were left comparatively free. Encouraged by this protracted struggle and the support of Innocent III. who had just succeeded to the papacy, a "League" or "*Company*" of all the Tuscan states was formed under his auspices, and signed at Borgo San Genesio near San Miniato Tedesco then in the Lucchese territory; from its central position the usual place of public meeting to discuss the affairs of Tuscany*. The two Cardinal Legates Bernardo, and Pandolfo (the same who played so conspicuous a part in King John of England's reign) were witnesses on the part of Innocent to the formation of this company which included Florence, Lucca, Siena, Prato, San Miniato, and the Bishop of Volterra as temporal lord of that city by the donation of Countess Matilda; at the same time reserving places for Pisa, Pistoia, Poggibonzi, the Counts Guidi and Alberti, and other Tuscan Barons. It was agreed that each of the confederates should appoint a deputy called "*Captain*" or "*Rector*," and these assembling every four months were to elect a President under the title of "*Prior of the Company*" whom all were to obey. They reciprocally engaged to acknowledge no emperor, king, prince, duke, or marquis without the pope's approbation, who moreover was to be succoured whenever he demanded aid from them. Two days

A.D. 1198.

* San Genesio which now no longer exists was the parent of San Miniato. It was anciently named *Vico Wallari*, of Lombard origin, and was situated 25 miles west of Florence on the Pisan road. The Samniniatesi destroyed it in 1248. V. Repetti. *Dizion Geograf. Fis. Stor. di Toscana.*

after its signature the league was sworn to at Florence in the church of San Martino del Vescovo by sixteen consuls of the confederate cities; but the Pisans who with Pistoia enjoyed many privileges under imperial favour and had escaped Barbarossa's persecution refused to associate with a confederacy so purely Guelphic.

This in fact may be called the Guelphic League of Tuscany, for the names of Guelph and Ghibeline had now become general and a boundary was clearly marked between those who adhered to the church for the sake of civil liberty and political independence, and those who with narrower views attached themselves to the emperor *. Count Guido Guerra, then called Count of Tuscany, and Count Albert of Prato soon after subscribed to the confederacy; Pistoia probably followed the steps of Pisa but there appears to be no notice of any further adhesions and Count Guido Guerra's reasons for so unusual a junction are not recorded †.

Florence which was considered the leader of this confederacy being now relieved from imperial subjection began once more to look about her, and had already passed a law which authorised any community to sell itself to the Republic although actually subdued and occupied by her arms. This left no excuse for subsequent revolt, and in 1197 Monte Grossoli which Barbarossa's decree had probably set at liberty, seems to have been the first acquisition under so prudent and wise a regulation for the peaceful holding of conquered lands‡. The Castle of Figlini was afterwards reduced either by force or persuasion, under an engagement to make peace or war at the

* Ammirato dates this League in November 1197, but I have followed Muratori who agrees with Tronci, Repetti and others. For the privileges granted to Pisa see Flaminio del Borgo "*Dissertazioni sopra la Storia Pisana*" (*tomo* i°, *Parte* i^a^, *Dissert. IV., p.* 159.)

† S. Ammirato, Stor. Libro i°, p. 63. —Muratori, Annali, Anno 1198.—Tronci, Annali Pisani, vol. ii°, p. 70. —Denina, Lib. xi. cap. vii.

‡ M. di Cop. Stefani, Libro i°, Rub. 25.

command of Florence and pay an annual tax of twenty-six danari for every hearth, but those of priests and soldiers, in the town and district; to surrender half their tolls and market-dues and obey all orders from Florence except such as might require the destruction of any portion of their town. Certaldo soon followed the example as regarded peace and war besides an annual tribute at the Baptists' shrine, and renouncing even the pontiff's power to absolve her from this engagement; but the Castle of Frodigliano not being disposed to resign its independence was besieged and totally destroyed: and many others as we are gravely assured, "continued very obstinate in wishing to preserve their freedom notwithstanding these examples of rigour and clemency*." Amongst these was the town of Semifonte which by the arts of Siena had achieved its liberty, and on which according to some authors an unsuccessful attack was made this year by Florence: the people of San Genesio retired in alarm to the adjoining stronghold of San Miniato destroying the former place which according to Malespini had been rebuilt only two years before, and rebuilding what they had already demolished of the upper town: "thus," he adds, "committing two great follies in a small time†." A.D. 1199.

The failure of Florentine arms before Semifonte if it ever occurred, only produced more formidable preparations for the conquest of that state and the first step was an endeavour to seduce their nearest friends and neighbours: Hildebrand Bishop of Volterra, the well wisher and advocate of Semifonte, was persuaded to unite with Florence and not only renounce its alliance, but in case of war to join with her for fifteen days or longer at the head of a thousand foot and two hundred horse, in any expedition between Elsa and A.D. 1200.

* S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, pp. 63, 64.—Gio. Villani, Lib. v., cap. xxvi.

† Simone della Tosa, Annali.—S. Ammirato, Libro i°, p. 69.—Malespini, cap. xc., xcv.

the capital; Siena and other specified places being excepted. Count Albert was a willing coadjutor in the subjugation of his revolted subjects; he invited every remaining adherent to quit the place and relinquished the town and territory to Florence who engaged to assist him in any war except against an ally of the republic.

This ceaseless round of quarrel, war, and conquest was now agreeably broken by a treaty purely commercial, or at least a treaty the object of which was to protect trade alone, and therefore shows the rising prosperity of Florence. In the "*Mugello**" and other districts on the line of commercial intercourse with Lombardy Venice and Bologna, the trade had been much interrupted; but by this convention certain chieftains of the Greci and Ubaldini clans to whom most of the province belonged, agreed with Stoldo di Musetto and Ranieri della Bella, consuls of the merchants' company of Florence, to obey the commands of the Podestà Pagano de' Porcari and the counsellors or priors; to protect the Florentines and their merchandise throughout all this feudal territory, and consider any damage received by the traders while within their jurisdiction as an injury offered to themselves: also to supply them with intelligent and trusty guides, and finally to make all their vassals swear to these obligations. Thus were lawless mountain clans tamed down by the magic of a beneficial commerce to the level of surrounding civilisation. Peace, friendly intercourse and general refinement which commerce breeds and feeds on, are its essence; war its bane; yet commerce is often taunted as the cause of war! It is so, like other rights: when violated: it is so, as Christianity has been and is still

* This province comprehends the higher and western portion of the *Val-di-Sieve* from the source of the *Stura* to the confluence of the torrent *Dicomano* and *Sieve*. It is supposed to have derived its name from the *Magelli*, the most easterly of the Ligurian tribes. — (See *Repetti, Dizion. Geograf°.*)

the cause of wo! But neither Christianity nor commerce are blameable.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—Emperors: Frederick I., Henry VI., Empire vacant during the civil wars between Otho and Philip the rival kings of Germany.— Greek Emperors: Alexius II. (1180), Andronicus Comninus (1183), Isaac II. (1185), Alexius III. (1195).—Popes: From Alexander III. to Innocent III.—England: Henry II. (from 1154 to 1189), Richard I. (from 1189 to 1199), John.—France: Louis VII., (Le Jeune, from 1137 to 1180), Philip (Auguste).—Scotland: William the Lion; made prisoner, and does homage for Scotland by the treaty of Falaise to Henry II. in 1174, which Richard Cœur de Lion afterwards renounces.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM A.D. 1200 TO A.D. 1203.

No period could have been more propitious for the consummation of Italian liberty than the interregnum following Henry the Sixth's death: the two factions of Germany were neutralized in the person and ability of Barbarossa and gave little trouble during his long occupation of the throne. Henry with equal valour, more ferocity, and less talent, was popular with his countrymen and maintained the peace of Germany; but he was scarcely cold when the northern princes forgetting both his child and their own promises of fidelity commenced a civil war beyond the Alps.

A.D. 1200.

The principal competitors for Germany were Philip Duke of Suabia and Tuscany, the eldest of Henry's brothers, and Otho then Duke of Aquitaine, son of Henry the Lion Duke of Saxony and Bavaria: Philip Augustus of France supported his namesake, while Richard of England almost as a matter of course espoused the cause of Otho: Philip represented the house of Ghibeline, Otho that of Guelph and therefore had the pontiff's assistance: the former had been recalled from Tuscany to carry his nephew into Germany but was stopped by the news of that monarch's death: turning back from Montefiascone he suddenly crossed the Alps followed by the curses of Italy; but often with more serious marks of personal hatred, and the death of several

attendants; so deep and general was the detestation of him and his two predecessors. The rivals were enthroned by their friends; a long and bloody war began; enmity refreshed by long repose, broke forth more wildly; both parties believed their chief to be God's anointed and his competitor necessarily a rebel, and therefore added the false and flattering, but convenient cry and sometimes even the spirit of loyalty, to all the virulence of faction *.

This left the Italian provinces at liberty and Pope Innocent III. took immediate advantage of these transalpine storms to shelter Italy by the exclusive labour of her own children: young, able, daring, ambitious, and accomplished in all the learning of his age, he seized the lucky moment, made a bold push for ecclesiastical supremacy, and completely succeeded. Except in the Campagna no jurisdiction remained at this time to the popes, and even there a mere echo of the imperial name carried more real weight than their own immediate influence: Innocent resolved to alter this, but his first efforts were directed to the internal government of Rome where until his predecessor's reign the Senate's authority had not been perfectly acknowledged or its constitution exactly fixed, although established in 1144 by the eloquence of Abelard's disciple the celebrated and patriotic Arnold of Brescia.

The Romans of that day, an unstable race, soon after became tired of what they had so vehemently struggled for, and following the general example of Italy chose a foreign governor or Podestà while they concentrated the senatorial power in a single functionary with the title of Senator, established him in the public palace on the Capitoline hill, and invested him with sufficient authority to curb the insolence of a haughty and turbulent nobility †. But so variable was the Roman mind that when Innocent became pope this office

* Muratori, Annali, Anno 1198.

† Gibbon, Decline and Fall &c., vol. vi., pp. 534, 539, (4to ed.)

had also lost its charms and a certain feeling of jealousy existed at the sovereignty of a stranger.

According to ancient customs the people claimed a largess at each pontiff's inauguration as the price of their allegiance to Saint Peter; this was instantly disbursed with unusual promptness and liberality but the obligations of obedience were more cautiously and rigorously worded than ever, and while the citizens were still loud in extolling the pontiff's generosity one of his creatures was easily made Senator of Rome. Homage was then exacted from the imperial prefect who was also compelled to receive a fresh investiture from the pope; all the popularly elected civil judges and Podestàs were expelled from the patrimony and replaced by Innocent's friends; two cardinals proceeded to reduce La Marca; two other prelates to bring the Duchy of Spoleto to submission, which was claimed as a part of king Pepin's original grant confirmed by Charlemagne; and these provinces oppressed and exasperated by transalpine rule most eagerly and generally revolted. Eight cities and towns in the former and nine in the latter spontaneously acknowledged the pope's authority but without changing their free system of municipal government *.

With the more powerful and independent Tuscan cities greater caution became necessary, and feeling that it would be easier to make them allies than subjects Innocent III. wisely offered to become the protector of their confederacy instead of their sovereign, charging the Cardinals Pandolfo and Bernardo with the negotiation as above related.

It has been already shown that such leagues were not new in Tuscany and according to Malavolti a sort of federal union had very early existed: the general government was commonly administered by an imperial vicar whose usual residence was at San Miniato Tedesco; he gave judgment in appeals,

* Muratori, Annali, Anno 1198.—Sismondi, vol. ii., p. 43.

received tolls and taxes of various kinds then comprehended under the general name of "*Regalia*," and when absent his duties were executed by Nuncios who with the title of count distributed justice in each city and its territory. But quite independent of these there was a purely national assembly of "*Rectors*" from each city, expressly chosen by it and presided by a prior, with the duty of superintending the general welfare and tranquillity of Tuscany. When a quarrel arose between any two places, of whatever faction, these deputies settled it at once if possible: if the disputants insisted on war the assembly was not dissolved nor its integrity diminished but still continued its exertions to restore tranquillity. For this purpose, and to determine public appeals and arrange the new elections, it assembled at stated periods in various parts of the province, but as the rectors either collectively or individually had no local authority in any state, public liberty was never endangered by such associations. One of these meetings at which the Bishop of Volterra presided as prior of the company, settled a dispute which arose in 1205 about Siena's claim to the lordship of Montepulciano as being within the ancient county jurisdiction of that city: this was decided in her favour, and though of a later date than the present transactions would induce a belief that the recent company was rather an extension of its existing powers, to foreign matters than the creation of an entirely new institution *.

The independence of Tuscany being thus provisionally secured and little danger apprehended from Germany, no time could be more favourable for a resumption of the ambitious schemes of Florence if discreetly managed; wherefore, still holding to their designs on Semifonte, the Florentines made an alliance with Siena by which amongst A.D. 1201. other conditions the latter was to be assisted with a thousand infantry and a hundred horse for one month against Montal-

* O. Malavolti, Parte i^a^, lib. iv., pp. 43, 44.

cino; and Colle of the Val-d'Elsa pledged herself not to succour Semifonte in the event of war. Turning towards the Mugello they then invested a Castello called Cambiate on the Marina river whose chiefs refused obedience and after its reduction prepared for a final rupture with the petty but energetic republic of Semifonte *.

A.D. 1202. On the summit of a small hill between Lucardo and Vico in the vale of Elsa and the neighbourhood of *San Gemignano* "*delle belle Torri*" once stood the Castello of Semifonte which even in the twelfth century was considered extremely ancient but when or by whom founded is unknown. According to the old record of its misfortunes Semifonte was adorned with a degree of magnificence and taste that might lead the imagination to suppose it a Roman town which having escaped Lombard barbarity still preserved some traces of former refinement †.

It was inhabited by many wealthy gentlemen of high family and ancient race and by many knights of the Golden Spur, a dignity as old perhaps as Charlemagne, then indicative of power and riches as well as of the most distinguished honour. At an earlier epoch it belonged to the family of Visconte whose last male descendant flourished during the reign of Barbarossa and followed his banner in the Italian wars; he died in arms under the imperial standard at the siege of Rome in 1167, leaving his daughter Emilia sole heiress of Semifonte and all its territory. A marriage was soon concluded between the young countess and Albert Lord of Prato and Certaldo, already mentioned as the Seignior of Pogna, who wedded her in 1170 with all the family possessions as a dower ‡.

* O. Malavolti, Stor. di Siena, Parte i^a, Lib. iv., p. 40.—S. Ammirato, Stor. di Firenze, Lib. i°, p. 65.

† Pace da Certaldo, Storia della Guerra di Semifonte, p. 8.—Cronaca di Donato Velluti, p. 2.—Storia della Famiglia degli Ubaldini.

‡ Pace di Certaldo, Guerra di Semifonte.

Semifonte being the finest and strongest town in his dominions, was Count Albert's ordinary residence until he was made prisoner at Pogna in 1184, when Florence insisted on the partial or total destruction of all his defences, and amongst them the towers of Semifonte. At this time says the Chronicle, "Florence enjoying riches and prosperity and despising the power of its neighbours, to increase its conquests sought out with wonderful industry every pretence for dispute and omitted no opportunity of extending its territory whenever and wherever it occurred."

Siena alarmed at this, and uneasy at the apparent fate of Semifonte while avoiding any open demonstration of her feelings, by the aid of San Gemignano and other places excited the inhabitants to revolt. The Semifontines were continually taunted with tamely allowing their towers to be demolished and they themselves remaining quietly to be sold as slaves by an imperious master and his insolent sons. Already dissatisfied with their chief's conduct and mortified at the ruin of their towers, which touched both their pride and safety, the Semifontines became indignant at the idea of being sold to a people whom they had long detested; so that moved by the intrigues of Siena, nettled by the taunts of San Gemignano, and encouraged by the example of successful resistance in several of Count Albert's dependencies; but above all, trusting to the strength of their town and their native courage, liberty became the absorbing thought of every class in the community. Revolt was first cautiously whispered amongst friends, then more openly discussed, and finally became the prevailing topic of discourse in all public places; at length by the management of Accorso Pitti, a man of high rank and influence, the determination to renounce their allegiance was boldly avowed and as rapidly executed. Accorso Pitti whose family became so conspicuous in the subsequent history of Florence, was cousin to the heiress of Visconte and perhaps himself not averse to

become lord of his native city: he is described as a person of graceful engaging manners; bold, wise, and more than commonly eloquent; fit for any enterprise, and both from exalted rank and individual character had the confidence and respect of his fellow citizens*.

When the public mind was thought to be sufficiently imbued with discontent and ripe for change, this leader and a number of chosen adherents one morning suddenly drew their swords in a pretended fray, and followed by a crowd scoured all the streets shouting the name of Liberty. Ere long the market place overflowed with people of every age and rank; the suburbs poured in their more numerous population, and even the neighbouring peasantry caught this spirit and participated in the general agitation. The armed citizens rushed with one impulsive movement on the palace, dragged forth Count Albert's vicar, occupied his place, and would have pitched him headlong from the window if some ecclesiastics had not opportunely interfered to prevent it. The revolution thus completed, Messer Berlingheri a man of great wisdom and eloquence harangued the crowd who, after proclaiming themselves independent, by his advice nominated a "*Balia*" or supreme governing council, composed of twelve "*Buoniomini*" with unlimited powers to form a constitution. Not a moment was lost in useless debate, for they were continually interrupted by the citizens' jealous apprehensions, and clamorous demands for periodical reports of their progress; so that all the influence of the Vavassours was scarcely sufficient to calm their restless suspicions and allow time for the formation of a constitution. At length the result was announced, and generally approved. A seignior or "*Captain of the People*" with two "*Anziani*" or elders, as councillors, were to be annually chosen by a general assembly: they were to reside in the public palace with a foreign judge, secretary, and all the

* Cronaca di Buonaccorso Pitti, p. 2.

various officers of a regular government, and were bound to administer justice even in the most trifling affairs of private individuals, as well as to conduct the weightier business of state. Fifty *Buoniomini* under the title of *Rectors* were to be chosen from the popular mass as an assistant council in the latter duties, and when a more extended opinion became necessary one man from each hearth or house of both town and district repaired to the palace whenever the "*Campana*" the great bell of the Lion Tower, tolled for a public assembly. Many other arrangements were subsequently made and Accorso Pitti was elected by acclamation as first "*Capitano del Popolo*" of the Semifontine Republic. He began by dismissing the assembled people, advising them to lay aside their arms, and summoning them to a general meeting on the morrow to nominate the various public functionaries, all which was completed to the universal satisfaction. The two Anziani were ordered to take the title of consuls, and a foreign judge was chosen from San Gemignano; the "Parliament" appointed a certain number of Gonfaloniers under whom the people were to assemble in arms by companies for public service; and after the supreme authority was solemnly confided to the discretion of the seignior and consuls, the citizens retired to their dwellings with a newly awakened and proud feeling of independence.

Thus in a few hours did this little town, full of various ranks and conditions, and accustomed to arbitrary government, rise as a single man and proclaim its liberty: it accomplished a revolution without bloodshed, and completed a simple form of constitutional government adapted to times and manners, which lasted until overthrown by another republic of equal freedom and superior force. "And thus we see" says the chronicler "what great strength may be given to men although rude and unpolished, by the desire of vengeance against those who have ruled them with rapacious tyranny."

Liberty in truth has need of tyranny to make her blessings known; she seeks for virtuous and general devotion; for those dwellings where self-interest is sacrificed to public good, and makes her permanent abode only where much previous suffering has already prepared her a home: she must have many disinterested friends to greet her coming, and will neither be easily moved by the generous zeal of the few, allured by the unstable heat of the many, nor yet be propitiated by the blood of any single individual however exalted in station or tyrannical in conduct. An essentially immoral nation may long preserve the forms without the substance of freedom; amongst such a people self-interest must ever out-balance public service, which will always be considered by them as a mere source of personal aggrandisement: such governments will rather discourage than support, or even applaud the few honest men whose sincerity prompts them to strike at corruption through superior authorities.

The revolution of Semifonte not only shows how widely spread and how well understood were the spirit and forms of liberty according to the notions of that age, but also with what extreme moderation and absence of all violence such a change of condition was accomplished even in an obscure provincial town of Tuscany.

Count Albert lost no time in secretly assembling troops to recover the place but his adversaries were acute, suspicious, and well prepared; the manners of the time accustomed them to arms, and the leaders took good care to inculpate every individual citizen in the revolt so as to insure unanimity in their subsequent transactions, for where many offend, they said, none are punished; and Albert, who had already commenced his march, on hearing their state of defence retired disappointed to Certaldo.

From a close application to the conduct of its own affairs Semifonte soon increased in riches strength and industry;

but the people became restless from ease and prosperity which at first sit ill on active minds: alike regardless of prudence and justice they made incursions on the lands of their ancient chief, harried the neighbouring communities, trespassed on the Florentine and Roman states, molested passengers, plundered merchants, and even presumed to levy feudal tributes on the people as if they themselves were lords of the soil. The well-founded complaints of Count Albert and the Florentines were treated with equal scorn, for secretly backed by San Gemignano and Siena whose object was to repel the advance of Florence, and confiding in their town their citadel and themselves, they still continued this predaceous warfare. Count Albert was too feeble, and Florence then too much occupied to undertake the immediate reduction of so stubborn an enemy, so that they were allowed to continue their aggressions until the diminished excitement of incipient liberty combined with increasing opulence reduced them to comparative tranquillity and permitted their neighbours to repose.

This tranquillity was brief, for in 1198 or 1199 a man called Vallentre Berardi of Pogna became Chief of the Commonwealth and being of an unquiet warlike disposition with a certain love of liberty, had already made the inhabitants of Pogna revolt and acknowledge the supremacy and protectorship of Semifonte. Under his auspices an unquiet spirit was again awakened and by renewed aggressions roused the anger of Florence: an expedition in conjunction with Count Albert was therefore decreed, while he transferred to that state by a public instrument of sale, then aristocratically called a "*Donation*," all his property and rights in Semifonte, besides engaging to join the expedition against it. This transaction took place in February 1199 in presence of Paganello da Porcari the Podestà of Florence and several other witnesses; amongst them Hildebrand Bishop of Volterra a prelate of great temporal power and amiable qualities.

The Florentines being now doubly justified by their own injuries and a legal right to Semifonte lost no time in moving troops towards their intended conquest, while the Semifontines rather prepared for a desperate resistance than any acknowledgment of Florentine supremacy. It was probably at this period that the unsuccessful expedition mentioned by Ammirato and Simone della Tosa took place, between which and the year 1202 another expedition seems to have been prepared but was rendered useless by the friendly mediation of Bishop Hildebrand who reduced the Semifontines to reason and submission procured them an amnesty for past errors, and induced them even to take the oath of allegiance and receive a Florentine governor.

Such peace was soon broken, for Siena, still more alarmed, renewed her former intrigues so artfully as to cause a new revolt and the Florentine rector's expulsion; after which fresh aggressions commenced and finally brought down vengeance from the more powerful state.

One of the political maxims of Semifonte was put into rhyme for the purpose of impressing more strongly on the public mind the importance of an unrelaxing opposition to the Florentine people *. That Florence should be repelled and allow Semifonte to prosper was perhaps sound policy but more easily proclaimed than enforced, and less likely to remain unanswered than acquiesced in by Florence.

Chiarito Pigli Consul of the Merchants' Company was immediately invested with full powers to reduce the insurgents, and Hildebrand having abandoned them, there remained no further impediment to immediate hostilities. Meanwhile the Semifontines were not idle; preparations for defence were redoubled; the "*Rocca*" or Citadel, called the "*Capo del Bagnolo*" was given in charge to Daniel of Bagnano a man of faith and

* "Fiorenza fatti in la'
Che Semifonte si fa città."

Florence, stand back
That Semifonte may become a city.

bravery, well worthy of a post which commanded the town and all its defences.

The position of Semifonte was on the ridge of a small crescent-shaped hill about a mile and a half in circumference, one horn of which pointed towards Lucardo and the other to the neighbourhood of Vico: the town nearly followed its outline but was of an oval form inclosed by massive and lofty ramparts thickly studded with loopholed and machicolated towers.

Two great gates and a small postern were its only outlets, one of them surmounted by a noble tower, looked on Lucardo and was called "*Porta alla Fonte*" from a spring of pure water that gushed out of the rock below, but more frequently "*Porta al Bagnano*" after a place of that name in the neighbourhood. The postern led towards Vico and was named after the adjoining chapel of Saint Nicholas: near this point the line of walls was broken by the citadel's solid ground-work spreading outwards under the weight of a high embattled tower like the base of a pyramid and was pierced by the low arch of a sallyport through which supplies were received in war. On the other extremity of this defensive line stood a corresponding tower, and at its angle of junction with the rampart issued another stream from a spring within the palace which flowed through the public streets and after supplying several fountains burst through the solid masonry and flowing beside the public road was celebrated alike for the clearness of its waters and the beautiful marbles that contained them.

Hard by this stream stood the splendid Porta Romana or as more generally denominated, "*Porta Grande*" from its conspicuous size and beauty; it was the principal gate, and is described as having been composed entirely of cut stone surmounted by a finely proportioned tower two hundred and thirty feet high and wreathed with light graceful galleries of

marble columns; the whole crowned by a colossal lion in grey "*Macigno*" grasping the standard of Semifonte: this was considered as the national guardian and gave its name to the Tower*.

Continuing from Porta Grande, the rampart, occasionally flanked by other turreted projections, was finally reunited to the Porta al Bagnano. On a central spot of the most elevated ground rose in solid strength the "*Rocca*" or Citadel of Semifonte: it is described as of a quadrangular form, "magnificent, beautiful, and inconceivably strong;" studded with towers, and battlements beetling out from their summits; and with turrets hanging from every angle of the bulwark. Sternly towering in the midst of all, was seen the "*Cassero*" or great octangular keep, a vast, imposing, and compact stronghold and well provided for the war; it commanded every thing, was full of stout hearts and hands, and secure in its native strength seemed proudly waiting for the storm.

The circuit of walls was small, but populous suburbs stretched far out from the gates, active with industry and replete with artisans to whom the shuttle the lance or the crossbow were equally familiar.

Beyond the Gate of Bagnano stood two lofty arches: under one was the fountain whence it received its name, the other formed a sort of internal entrance to this extensive suburb which was closed towards the open country by a second gate called "*Porta di Borgo.*" A high tower surmounting the

* The description of this tower coupled with that of the famous *Tosinghi Palace* hereafter to be mentioned, and their resemblance to the leaning tower at Pisa which is a supposed imitation of the Greek style of the lower empire would seem to strengthen the conjecture that the two former were remnants of Roman civilisation when wealth still remained but pure taste had long yielded to inferior and comparatively barbarous styles of architecture. The *Macigno* is a bluish gray stone worked from the Fiesoline and other Tuscan quarries, and is in almost universal use for building paving &c.

gate and a protecting outwork or barbican completed the defence, and the backs of the houses looking into gardens were so well closed and united as to render them in skilful hands a formidable obstacle to besiegers.

The interior of Semifonte was adorned with churches, palaces, and various stately buildings; it contained three hundred houses independent of ecclesiastical abodes and their appurtenances, a fine public palace belonging to the old Semifontine chieftains, besides many others the property of nobles, vavassours, and divers distinguished gentlemen. The place could muster three hundred men-at-arms with their usual attendants, and twenty "*Barbuti*" distinguished by steel helmets and horsehair crests, armed at all points and mounted on spirited chargers. Besides these were many more of note who wore the garb and weapons of their respective companies, and "when plumed and armed for service made a goodly show as they ranged themselves under the respective colours of their bannermen." In addition to this force, the peasantry and "*Masnadieri*" or paid infantry of the district, with the contingents of friendly communities swelled the garrison which thus prepared calmly awaited the conflict*.

Meanwhile the Florentine bands were duly marshalled, and threading the Val d' Elsa pushed forward an advanced guard towards the Lucardo side of Semifonte. One morning before sunrise this corps appeared before the outwork about two crossbow shots distant from the Porta Di Borgo, and as soon as the main body arrived carried that post by storm. The suburb was then promptly attacked in front and flank, and a secure lodgment effected close up to the town wall: detachments immediately occupied every avenue by which supplies could arrive and thus the investment was completed. In this state the belligerent forces remained for some time without further advantage on either side, but the fame of the enterprise

* Malavolti, Storia di Siena, Parte ii^a, Lib. i., p. 5.

attracted many volunteers to the besiegers' camp, and cavalcades of squires and knights and nobles, not only from Tuscany but every part of Italy, came prancing in as if it were a tournament, to test their prowess in the war.

Florence however had something besides mere pageantry to occupy her; she could but ill afford the expense of a protracted siege; and being moreover hard pressed by the Ubaldini in Mugello, urged on her consul either to a decisive blow or an immediate return to the capital. Chiarito Pigli thus pressed dispatched Aldobrandino Cavalcante with a flag of truce and honourable conditions to the besieged; but they would not even listen to his terms, and flights of arrows repelled every effort at a parley. An assault on the Porta al Bagnano was repulsed after some hard fighting by showers of "Verrettoni"* from the tower and the Florentines retired with considerable loss but leaving a painful impression on the Semifontines' mind, who felt the necessity of all their exertion to defeat these vigorous and indefatigable assailants.

The people of San Gemignano and other allies seeing the unpromising aspect of affairs began to consult their own safety and offered friendly overtures; these increased the confidence of Pigli who after a second unsuccessful attempt at negotiation endeavoured to win the place by treachery. The community of San Donato had sent a body of cross-bowmen to the besieged under one of their most accredited citizens called Ricevuto di Giovanetto who was especially charged to defend the Lion Tower, and Pigli either from a previous knowledge of Ricevuto, or calculating on the weakness of human nature when in contact with self-interest, succeeded in corrupting him by a promise amongst other things of the civic honours and privileges of Florence, with immunity for himself and all his race in perpetuity from any public impost in that city.

* The Verrettone was a small and peculiarly formed arrow generally used by the Italian cross-bowmen of that and subsequent ages.

His post was to be attacked during the night and after a false resistance the Florentines were to enter as if successful: the columns accordingly advanced at the appointed hour and fixing their ladders in deep silence mounted with confidence although surprised by an unlooked for resistance and the quick dropping of their men on every side. The struggle was nevertheless maintained until day-break when showers of arrows from the citadel repulsed them, and very soon after the livid corpse of Ricevuto was seen dangling by one leg from the battlements. He fell by his own fault, but Florence was true to her word; she gave his family all that had been promised although no good resulted from the treason; and this circumstance has misled some writers into the belief that Semifonte fell by intrigue and disloyalty*.

The consul was still urged either to finish or raise the siege and march to the Mugello; but equally alive to the disgrace of being thus baffled and the increasing difficulty of a protracted leaguer, ordered a general assault; the preparations for this were made in the most open and ostentatious manner in order to alarm the Semifontines, and induce their acceptance of terms which for the third time he was about to offer.

The seignior and consuls of Semifonte immediately dispatched four anziani to learn their purport; a general assembly was summoned and an answer promised in two hours, but without any relaxation of the besiegers' preparations. Parliament was assembled before the palace where Messer Scotto the Seignior, in his official robes and the "*Tocco*" or cap of dignity; attended by the two consuls, the fifty rectors and all the public functionaries, descended from the palace and thus addressed the people.

"If death this day in defence of our sinking country would "bring with it a posthumous renown, I doubt not O most pru-

* Malespini, cap. xcvii.—S. Ammirato, Stor., Lib. i°, Accresciuto, p. 65. —G. Villani, Lib. v., cap. xxx.—D. Boninsegni, Lib. i°, p. 33.

" dent and beloved countrymen, that our present misfortune
" would feel as light as it now weighs heavy on our mind; for
" then with a momentary exertion we should be sure to gain a
" lasting reward: but at this instant it would savour too much
" of pride and folly to choose the worst course of the only two
" that are offered, and thus with infinite damage acquire
" immeasurable shame. I have as you all know past my life
" in arms; and experience has taught me how differently the
" events of war finish from that which in the beginning they
" seem to promise; therefore as Heaven and your own free will
" have placed me in the office of your chief and that you have
" judged me capable of discharging it; verily, verily I should
" fail in my duty were I to conceal that which I know is for
" your good. Moved therefore by the sole wish of benefiting
" the Commonwealth I am compelled to announce to you
" with feelings which I cannot now restrain, that our
" cause is desperate; that we have no salvation but in imme-
" diate peace with Florence; and that in our present state it is
" more easy for rash men to assert that they can defend our
" walls than for the wise and experienced to believe them.
" Behold how our enemies are favoured! Favoured even by
" the very things and circumstances which we hailed as pre-
" cursors of our own good fortune; and time has reconciled
" them with those in whom we most trusted for assistance!
" Behold the fallacy of our judgment! We foolishly believed
" that in the war's duration was our best chance of safety, and
" now we find it pregnant with unmitigated evil! For the
" Florentines, seeing none move in our favour, have cast aside
" all apprehension and act in bold and fearless confidence.
" Yonder is San Gemignano; our nearest neighbour; a people
" in whom we implicitly confided: with a fatal foresight have
" they not made peace with Florence in the certainty of our
" impending ruin, while they are blind to its being the vigil
" of their own destruction! Our numbers are fearfully dimi-

" nished, the enemy's forces hourly augmenting; we are short " of victuals and of warlike stores; they have abundance of both; " we have no chance nor hope of a supply; our adversary revels " in all the wantonness of luxury! In every deed of arms " have they not triumphed, and proved themselves superior to " our efforts? We yielded the barbican ingloriously; we " lost the Borgo still more shamefully; we have been worsted " in every encounter, and can we now expect miracles in our " favour? Our walls are scarcely tenable, and God defend us " from the assault which I fear, and expect at the very spot " where they have been most severely damaged. There we " cannot repel the enemy, and happy will he be who dies in " their defence, for well do I know the condition of a stormed " town and the madness of an enraged and licentious soldiery! " But let it not be supposed that I so speak through fear of " death, for alas! I have lived too long when I have lived to " see my country in this condition! But my duty and my " experience urge me with sorrow to point out to you our " impending calamities. Believe, O believe these old white " hairs! We have now no hope, no shelter, no resource; and " he will be reputed wise who temporises under evils and " makes the best of inevitable misfortunes. It is sometimes " laudable in bold and powerful men to hazard life for the " sake of honour and renown; but we by our obstinacy will " peril, along with our wives and children, our very country " itself; lose every thing with her and get nothing in exchange " but everlasting infamy. Let us then send deputies to hear " the enemy's conditions, and by capitulation do that which is " most to our present advantage; or should these prove too " degrading let us scornfully refuse them and die like desperate " men. If they be fair and honourable why should we not " accept them? Will it not be wiser to cede to the force of " circumstances which we cannot control, and so preserve these " walls and this people for more fortunate times, than to lose

" by foolish obstinacy not only our lives and our country but " all the fame that we have already gained in the world? I " speak thus because thus I feel, and thus I judge, but am ready " to follow any better council that your prudence may suggest." With these words the grave and experienced Seignior finished his discourse and Messer Lo Turco began.

" If we O Seignors, and most excellent people, had now for " the first time to deliberate about renouncing the Florentine " dominion, seeing the immense disparity of force I should " deem it pure folly to think for a moment of doing so; but " knowing that this has been already accomplished, and " seeing the condition to which we are in consequence reduced; " with few words but strong reasons I will prove that an " obstinate defence is not only the most effective means of " safety but of the last necessity, and even that in which our " present hope almost entirely consists. First you must " remember that without any provocation we made war on " Florence, and became her subjects entirely from the conse- " quences of our own turbulence; for by him who was our " legitimate master we were freely given to the Florentines, " and with what outrage and ignominy did we not drive their " rector from our walls? Have we not crossed their frontier " with a mailed hand? Have we not made repeated in- " roads on their estates? Have we not with plunder, fire, " slaughter, and such unpardonable offences outraged in a " thousand ways their property and honour? How many of " their subjects who were living in peaceful obedience have we " not excited to tumult and revolt? Are we not allied with " their bitterest enemies? And have not these ill-deeds " brought us, as they will every other people, to the lowest " depths of misfortune? And do you really believe; or " rather do our offences seem to you of so light a nature as to " allow you to believe, that how much-soever we may humble " ourselves the Florentines will ever stoop to pardon? Do we

" deserve pardon? If they offer fair terms it will be from " necessity not clemency:—and once in their power if instead " of the promised pardon, we receive only chastisement and " injury, to whom shall we then appeal for succour?—Who " will there then be to judge?—Who to see us righted?—No. " When trespassers against the powerful have once broken the " bounds of pardon they must rather sustain their cause by " arms than place confidence in the empty promises and false " countenance of artful and offended men; such as the faith- " less Florentines.—But granted that they pardon us,—What " should be the treatment, what the pardon of subdued rebels? " and what will *they* call *us?*—We have to perish either by " capitulation or by force: by the former with scorn and " infamy; by the latter with glory and renown; things not " less sweet than life itself to the virtuous, generous-minded " and the brave!—There is a small spot of earth prepared " alike for the valiant and the coward wherein to lay their " bones; but they are not alike gifted with that force of mind " that teaches when and how to go there.—It is not necessary " that through good and evil fortune all should be feared or all " despised; but in both cases it is right to be governed by " sound reason and clear judgment. I too agree in the " general opinion that it is of the last importance to the " Florentines that this war should be speedily and successfully " concluded: it is true that they gaze with a bitter smile on " the last fitful embers of our decaying fire but are blind to " those which the flames just kindled in the Casentino and " Mugello are destined to leave as a legacy to themselves. " The chief of Cambiate infests all the Val-di-Marina with " his friends and followers in open war against them, and " meditates a blow that will be our salvation if we only repel, " as I am sure we shall repel, this menacing assault. More " than one or two days the enemy cannot remain before our " walls: then why are we to be terrified at the clang of those

" arms that perhaps may never offend us, and trust to the faith " of an iniquitous people only to destroy our ancient cherished " name? I have spoken, O Semifontines! that which I " believe and intend to maintain: I am ready to die a " thousand deaths rather than condescend to capitulate; and " I now declare that as long as I breathe the breath of life I " never will voluntarily agree to a surrender, being resolved to " live and die a freeman."

These orations were followed on either side by others with much difference of opinion; a capitulation was however determined on and deputies were already appointed to hear the enemy's propositions, when the sudden burst of drums and trumpets, loud shouts and clash of arms, broke up the meeting and hurried all off in apprehension to their stations. The Florentine general intending to stimulate discussion by approaching danger had made a false attack; his columns had already reached the walls and even placed some ladders when the garrison arrived to re-occupy them.

The battle now began in earnest, for Pigli seizing the occasion turned it into a real attack and pressed forward with renewed hope and all the advantage of early preparation: Vallentre Bernardi had succeeded the traitor Ricevuto in the Lion Tower near which a compact body of Florentine infantry carrying "*Pavesi*," or great bucklers, locked together above their heads like a tiled roof, had steadily advanced and under this shelter nearly worked their way through the solid masonry in despite of all opposition; when at the very moment they thought the entrance practicable fresh showers of arrows fell from the citadel while those within plied their spears so sharply at the breach that the Florentine work was slow and full dearly purchased. Everything being commanded by the "*Cassero*" deadly aim was securely taken from its height, and as the weakest points of defence were retrenched and palisaded the enemy had much to surmount besides the ram-

parts: the struggle became fierce and the slaughter great on this side of the town while at the Porta al Bagnano and the postern of San Nicholas the Alberti with some Florentine nobles and Vavassours led on the storm with equal gallantry, for Count Albert had an ancient debt to pay and the besieged expected it.

By this time every Florentine column had come up; and spread themselves along the whole line of walls; they were met by equal valour, and a long bright band of clashing weapons encircled the ramparts. The citadel was selected by Pigli for his own: it was a brave choice and valiantly sustained; for with the boldest of his followers he proved the value of both head and hand in that bloody encounter: here too Aldobrandino Cavalcante surpassed all others in prowess, and many another hardy knight displayed his force and spirit but all in vain, for Daniel of Janicone whirled such a storm of missiles from the keep, and with so sure and deadly a flight that nothing could stand under it and live; and had not the assailants made good their ground elsewhere Pigli, as he afterwards acknowledged would have been compelled to retreat and desist from the enterprise.

Meanwhile the storm raged in every quarter; shouts, groans, the crash of ladders and the fall of steel-clad men, echoed through the streets of Semifonte; the besieged were thinned, faint and exhausted, and could no longer defend the weary circuit of their lines: the enemy kept bringing up fresh forces at every moment with louder shouts and more stirring cheers, until the failing strength of the garrison sank under their gallant efforts; yet at this very moment, old men, women, and even children rushed desperately to the fight, and flying parties hurried from post to post repulsing new assaults. At last the ramparts glittered with hostile lances, the enemy pushed bravely through the breach; some entered the gateway, already dashed to atoms; others hung from the battlements

or strode the walls, aiding their comrades; or dropped, arms and all, into the devoted town: terror spread wildly and universally; the people disperse; they fly to the towers and temples; women and children cling trembling to the altars or clasp the sacred cross, or fling themselves shuddering on the pavement; the clergy issue forth with the holy symbols of their faith and trusting in the God of all, implore the compassion of their conquerors: sobs, screams, and wailing fill the air, and "*Mercy! mercy!*" is wildly shrieked and wildly answered. Universal carnage was about to begin when the consul was suddenly beheld standing among the prostrate multitude: the sight calmed him; humanity conquered; and stifling all anger he allayed their terror by the promise of universal pardon: it was doing much to overcome passion in the heat of battle; more to control a fierce exasperated soldiery in the moment of victory; and both of them are honourable to the general, the military discipline, and the manners of an age which we are perhaps too ready to believe was exclusively barbarous.

The soldiers of those early times were however all natives, all citizens; they were unpaid men and half-paid militia; and all knew the sweets of home and family affections: as yet war was not a *trade* in Italy and every man fought, with passion yes;—but still on principle and with a natural feeling for his country; such men were more easily managed than the mercenary gladiator of after times.

Had Semifonte capitulated, Pigli's intention was to demand twelve hostages and place a Florentine governor over it: in the flush of victory he suddenly determined on the horrors of a storm; but now, moved by compassion, was willing to resume his first design provided that the venerable Messer Scotto were one of the hostages. The indignant though vanquished citizens sternly resisted this, and refusing to give up their ancient magistrate, Pigli with some magnanimity accepted the two consuls in his stead.

These terms being settled, the victor retired, but soon in complete armour reëntered at the head of his troops and occupied the market-place; he then summoned the Lion Tower and Citadel both as yet uninjured; the former surrendered but the latter steadfastly refused, and still shot so keenly that no street was safe from its missiles, no Florentines could show themselves with impunity. Cavalcante was sent with a flag of truce but met only opposition, and Chiarito nettled at this unexpected repulse, was about to make a general assault when Albert Seignior of San Gimignano, and old Scotto of Semifonte implored his forbearance until they had tried their influence with the stubborn Dainello. This faithful officer obeyed his chief but demanded terms for the garrison which had fulfilled its engagements by resisting to the last. "As "for myself," he added, "I promised to die in defence of the "Rocca or only surrender to him from whom I received "it in charge: had it been necessary I was ready for the "former, but have been required only to perform the latter "and thus have redeemed my pledge: and I will serve the "Florentines, or any others that trust me, with equal fidelity "whenever it may please Heaven to send me a master."

Chiarito struck by his noble conduct replied "A brave "man who is faithful to his trust deserves no blame, but on "the contrary, praise and admiration even from enemies; and "added that his gallant conduct should be made known to the "Florentines by whom it was certain to be appreciated." So saying he threw over Dainello's neck a golden chain and medal on which was stamped the Lily of the Florentine Republic.

The citadel was then occupied, strict discipline preserved, and hostages sent to Florence, where public satisfaction ran high at this fortunate conclusion of a war that promised results so different, while many citizens immediately repaired to Semifonte curious to examine a place of such interest to their country. The articles of capitulation were soon definitively

arranged: the citadel and a certain portion of the ramparts were to be demolished: twenty-six denari to be annually paid for each hearth with the accustomed exceptions of priests and soldiers; and the inhabitants were not to settle in other places; some other stipulations of minor importance, after the completion of which Semifonte as part of the Contado was to be received under the protection of the senate and people of Florence and a reconciliation at the same time effected with San Gimignano*.

Semifonte after this seems to have repented of its submission, as a third war is indirectly mentioned in 1209, probably again excited by Siena. There are in fact distinct indications of existing hostilities at that period, for we find that Hildebrandino da Quercieto on being released from captivity promises not to act against Florence in her war with that town or even to reside there; which promise being considered insufficient he further engages with one companion to accompany the Florentine army, if required, to the war†. This probably terminated in the entire ruin of Semifonte, as by a decree supposed to have passed soon after this expedition the people were dispersed, the town ruined, and every vestige swept away: the Semifontines emigrated to Certaldo, Florence, San Gimignano, and other places, and even the very name of that community no longer exists in the map of Tuscany‡.

* S. Ammirato, Lib°. i°, p. 66.—G. Villani Lib. v., c. 30.—Pace da Certaldo Guerra di Semifonte.

† S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 69.

‡ The hill of Semifonte was sold in 1364 to Filippo di Vanni da Petrognano, from which it derives its actual name of *Petrognano*, but now belongs to the Capponi family. In the seventeenth century there were still some pilasters and the ruins of a chapel remaining. The above account of the Semifontine war is taken almost wholly from the ancient chronicle of *Pace da Certaldo* (great great grandson of Messer Scotto) who was born in 1273, about sixty-four years after the death of his ancestor Scotto and seventy-one after the siege. He was a cotemporary and friend of Giovanni Villani as his father had been of Dante, Giovan Boccaccio, and Chelini, father of that novelist, and took great pains both from tradition and manuscript history preserved in his own and other dispersed Semifontine families to collect materials for his narrative, which bears strong marks of general sincerity.

Thus ended the war of Semifonte whose history is offered as an interesting though miniature picture of the rise and fall of independence and internal freedom amongst the Italian towns, and not an uninteresting example of the civil and military manners of that age and country.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—Empire Vacant.—Civil wars between Philip and Otho.—Pope Innocent III.—England: King John.—Scotland: William the Lion.—France: Philip Augustus.—Greek: Emperor Alexius III.

Some of his information was extracted from the private records of Semifontine magistrates kept during its prosperity and at the period of its destruction; and though he does not say that he gained any of his information from those who were actors in the events he relates, his immediate informants did. Donato Velluti in his Chronicle tells us that his great-grandfather Bonaccorso Velluti who died in 1294 at 120 years of age was one of the emigrants from Semifonte when he must have been at least 28 years old and therefore capable of giving Pace (born in 1273) a full account of what he saw. It is true that Velluti died many years before Pace wrote or probably thought of writing, and then only for a family record which became afterwards much damaged and was restored and copied by his son Piero in 1350. The Canonico Salvini in his preface to the Chronicle of Buonaccorso Pitti (a descendant of the Semifontine) while he admits the main facts and names, declares the narrative of Pace to be "*absolutely apocryphal*," without however assigning any specific reason, only "*general researches*" which for the sake of brevity he tells us he withholds. "*Che qui si tralasciano per isfuggir lungezza.*" This is the only doubt that I have seen cast on the authenticity of Pace's narrative, which however may be highly coloured, as well from the nature of traditional stories as the usual inclination of a fallen people to magnify what they once were. Donato Velluti in his Chronicle above mentioned describes Semifonte as "*A very large town with great families, and races, and honourable people, and many knights of the Golden Spur; which made great war with the city of Florence.*" The Chronicle of Pace da Certaldo was first published and without any expression of doubt as to its authenticity, by Doctor Giovanni Targione Tozzetti, a great authority, in his "*Viaggi;*" and afterwards with an ample and very useful Glossary in 1753 from an ancient MS. supposed to be the same copied by Pace's son Piero. The "*Annali di Simone della Tosa*" also speak of both expeditions in 1199 and 1202. Several other writers do the same, and the public documents as well as the internal evidence of Pace's work, which seems to have been intended only as a private family record, give it a truthful character that is not easy to obliterate.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM A.D. 1202 TO A.D. 1215.

THE capture of Semifonte was soon followed by peace in the Mugello and the destruction of Cambiato, which left Florence for a while in tranquillity: her general success struck forcibly on the neighbouring chiefs and communities and altered their treatment of both vassals and weaker neighbours; for in her was always to be found a willing and powerful liberator, not however so much from sympathy as ambition and national interest.

A.D. 1202.

Thus Montepulciano although legally pronounced to be a Senese dependency, tendered her allegiance to the Florentines and engaged never to acknowledge herself as belonging either to the contado or diocese of Siena; to make peace or war at their bidding and exempt them from all tolls: to offer yearly at the Baptist's shrine a waxen torch of five pounds' weight besides ten silver marks, or fifty pounds of "good Pisan danari."

The Counts of Capraia confiding in the strength of their castles scorned Florentine power and infested both banks of the Arno; robbing merchants, ill-treating travellers, and committing numberless outrages on the peasantry: Florence, too proud for such bearding, sent an expedition against Malborghetto, a walled town on the left bank of the river opposite to Capraia, with directions if successful to attack the latter; but this being deemed too hazardous and in

A.D. 1203.

order to bridle the counts of Capraia, a fortress was erected on the hill immediately above, under the name of "*Monte Lupo*" as intended to devour the goats of the "*Capraia*" *.

The people of Pistoia having in 1202 taken Monte Murlo from the Counts Guidi then in alliance with Florence, that fortress was recovered by her assistance; but like the Florentines Pistoia erected another over against it, which was named Montale, and these chiefs perceiving the difficulty of maintaining their position sold Monte Murlo to Florence in 1209.

Between Siena and the latter state from their balanced strength, geographical position, and political objects, discord was continually engendered: Florence became jealous of Siena's acquisition of Montalcino, and fearing that it would be followed by an attempt on Montepulciano resolved indirectly to foment a war by reviving old disputes about territorial boundaries, and more openly by laying siege to the Castello di Tornano which Siena was bound by treaty to protect. The latter however being secretly bent on the acquisition of Montepulciano was ready to receive any terms that did not interfere with this object, and by referring their territorial claims to the Podestà and consuls of Poggibonsi, who decided against them, the Senese avoided foreign war but kindled such a flame of internal fire that Montepulciano was nearly forgotten in the long and lasting scenes of civil tumult it occasioned †.

After Malborghetto's destruction and the foundation of Monte Lupo the lords of Capraia paid more respect to Florence, and towards the end of 1204 resolving to make their peace deputed Count Guido Borgognone with the oath of allegiance to that republic. He engaged for himself and the people of Capraia to pay twenty-six danari annually for each house; to make peace and war, except

A.D. 1204.

* "*Capraio*" means a goatherd.

† Orlan. Malavolti, Storia di Siena, Lib. iv., Parte i^{a}, p. 42.—S. Ammirato, Stor. Fior., Lib. i°, p. 67.

against the emperor, at the command of Florence, and to resign all their possessions on the left bank of the Arno into her hands as a pledge of fidelity; for which they were to be supported against every foe, and Capraia was not to be destroyed without their own consent.

The year 1207 was remarkable at Florence for a complete change in the form of executive government from that of consuls to a Podestà with very extensive authority; its tendency was to spread far beyond original limits, and ultimately absorb all the ancient consular jurisdiction; yet the principle of being governed by a stranger unbiassed by local prejudices and affections was theoretically good and to a great extent beneficial in practice, but it finally concentrated immense powers in the hands of a single person which clashing with the equalizing notions of pure democracy did no service to freedom; it accustomed the people to look up to one supreme hand as the arbitrator of all their disputes and the judge of all their errors, whether civil criminal or political; and that hand was armed with almost unlimited powers which were rarely questioned however despotically exercised. A.D. 1207.

The civil, criminal, and military authorities were personified in this high functionary who might usually be seen distributing justice in every part of the city and contado followed by a splendid court with assistant judges in both branches of the law; or again leading the citizens and auxiliaries to war in all the military parade and pomp of majesty. It is true that his powers lasted but a year; latterly only half that period; that he was seldom re-appointed and only after long intervals; that he was forced to stand a severe scrutiny before his departure, forbidden to bring a kinsman with him to the city of his government, rarely even his wife; that he was interdicted from mixing familiarly with the citizens or receiving any attentions from them; but all these precautions annulled neither the

princely character nor despotism of the office: individuals changed but the dignity remained; and in the turbulence of the many there were still those who afterwards languished for the authority of one.

The creation of a "*Capitano del Popolo*" first checked the Podestà's power, but as there will be hereafter more to say of both these offices it is now only necessary to observe that a Podestà was created not only because the consuls had become partial in the distribution of personal justice by favouring the party that supported their own election, but also to prevent dissensions, enmities, and after vengeance on the judge when no longer protected by official dignity*.

A vigorous and impartial execution of the law in fact required much energy when almost every sentence in criminal and political cases, if great citizens were involved, made all the armed force of government necessary to give it life, and occasionally carried destruction to the culprit's dwelling: the individual's cause was always espoused by his friends and kindred and the government being itself a faction was ever either a partisan, or an enemy to one party or the other: but this belongs to later times.

The first Podestà after this permanent revival of that office was Gualfredotto Grasselli of Milan who occupied the episcopal palace the old seat of government in Matilda's day, for it was long after that any public palace existed. During this man's rule Florence reconciled the Counts Guidi with Pistoia, and renewed her own quarrel with Siena, because availing itself of the general external tranquillity, and occasional lulls in its own domestic quarrels, that republic again aimed at the conquest of Montepulciano. Florence was bound by honour, interest, and her own inclination to assist this place, while Siena confiding in treaties and the consequent obligation of Florence to aid her in case of war, had no fears from that.

* M. del' Stefani, Lib. ii°, Rub. 64, p. 78.

quarter; she was therefore indignant not only at seeing a Florentine army relieve the besieged, but still more so on hearing that it had surprised and defeated her own troops near Monte Alto, and destroyed that town. Mutual accusations, open and angry reproaches, and a breach of the treaty of 1201, confirmed by that of 1203 was the language of both, and Florence next year ravaged the adverse state up to
A.D. 1208. the very walls of its capital. The towns of Rugomagno, Rapolano, and many others were ruined, the Senese beaten from the field and forced into an igno-
A.D. 1210. minious peace by which both Montepulciano and Montalcino were acknowledged free and independent communities under Florentine protection *.

These successes augured favourably for the new administration and Gualfredotto was re-elected: but success and popularity are frequently as dangerous to freedom as to individual character: they are apt to prolong if not perpetuate the authority of one leader by repeated renewals, until power becomes confirmed and misused and the man corrupted: the people discover when too late that they have lost their due influence and must either quietly submit or by struggles and blood restore the legitimate balance.

The civil contentions in Germany; the Pope's partiality for Otho of Saxony; and Philip of Suabia's consequent excommunication which gave Innocent an opportunity of declaring his election indecorous and scandalous, have already been noticed; yet fortune did not forsake the anathematised Ghibeline: Otho driven from Cologne in 1206 took refuge in England while Philip and the Priest in despite of all former curses not only became friends but kinsmen by a marriage between Innocent's nephew Ricardo and Philip's daughter, with the Marche

* Malespini, cap. c.—G. Villani, Lib. v., cap. xxxiii., xxxiv.—Stefani, Rub. 61, 62.—Ammirato, Lib. i°, pp. 68, 69.—O. Malavolti, Parte i^a, Lib. iii., p. 45.

of Ancona and Spoleto as a dower*. This was followed by the reconciliation of Otho and Philip in 1207, and the marriage of another daughter to the former who was forthwith elected king of the Romans and successor to the imperial crown. But scarcely had Philip begun to enjoy some tranquillity when he fell beneath the dagger of Otho Count Paletine in revenge for some private injury and was succeeded in 1208 by Otho of Saxony whose recent marriage gave him some right to the hereditary estates of his father-in-law; and by at once renouncing all claim to Saxony and Bavaria, of which his father had been deprived by Barbarossa, he secured the friendship of those who actually possessed them. A second election as king of the Romans and of Germany was deemed necessary; an alliance with Pope Innocent followed, much being promised, as was usual with the German Cæsars, in return for the imperial crown†.

Ten years of civil war were thus ended, during which the Italian states confirmed their own independence and generally enlarged their dominions: those of the Guelphic faction beheld with pleasure and hoped much from an emperor attached and related to the church and about to receive his crown from a friendly pontiff: they were deceived, and soon became aware of their folly in believing that the political sentiments of the private prince would not all be absorbed in the more important concerns of the emperor, and these were ever at variance with the church and Guelphic republics‡. No lasting friendship could reasonably be expected because the permanent union of principles so utterly conflicting as royalty and democracy, is preposterous. The Italian republics were jealous of any interference with their liberty and it was the papal interest to sustain this feeling both as a moral barrier against the Cæsars

* Messia, Vite degli Imperatori.
† Muratori, Antichità Esten., as cited by Denina.
‡ Messia, Vite degli Imperatori.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital. vol. ii., p. 51.

and a physical support of the church. It consequently became impossible for any pope and emperor long to remain on friendly terms even though they had no other causes of discord; and from the moment of Otho's arrival in Italy he was as much beset by Ghibeline nobles and deputies exclusively attached to the imperial cause as by men of the opposite party.

After engaging to fulfil all the pope's demands by promises which cost little and gained much, Otho purchased his Roman coronation in 1209. It was almost immediately followed by an affray between the two nations in which eleven hundred Germans are said to have fallen; this was the first check to their amicable intercourse: the breach became wider by Otho's subsequent refusal to relinquish the inheritance of Countess Matilda with other royalties which the church pertinaciously claimed and which the emperors easily admitted but steadily withheld. They separated with a mutual determination to cede nothing: dispute soon kindled into anger; anger into open war and excommunication; and Otho's subsequent loss of the imperial throne completed the disaster.

Such was ecclesiastical power in those days when worked by a skilful hand and a pliant conscience; a conscience that could hold out excommunication as a rampart, a screen behind which all the base and evil passions might promiscuously associate with the more devout and nobler sentiments of our nature.

Both exerted themselves to make friends and partisans in Italy, Otho at first looking for support from the Ghibelines as natural born imperialists while Innocent confided principally in the Guelphic league of Tuscany which answered but faintly to his call: his great trust was in the young king Frederic of Sicily whose guardianship he had accepted with the sole view of strengthening the church and keeping a prince in his hands that could be effectually opposed to imperial power, more especially with a prospect of gaining over all the Ghibe-

lines to the cause of their own natural chieftain. Completing a long contemplated marriage between his young ward and Constance of Aragon whose father's friendship he thus secured together with the countenance of Philip Augustus and many German princes; he resolved to have Frederic elected king of Germany, asserting that he had been hitherto unjustly deprived of the empire.

Being informed of these events Otho lost no time in striking an early blow at his young rival's dominions and in 1210 carried war into the Sicilian provinces.

After considerable progress he was called away by fresh troubles in Germany where an anathema published by Siffred Archbishop of Mentz declared that he had forfeited the imperial throne: many princes thus loosed from their allegiance and corrupted by Philip Augustus immediately renounced Otho's authority and leagued against him, so that he was forced into a hasty evacuation of all the Italian provinces and suddenly plunged into a war where, besides many other enemies, he found the last and most formidable in the youthful king of Sicily *. A.D. 1212.

Guelphs and Ghibelines had now changed sides, the former becoming under a Guelphic emperor the supporters of imperial prerogative while the latter were apparently metamorphosed into ecclesiastical champions: these *names* now came into general use in consequence of those of "*church*" and "*empire*" having changed their leaders; or to speak more clearly; because the pope now found it convenient to make use of enemies for a season as instruments to work on the errors of his former friends and ruin their chief, his real and greatest foe; and this object once accomplished the current of faction resumed its ancient channel †.

* Malespini, cap. cii.—G. Villani, Lib. v., cap. xxxiii.—S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 69.

† Muratori, Annali, Anno 1209.—Platina, Vite dè Papi, p. 299.—Messia, Vite degli Imper., p. 421.—Denina, Riv., Ital., Lib. xi., cap. viii., p. 275. Sismondi, vol. ii., pp. 57, &c.

In despite of some hesitation at this formidable enterprise, and more wavering on seeing the tears of his young and beautiful bride, Frederic urged by Philip Augustus and the Ghibelines set forward at eighteen or twenty years of age on the hazardous enterprise of dethroning a veteran emperor of Germany. Proceeding to Rome for the Pontiff's benediction his somewhat premature and ambitious request for an immediate coronation was discreetly refused; Innocent was too wary to let slip such patronage without a solid exchange and wisely hastened Frederic's departure for Genoa with his own legate and four galleys; but any further progress was arrested by the Lombard Guelphs who were all in arms and ready to prevent his passage *.

After three months spent in preparations and vain attempts to proceed he finally arrived at Pavia, where the difficulties opposed to his safely reaching Cremona seemed more than doubled as both Milan and Placentia were against him: by the Marquis of Este's aid he however succeeded in reaching Coire in the Grisons where meeting some German adherents and pushing rapidly on by Constance he arrived after much peril at Aix la Chapelle and was immediately acknowledged if not crowned as king of the Romans and Germany. Otho meanwhile had been forced to turn his arms against Philip of France by whom he was defeated with immense loss at Bouvines near Tournay in July 1214, and never after recovered the ascendant: lingering on in obscurity until 1218 he expired at the castle of Hartzburg after receiving tardy absolution by the indulgence of a papal sanction †.

A.D. 1214.

Frederic was crowned king of Germany by Siffred in 1215, and at the pope's command assumed the cross with a promise to make war in Palestine: this wily pontiff was in no hurry to

* Giannone, Lib. xv., p. 254.
† Muratori, Anni 1212, 1213, 1214, 1218.—Sismondi, vol. ii., pp. 58, 601. —Messia, Vite Degli Imperatori, p. 423.—Platina, Vite de' Papi.

confirm the imperial title by a coronation; on the contrary, he distrusted fortune, and while Otho lived it was vainly demanded by Frederic for whose young and sprouting ambition the Holy Land was deemed to be a better and safer nursery. So jealous indeed was Innocent of imperial power even when wielded by his own fosterchild, "The Priests' King" as he was scornfully termed by Otho; that he insisted on that prince's infant son being proclaimed monarch of Sicily in order to weaken the father's hands; and Frederic was not only forced to abdicate in his favour but moreover engaged to relinquish the administration of Sicily to Pope Innocent whenever he should receive the imperial title.

The pope in fact might now have asked anything of Frederic who still fearful of Otho was much more ready to promise than afterwards willing to perform; and except as a reiterated assertion of claims which the church was determined never to give up and the emperors never to grant; this repeated exaction of empty promises seems as absurd as it was for a long time useless*. Nor does Frederic appear to have been more faithful to his word in Germany if Italian historians are correct in their statements; for on the death of Otho he humbled the German branch of Este by depriving his brother Henry of the Palatinate in despite of a previous agreement to the contrary, which he observed only while apprehensive of the deceased emperor: by this act the Guelphs of Germany were left in possession of Brunswick alone which they still retain, with the important addition of the British Empire†. A.D. 1215.

Innocent III. died in 1216 after eighteen years and a half of successful enterprise: eager for a Holy War and depending principally on the Pisans and Genoese for shipping, he was in his way to reconcile those states when death overtook him at Perugia.

* Muratori, Annali, Anno 1215. † Muratori, Annali, Anno 1216.

Pope Innocent III. may be called the establisher of temporal ecclesiastical sovereignty at the imperial cost: he was one of the ablest and most glorious of pontiffs, a great politician and a great jurisconsult, with much skill in the spiritual management of Christendom: he governed Sicily at will; Rome bowed to a senator devoted to him, and all the neighbouring cities acknowledged his power: he had a strong following in the Guelphic states of northern and central Italy, and the March of Ancona; which might be considered his donation to the house of Este; after the death of Azzo VI. in 1212 was almost ready to become one of his vassals*.

For such exploits the Holy See remains his debtor, but "undefiled religion" and humanity must ever condemn such an institution as the Inquisition established in 1209; an institution, says Gibbon with well directed bitterness, "more adapted to confirm than refute the existence of the evil principle of the Paulicians the belief in which it was principally intended to destroy†. Nor does he deserve less execration for his crusades against the Pagans of Livonia and the simple unoffending Albigeois; or his employment of the sanguinary and fanatical, but sincere and audacious Saint Dominic, whom as well as the more rational Saint Francis, he bound firmly to the church by a pretended vision of their being chosen as its peculiar champions‡.

As the Albigeois or Paulicians under the name of "*Paterini*" appear for a moment in Florentine history it will not be irrelevant to offer a short account of a sect so unmercifully persecuted both in Asia and Europe by that implacable bigotry which, curtained in false Christianity, so raved and dreamed of blood.

"In the profession of Christianity," says Gibbon, "the

*Muratori, Annali, Anno 1216.

† The *Tribunal* of the Inquisition was a subsequent improvement by Gregory IX. in 1233.

‡ Sismondi, vol. ii., p. 67.

variety of national character may be clearly distinguished: the natives, of Syria and Egypt abandoned their lives to lazy and contemplative devotion: the wit of the lively and loquacious Greeks was consumed in disputes of metaphysical theology, while Rome again aspired to the dominion of the world."

But, according to the same author, from the beginning of the eighth century to the last ages of the Byzantine Empire the sound of theological controversy was never heard; all opposition had ceased, and the Eastern church reposed in peaceful slumbers. Nevertheless about the middle of the seventh century a branch of the Manichæans, a sect that endeavoured to reconcile the doctrines of Christ and Zoroaster and was condemned by both religions, became the great object of persecution in the East and ultimately led to the reformation of the Western world.

Constantine Sylvanus an obscure individual in the neighbourhood of Samosata in Syria received a copy of the New Testament from a deacon who returning from captivity about the year 660 was hospitably entertained at his house. This gift became his only study and the epistles of Saint Paul his peculiar recreation: the names of that apostle's disciples were assumed by Constantine and his companions and the appellations of the primitive churches were revived amongst the congregations they established in Armenia and Cappadocia. From their favourite saint it is supposed that they took the name of "*Paulicians*," but they employed themselves in the investigation of Christianity at its source with a degree of success that will be variously appreciated by the different persuasions that spring from our Saviour's pure and simple morality.

They acknowledged two creative principles in the universe, an evil and a good; the former of the visible, the latter of the invisible world: visions, (so rife in that age) were utterly condemned by Constantine along with most other Manichæan

opinions; and he justly complained that the followers of Christ and Paul should be branded with such an epithet as "*Manichæanism*."

Eternity of spirit and matter was part of their creed, and a strong line of demarcation was drawn between the Old and New Testaments; the former being by them attributed to the principle of evil, the latter to the spirit of beneficence: they could not reconcile the crimes narrated in the first or the epithets of a "*jealous*," "*vengeful*," "*terrible*" God, with the pure mild forgiving, exalted ideas and feelings taught by the last, of his benevolence, his justice, and perfection; and they accordingly hated it as the invention of demons.

Images, pictures, relics, and the mediation of saints were alike excluded from their faith the only rule of which they asserted to be the simple expressions of gospel.

Believing in the rationality of the Christian dispensation they fearlessly applied the divine faculty of reason to the study of scripture while allegory was occasionally brought to the aid of exposition and implicit belief.

They admitted the spiritual advent of Christ but denied his incarnation; the crucifixion was to them an unreal representation to deceive the Jews; the mother of Christ but a simple woman; and men were angels fallen from pristine glory who would in due time resume their former dignity.

The zealous labours of Constantine produced corresponding effects; his disciples were recruited from the remnants of Gnostic heresy, from the Manichæans, the Catholics, and the followers of Zoroaster in Cappadocia and Pontus, but had no other distinction than their simple scriptural names or that of "*Fellow Pilgrims*:" no gradation of rank was then thought of, and the fervour of honest zeal and a sincere austerity their most coveted distinction.

Constantine fell a martyr to Greek persecution and was stoned to death by a weak disciple as the price of his own

pardon when his companions turned shuddering from the deed: as persecution continued their numbers increased, and in one short reign it is said that a hundred thousand were sacrificed to the idol of intolerance.

In the ninth century, from 445 to 480, being driven to desperation they revolted in Armenia and the neighbouring provinces, and joining the Saracens united the Koran the Scripture and the sword, making long and bloody wars on the Byzantine princes. The Paulicians of Thrace a colony from those of Armenia successfully repelled persecution, assisted their less fortunate brethren and gained many proselytes even amongst the savage Bulgarians.

In the tenth century, favoured by the Emperor Zimices who was pleased with their bravery, they still flourished; Alexius Comnenus endeavoured to recover them and for a while succeeded, but they deserted his standard in the Norman war and relapsed into their former heresy. In the thirteenth century their primate's residence was on the confines of Croatia Bulgaria and Dalmatia and the congregations of France and Italy were governed by his deputies: the Bulgarians when first moved by trade, carried the Paulician doctrines along the valley of the Danube and into the heart of Bohemia where they sowed good seed for Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome of Prague. The Armenian Paulicians availing themselves of the various caliphs' tolerance of all Christian sects carried their opinions with their commerce into Africa, Spain, and finally into Languedoc, a neighbouring province to Moorish Iberia, where Raymond Count of Toulouse gave them shelter in and about Albi.

From this centre the doctrines of the Albigeois spread rapidly wherever the Provençal language was spoken or understood, from Catalonia even to the plains of Lombardy. In Italy where they met, both from west and east, they were principally distinguished by the name of "*Paterini*" or sufferers, an

appropriate term, and became extremely numerous; for the civic spirit of free cities seems to have been generally unfavourable to persecution, which in the twelfth century had not properly begun.

At Milan where they appeared about 1176 they were known by the various denominations of "*Catari*," "*Credenti*," "*Gazzari*" and "*Concorrenti*" and though still unpersecuted were fiercely preached against by the Archbishop Galdino and his clergy*.

The trade and policy of Venice too opened another door for the entrance of these sectaries, and their doctrines were silently propagated even in the midst of Rome which they hated for its idolatry and intolerance.

They were now connected by a certain form of episcopal and presbyterian government and had various shades of belief amongst themselves while all agreed in denying that the real body of Christ was on the cross and in the Eucharist. Their worship was simple and their manners harmless; but from the first they seem to have been doomed to suffering, and the blood that flowed in France rose, like the fabled waters of Arethusa, from an eastern source.

In Italy they were comparatively unharmed; but in Languedoc under the auspices of Innocent III. and his instrument the fierce and implacable Dominic their assemblies disappeared, their disciples fled, and streams of blood and mangled bodies filled their temples, to vindicate the pontiff's pure and exclusive Christianity. Yet their spirit was not crushed, it breathed secretly but unspent, and while it emitted bright but untimely sparks in Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, it was silently preparing the way for a Zuinglius a Calvin and a Luther †.

* Vin. Borghini, Discor., Parte ii°, p. 557.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1176.
† Gibbon, vol. v., c. liv.—Sismondi, vol. ii., c. xiv.—Muratori, Ann., vol. xvii., p. 75, and vol. xviii., pp. 13, 34, (8vo ed).

The Paterini are supposed to have found their way into Italy in the eleventh century and to Florence in the twelfth: there about the year 1212, a certain Filippo Paternon was chief of the sect with a numerous following of powerful citizens*.

Their custom was to discourse much and frequently at their meetings, both men and women; and after the preaching all prostrated themselves before the bishop who placed his hands successively on each: this ceremony was called the "*Consolation*" from which was probably derived their appellation of "*consolati*." Their hierarchy consisted of four orders, namely, the bishop; the "*elder son*;" the "*younger son*;" and the deacon, who succeeded by the imposition of hands. They increased so rapidly that Giovanni di Velletri bishop of Florence took some steps to check their progress aided by local, imperial, and ecclesiastical law, and above all by the zeal of Dominican and Franciscan monks who with all the vigour and enthusiasm of young votaries soon began to distinguish themselves in the extirpation of heresy; the former by preaching and inquisitorial persecution; the latter also by preaching, but generally united to a more Christian-like example of gentleness poverty and humility.

Giovanni da Salerno prior of Santa Maria Novella and two other Dominicans were the greatest obstacles to the propagation of new religious creeds in Florence until the advent of their great Achilles the Fra Pietro da Verona, but better known as "*San Piero Martire*" about the year 1244. His violent and overbearing eloquence rolling from the pulpit of Santa Maria Novella inflamed orthodox zeal as much as it irritated heretical sensibility; a band of defenders rallied about the preacher and a military order was self-created for his protection. Amongst these was the chronicler Donato Velluti's ancestor already mentioned, a man of great prowess and skill

* Simone della Tosa, Annali, p. 128.

in arms who lived one hundred and twenty years and was much distinguished in the religious conflicts that ensued*.

The military attitude taken by this ecclesiastical champion and his monastic followers produced a similar effect on the Paterini who thus driven to extremities openly defied the church and dared its preachers: squabbles soon commenced, occasional affrays and tumults succeeded, and then pitched battles in the streets of Florence again awakened the echos of her towers and temples. The tall dark form of Pietro, young ardent and robust, was seen grasping a red-cross banner and with all the spirit of eloquence leading his mad crusaders into blood. Two great battles took place, and in both the Paterini were defeated: both spots are still marked by columns; one at the *Croce al Trebbio*, the other at Santa Felicità, and the saint's standard is yet preserved and even occasionally displayed to refresh the faith of a devout and admiring public †. After these two defeats the Paterini gradually

* There is an interesting account of this Florentine, or rather Semifontine Nestor in the Chronicle of his descendant, who describes Corso Velluti as a man of great stature, and robust make, with a fine complexion and a skin seamed in every part with the scars of wounds; who even near his death was so firm of muscle that none could pinch his flesh while he could make any young man cringe under the powerful pressure of his arm. Blind for the last twenty years of his life he was accustomed to take daily exercise in an open corridor that extended the whole length of his house situated in what is now the "*Via Maggio*" and upon which his three chambers opened: this was the first house built upon that spot, then called "*Cassalina*" from a single house which stood there amongst the gardens; afterwards "*Via Maggiore*," and now "*Maggio*." Here old Corso used to walk before breakfast a distance equal to 3 or 4 miles, then eat little less than two loaves; again an enormous dinner, and thus past his latter days. It was at that time the custom to go frequently to the "*Stufa*" or public warm, and probably vapour baths of Florence, for woollen alone was worn as under clothing: in one of these visits Corso scalded his foot and died, for want of his usual exercise, at the age of 120 after blessing his children and grandchildren as he sat in his chair where he had caused himself to be placed for the purpose; amongst the latter was the father of Donato who relates the story. This family of Velluti emigrated from Semifonte, at the siege of which in 1202, Corso must have been 23 years old and therefore could have given much information about that republic.—(*Cronaca di Donato Velluti*, pp. 2, 4, 31).

† When these battles were finished

diminished and were little heard of in Florence beyond the middle of the thirteenth century, but the Veronese monk who was murdered in Lombardy about the year 1252 is said to owe the honours of martyrdom to the vengeance of these fugitives *.

We have already seen that the spirit of political as well as religious party began to rise as early as 1177, and excepting some short intervals of uneasy repose, remained in a state of violence until 1182. From this epoch there are no accounts of actual war within the city until 1215 : but nearly five years of hard fighting between two great factions of undiminished force was unlikely to be followed by a dead calm except from exhaustion; or by any oblivion of injury in an age and country where revenge was a duty, not a crime.

The great power and independence of the newly created Podestà together with external hostilities, probably assisted in maintaining peace in a city that prided itself on being founded under the protection and ascendant of Mars, and therefore doomed by fate to everlasting troubles. Hence Roccuzzo de' Mozzi is made by Dante to say,

> " Io fui della città, che nel Batista
> Cangiò 'l primo Padrone, onde ei per questo
> Sempre con l' arte sua la farà trista †."

and tranquillity restored, the crusaders or captains of the *Bigallo*, or of *Santa Maria*, turned their enthusiasm to the then useful and humane purpose of founding hospitals for pilgrims. The Bigallo five miles east of Florence was the first, and the beautiful building of that name in Florence which was originally the Knight's Guard House, afterwards an oratory of Santa Maria and their ordinary residence, in the days of Cosimo I. became a refuge for abandoned children and orphans who were educated until fit for service and then sent to the fields as agricultural labourers or servants, &c. The Fresco paintings still visible on the walls are by Taddeo Gaddi and represent San Piero Martire presenting the red-cross banner to twelve distinguished citizens whose dress and shield bear the same device. The columns above mentioned can scarcely be said to have been erected in commemoration of these victories although they mark the locality: that of Croce al Trebbio passes for the work of Giovanni Pisano. (*Vide Osservatore Fiorentino*, vol. iii., p. 191, who cites the Chronicle of Saint Antonio bishop of Florence).

* Muratori, Annali, Anno 1252.—Cronaca di Donato Velluti, p. 31.—Osservatore Fiorentino, vol. i., p. *96*; vol. iii., p. 188. † Inferno, Canto xiii.

Disputes which had so long occupied the attention of Italy were not without participation in Florence, where the quarrels of church and empire did not fail to create two adverse opinions, but as yet confined to words: the prevailing politics being Guelphic and papal, while the opposition led by Uberti was entirely imperial, were accidental circumstances; but combined with and as it were grafted on local politics, drew a distinct line between contending factions and foreboded mischief *.

In the year 1215 according to an ancient manuscript published from the Buondelmonti library, Messer Mazzingo Tegrini de' Mazzinghi invited many Florentines of high rank to dine at his villa near Campi about six miles from the capital: while still at table the family jester snatched a trencher of meat from Messer Uberto degli Infangati who nettled at this impertinence expressed his displeasure in terms so offensive that Messer Oddo Arrighi de' Fifanti as sharply and unceremoniously rebuked him: upon this Uberto gave him the lie and Oddo in return dashed a trencher of meat in his face.

Everything was immediately in confusion; weapons were soon out, and while the guests started up in disorder young Buondelmonte de' Buondemonti, the friend and companion of Uberto, severely wounded Oddo Arrighi.

The party then separated and Oddo called a meeting of his friends to consider the offence: amongst them were the Counts Gangalandi, the Uberti, Amidei, and Lamberti, who unanimously decided that the quarrel should be quietly settled by a marriage between Buondelmonte and Oddo's niece, the daughter of Messer Lambertuccio di Capo di Ponte, of the Amidei family. This proposition appears to have been unhesitatingly accepted by the offender's family as a day was immediately nominated for the ceremony of plighting his troth to the destined bride.

During the interim Madonna Aldruda or Gualdrada, wife of

* Leon. Aretino, translated by Donato Acciaiolo, Lib. i°, p. 37, (ed. 1492).

Forese de' Donati sent privately for young Buondelmonte and thus addressed him*. "*Unworthy Knight!—What!—Hast "thou accepted a wife through fear of the Fifanti and Uberti?* "*Leave her that thou hast taken, choose this damsel in her place* "*and be henceforth a brave and honoured gentleman.*" In so saying she threw open the chamber door and exposed her daughter to his view: the unexpected apparition of so much beauty, as it were soliciting his love, had its usual consequence; Buondelmonte's better reason was overcome, yet he had resolution to answer. "*Alas! it is now too late!*" "*No,*" replied Aldruda; "*thou canst even yet have her; dare but to take the step and let the consequences rest on my head.*"—"*I do dare,*" returned the fascinated youth, and stepping forward again plighted a faith no longer his to give.

Early on the tenth of February, the very day appointed for his original nuptials Buondelmonte passed by the Porta Santa Maria amidst all the kinsfolk of his first betrothed, who had assembled near the dwellings of the Amidei to assist at the expected marriage, yet not without certain misgivings of his faithlessness. With a haughty demeanour he rode forward through them all, bearing the marriage ring to the lady of his choice and leaving her of the Amidei with the shame of an aggravated insult by choosing the same moment for a violation of one contract and the consummation of a second; for in those days, and for centuries after, the old Roman custom of presenting a ring long before the marriage ceremony took place was still in use.

Such insults were then impatiently borne; Oddo Arrighi assembled his kindred in the no longer existing church of "*Santa Maria sopra Porta*" to settle the mode of resenting this

* The houses of the Donati *N. E. of Santa Croce* were probably not erected until after this transaction as they are beyond the second circuit of walls; but the ancient residence was situated in the place still bearing their name detached from the Via del Corso.

affront, and the moody aspect of each individual marked the character of the meeting and all the vindictive feeling of an injured family: there were however some of a more temperate spirit that suggested personal chastisement or at most the gashing of Buondelmonte's face as the most reasonable and effectual retribution. The assembly paused, but Mosca de' Lamberti starting suddenly forward exclaimed, "*Beat or wound him as ye list, but first prepare your own graves, for wounds bring equal consequences with death.*"—"*No.—Mete him out his deserts and let him pay the penalty: but no delay.—Up and be doing.—Cominciamo a fare, chè poi, cosa fatto capo ha**."

This turned the scale and Buondelmonte was doomed, but according to the manners of that age; not in the field which would have been hazardous; but by the sure though inglorious means of noonday murder; wherefore, at the very place where the insult was offered; beneath the battlements of the Amidei, nay under the casement of the deserted maiden, and in his way to a happy expecting bride, vengeance was prepared by these fierce barons for the perjurer.

* An obscure expression but now, if not then proverbial. It would signify that half measures are dangerous and ineffective; but a thing once done never wants a leader; things will adjust themselves to it: or a bold decided act will work its own way. Perhaps the French expression, "*C'est le premier pas qui coûte*" would best translate it, or at least most idiomatically.—Mosca is placed by Dante in the 9th Bolgia of Hell (Canto xxviii.)

"Ed un ch' avea l' una e l' altra man mozza,
Levando i moncherin per l' aura fosca,
Sì che 'l sangue facea la faccia sozza,
Gridò: Ricorderatte anche del Mosca,
Che dissi, lasso! capo ha cosa fatta,
E fu 'l màl seme per la gente Tosca."

Then one
Maimed of each hand, uplifted in the gloom
The bleeding stumps, that they with gory spots
Sullied his face, and cried; "Remember thee
Of Mosca too, I who alas! exclaimed,
The deed once done there is an end, that proved
A seed of sorrow to the Tuscan race.—*Cary's Dante.*

On Easter morning 1215, the murderers concealed themselves within the courts and towers of the Amidei which the young and heedless bridegroom was sure to pass, and he was soon after seen at a distance carelessly riding alone across the Ponte Vecchio on a milk-white palfrey attired in a vest of fine woollen cloth, a white mantle thrown across his shoulders and the wedding garland on his head. The bridge was passed in thoughtless gaiety, but scarcely had he reached the time-worn image of the Roman Mars, the last relic of heathen worship then extant, when the mace of Schiatto degli Uberti felled him to the ground; and at the base of this grim idol the daggers of Oddo and his furious kinsmen finished the savage deed: they met him gay and adorned for the altar and left him with the bridal wreath still dangling from his brow a bloody and ill-omened sacrifice. The tidings of this murder spread rapidly, and disordered the whole community of Florence; the people became more and more excited because both law and custom had awarded due penalties for faithless men, and death was an unheard of punishment.

Buondelmonte's corse was placed on a bier with its head resting in the lap of his affianced bride, the young and beautiful Donati, who hung like a lily over the pallid features of her husband; and thus united were they borne through the streets of Florence. It was the gloomy dawning of a tempestuous day, for in that bloody moment was unchained the demon of Florentine discord; the names of Guelph and Ghibeline were then for the first time assumed by noble and commoner as the cry of faction; and long after the original cause of enmity had ceased they continued to steep all Italy in blood.

It has been shown that there were already two parties existing in the commonwealth; but it was not until after this outrage that the whole community divided under the above appellations, one part siding with the Buondelmonti who were for the most part Guelphic chiefs and adherents of the church;

the other with the Uberti, leaders of the Ghibelines and partisans of the Empire. Of seventy-two powerful families mentioned by Malespini, thirty-nine joined the Buondelmonti's banner and thirty-three fought under the colours of their enemies: but many more houses of distinction took part in the civil war; many afterwards changed sides through quarrels with their chiefs; many of the Buondelmonti who before were Ghibelines now became Guelphs; the former were stigmatised with the epithet of "*Paterini*," and the latter with that of "*Traditori*."

Nevertheless an attempt at reconciliation was made in 1239, by marrying Neri Piccolino degli Uberti to the daughter of Rinieri Zingani de' Buondelmonti, a lady celebrated for her wisdom beauty and talents. Trusting to this tie the Uberti and some friends repaired with confidence to visit Bertaldi de' Buondelmonti of Campi but were treacherously attacked and beaten back with some bloodshed; this renewed the war with greater violence and Neri dismissed his wife to her own relations declaring that he disdained to become the propagator of a traitorous brood from a deceitful stock. The unfortunate lady was then compelled by her father to marry Count Pannochino de' Pannochieschi on whose mercy she threw herself imploring permission to retire into a convent; for though abandoned by her husband she protested that she was still his wife and therefore never could belong to another. Her motives were respected, her prayer generously granted, and she immediately took the veil in the convent of Montecelli*.

Immediately after Buondelmonte's death a low and angry murmur rolled sullenly through the whole Florentine population and instinctive preparations were everywhere in progress for some dimly apprehended danger: as yet all was calm, but

* Codice Antico de' Buondelmonti, published in Toscana Illustrata, p. 283.—Malespini, capi civ., cv.—Dino Compagni, Istoria Fiorentina, Lib. i°, p. 3.—M. di C. Stefani, Lib. ii°, Rub. 64.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. ii°, p. 37.—S. Ammirato, Storia, Lib. i°, p. 71.—Giov. Villani, Lib. v., capi xxxviii., xxxix.—Macchiavelli, Storia Fior. Libro i°.

dark clouds were gathering around and the echo of distant thunder marked the coming storm. Each house was armed and fortified; towers were again mounted with warlike engines; *Serragli** were erected; the shops all closed; the people in painful doubt, and ancient citizens who remembered the troubles of other times looked on and trembled. Nor was their apprehension vain: the curse of Heaven seemed to rest on this devoted city and with but little cessation during three and thirty years did Florence reek with the blood of her children! and still they struggled but without any advantage on either side until Candlemas night of the year 1248 when the Ghibelines drove their adversaries from Florence and a public act proclaimed them banished men. Thus the young Donati's beauty like that of the Grecian Helena was fatal to the happiness of Florence and well might her poet exclaim,

The house from which proceeded all your wo,
Through that just anger that hath ruin'd ye
And ended all your sometime happy days,
Was honour'd much and all its consorts too.
O Buondelmonte, in an evil hour
Did others' counsel break thy plighted troth!
Many would fain rejoice that now are sad
If God had given thee to Ema's wave
When city-ward thou first didst wend thy way.
But fate decreed to that grey time-worn stone
Which guards the bridge that Florence cuts in twain,
One victim to her last sad hours of peace. †

Cotemporary Monarchs.—Emperors, Philip King of Germany, (never crowned at Rome), Otho IV. and Frederic II. a rival Emperor.—Pope Innocent III.—England: King John (died 1216).—France: Philip Augustus.—Greece: Alexius IV. 1203.—Latin Emperors of Constantinople from 1204 to 1261: Baldwin, Henry II. (1206 to 1216).—Leon and Castile: Alphonso IX.—Aragon: Pedro II.—Scotland: William the Lion, from 1166 to 1214.

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* Barricades. † Dante, Paradiso, Canto xvi.

CHAPTER X.

FROM A.D. 1215 TO A.D. 1261.

To imagine that a petty republic or any independent community may altogether escape from internal dissension would be an idea equally unsupported by facts, history, or the conditions of human nature: the path to greatness is much too confined and crowded for impatient and self-interested ambition; and the absence of superincumbent pressure leaves the social mass in a state of continual ebullition. Nor is this necessarily mischievous; both good and evil spring from one source, the same sun hardens clay and softens wax; it corrupts, preserves, destroys, and vivifies; the nature of the recipient alone marking the character of the influence; yet through every obstacle truth and intelligence win their way and something publicly useful is ever stricken out by the shock of conflicting interests; general prosperity though often obstructed preserves its course; and even parties and individuals must ultimately submit their motives to that public opinion, which judges, slowly and insensibly, but seldom incorrectly. It is only when commotions are roused by faction, and when universal selfishness makes the public good a mere handmaid to individual interest that these struggles are fatal to the commonwealth; places are then changed, and faction becomes the idol, public good the victim of private cupidity. In such times if a citizen gain respect by his honesty, he may

A.D. 1215.

have nominal followers but neither sincere adherents nor reckless partisans, and rarely an extensive influence; for a character based on integrity will only find support amongst the scattered masses of patriotism and national sincerity; it may have the hollow plaudits of many but the zealous aid of few because few have a disinterested love of virtue and true glory. But when power is acquired by cheap acts of private service at the public cost, by corruption of justice, unmerited promotion, the creation of useless places for undeserving men, an audacious advancement of party objects and a general prostration of the public weal; it imparts a noxious energy to party leaders which being founded on selfishness can only be maintained by dishonesty. And if along with this there exist a wide-spread hypocrisy, if cant ape piety and cloak ambition; if forms supersede religion, and virtue dwindle to a name; if honest sentiments be openly derided as visions of an inexperienced or distempered mind; if public principle and character be deemed mere articles of trade, and the unwary expression of a chivalrous sentiment softly smiled to scorn amidst the refinement of selfish grandeur; if such things exist, corruption is too widely spread and the country is nodding to its fall.

Florence had not yet arrived at this; there was a fierce sincerity in the character of her sons that refinement had not beaten down to the surface of more polished vice, nor had civilisation smoothed the rougher virtues; but revenge, ambition, and restlessness of spirit were common to the age, and Buondelmonte's death gave occasion for the exercise of all: a spirit was then raised that shivered every social relation, aggravated the struggle for power, and lighted up a flame that after enduring for ages was only extinguished with Florentine liberty.

Although long independent, Florence was yet but in the infancy of freedom: frugal, industrious, and commercial, she was also from her own ambition and the state of society essen-

tially warlike if not military: the aristocratic power was imposing; the nobles were able and willing leaders of their fellow citizens both to foreign conquest and domestic strife; they had arms, castles, and retainers, were once the enemies but now the masters of the state; war was *their* "art" and conquest was popular, perhaps necessary to the incipient republic. Their position gave them an influence in the community that discreetly used might have enabled the ancient aristocratical government to rival Venice in duration, but its abuse ruined them, and their power declined from the moment that an indignant people became strong enough to repel their insolence and usurpations.

Nevertheless these dissensions pained the more generous-minded, who unable to stop their fury sought an honourable excuse for withdrawing from such scenes of domestic insanity: this and the militant religion of the age induced several gentlemen to join the bands of Italian crusaders then moving eastward; amongst these one of the most conspicuous was Bonaguisa de' Galigari as the first to scale the walls and plant the standard of Florence on the towers of Damietta; nor did the rage of faction prevent his fellow-citizens at home from gaining both reputation and territory in external war, or from compelling the whole ancient Contado to acknowledge the supremacy and feel the growing power of the commonwealth.

A.D. 1216.

A.D. 1219.

Otho's death in 1218 removed every pretence for delaying Frederic the Second's coronation; the politics of Rome were no longer directed by the sagacious Innocent, and Honorius III., who succeeded him in 1216 consented in 1220 to perform that ceremony. In despite of ecclesiastical rancour and German enthusiasm Frederic has been described by less prejudiced writers as a man of active, refined, and vigorous intellect; prudent, brave and generous; of great bodily strength and personal beauty: capable of any fatigue and

A.D. 1220.

eager for fame in war politics and literature: he was courteous in disposition, witty, and unusually accomplished in all the knowledge and acquirements of the time: he was conspicuous as a poet and philosopher, was master of the Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian and Arabic tongues, and distinguished his long reign by wise laws and useful regulations, yet was by no means exempt from the fierceness and cruelty of the age. Although brought up from infancy by one of the ablest men that ever filled the popedom expressly as its child and champion and even owing his exaltation to pontifical support, he became one of its bitterest opponents: too early and too long behind the scenes, and much too sagacious not to detect the subservience of religion to temporal ambition; he spurned the superstition of his cotemporaries *, despised the maledictions as he defied the power of the church, and incurred its anathemas because he endeavoured to diminish its riches and authority. Learning, justice, and magnificence, are said to have been strongly conspicuous in him, but his Italian biographers having been for the most part Guelphs and churchmen, the stories related of him may be received as aspersions of sectarian malice against an excommunicated enemy; even Matthew Paris changed his tone when he was told of the emperor's talking of the necessity of reducing the church to its primitive poverty †.

The fate of his friend and minister Piero delle Vigne of Capua, if truly told, would nevertheless impress us with an unfavourable idea of his mercy and magnanimity: Piero was sent with Taddeo di Sessa as Frederic's advocate and representative to the council of Lyon which was assembled by his

* It was reported to him one day that his cavalry were doing some injury to a field of wheat upon which he checked them and added with a smile, "Have some respect gentlemen for these ears of corn for the seed they bear may one day become so many Christs." (Alluding to the Catholic belief in transubstantiation).

† Messia, Vite degli Imperadori.—Giannone, Storia Civile di Napoli, Lib. xvii., cap. iv.

friend Innocent the Fourth, nominally to reform the church, but really to impart more force and solemnity to a fresh sentence of excommunication and deposition. There Taddeo spoke with force and boldness for his master; but Piero was silent; and hence he was accused of being, like several others, bribed by the pope not only to desert the emperor but to attempt his life, and whether he were really culpable or the victim of court intrigue is still doubtful; Frederic on apparently good evidence condemned him to have his eyes burned out and the sentence was executed at San Miniato al Tedesco: being afterwards sent on horseback to Pisa, where he was hated, as an object for popular derision he died as is conjectured from the effects of a fall while thus cruelly exposed and not by his own hand as Dante believed and sung *.

At his coronation ambassadors were present, with magnificent retinues of distinguished gentlemen and their retainers, from all the Italian states, and amongst these the Florentine and Pisan embassies were conspicuous. The two republics were then at peace, but a silly misunderstanding at a private entertainment is said to have caused those wars which after

* Flam. del. Borgo, Dis. iv°. della Storia Pisana.—Giannone, Lib. xvii., cap. iii°.—Dante, Inferno, Canto xiii. See also Bargigi, Comment. on the Inferno.—Piero and his physician were supposed to be associated in an attempt to poison Frederic who, warned of his danger, when they came to present him with a cup of medicine for some slight indisposition, said, "*My friends, I have confidence in you and do not think you would offer me poison instead of medicine.*" Piero immediately answered. "*O my Liege, this my physician has often given you healthful remedies why now more than usual do you doubt?*" Frederic addressing the doctor with a stern look then said, "*Give me that draught.*" Upon which the latter, all confused, pretended to slip, and spilled the greater part. Frederic's suspicions increased, both were imprisoned, and the remaining portion of the beverage was given to a condemned man who very soon expired. The physician was instantly hung, and Piero, whose life he was unwilling to take, was despoiled of his possessions and condemned to be "*Abbacinato*," that is blinded by means of a heated *Bacino* or bason, a common punishment in those days; the sight being destroyed by holding the eyes forcibly open and bringing them within the focus of concentrated heat which dried up the humours and destroyed vision. (*Vide* Giannone, Lib. xvii.)

centuries of mischief only ended by the second and final subjugation of Pisa when Florence, herself exhausted, was almost at the termination of her race as an independent city.

It happened that a certain Roman cardinal invited the Florentine ambassadors to his house where one of them struck with the beauty of a little dog belonging to their host begged it as a present: next day the Pisan embassy was feasted and the dog, already promised to the Florentine, attracted equal admiration; a similar request followed and the cardinal forgetting his previous engagement answered it as graciously. Scarcely had the guests departed when the animal was sent for by the Florentine ambassador; then came the Pisan messenger but all too late: the two dignitaries met, restitution of the dog was immediately demanded and as decidedly refused: sharp altercation ensued, swords were soon drawn and an affray succeeded in which the Pisans overcame by their superior numbers. The manners of the age however did not admit of such a termination, both Florentine factions united against the Pisans and even volunteers from the capital came to the aid of the former; the affair had now become serious, almost national, and the Florentines took ample revenge. The Pisan ambassadors complained to their government and their haughty countrymen trusting to great naval power and consequent influence on the trade of Florence seized all the merchandise of that state which was within their grasp and refused any satisfaction, while the latter carried its forbearance to a point of humiliation that proves the great importance of its commercial relations with Pisa. The Florentines offered to take an equal number of bales of tow, or any other rubbish however vile, in lieu of the goods, and afterwards indemnify their own merchants, so that some shadow of satisfaction might be exhibited to the world for the sake of national reputation; adding that if this also failed their ancient friendship must cease and war be the only alternative. "*If the Floren-* A.D. 1222.

tines march we will endeavour to meet them half way" was the contemptuous answer of Pisa. War was therefore declared and in July the armies met at Castel del Bosco in the Pisan territory, Florence being probably assisted by Lucca as the Lucchese historians assert; for it may be doubted whether the former at that early period could have ventured alone to war with so powerful an adversary. A long and bloody battle ending in the total defeat of Pisa satisfied the honour and soothed the pride of Florence, while thirteen hundred prisoners including the greater part of the Pisan nobility convinced the people that this victory was a palpable instance of divine retribution for the arrogance and injustice of their adversaries*.

This sudden brawl about a lap-dog would scarcely have occasioned war had not other materials been already prepared: the growing jealousy of Pisa as may be seen from her implacability, proved a source of infinite evil not only to herself and Tuscany but to the whole Italian nation.

And here we have a striking example of the facility with which a mere local or even private squabble may be changed by force of circumstances into a national question; more especially in free states where partial excitement is apt to lead to overt acts, and which by provoking an ill-balanced retaliation may force governments to the alternative of compromising the honour of their country, or making that a grave subject of quarrel which neither policy, inclination, nor its intrinsic merits would otherwise have justified.

The next military operation was an unsuccessful attempt on the revolted town of Figline in the upper Val d'Arno, and the erection of the town and castle of Ancisa to hold it in check while the *Masnadieri*† continued the investment: wherefore it appears that internal divisions did not

A.D. 1223.

* R. Malespini, cap. xxiii. and xxiv. —Dal. Borgo, Dissertat. iv.—Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Rubrice, lxvi. and lxviii. —Tronci, Ann. Pisan.

† The *Masnadieri* were hired soldiers or paid militia and distinguished from the citizens, who gave their unpaid services to their country.

paralyse the external movements of Florence, and that the executive government supported by the ignoble citizens continued to extend its outward dominion while the nobles of either faction zealously co-operated in every public enterprise beyond the walls. Thus at the battle of Cortenuova and the siege of Brescia in 1237 and of Faenza in 1240 both Florentine factions were amicably serving in the imperial ranks *.

Under the Podestà Anchea of Perugia the Pistoians were defeated, the defences of Montefiore demolished, the walled town of Carmignano reduced and its insulting tower levelled to the ground †; Siena which had attacked A.D. 1229. Montepulciano was next invaded and ravaged up to the very gates of the capital. The Podestà Otto da Mandello of Milan took the field with the Carroccio, passed by Siena and laid waste all the country as far as San Quirico and Radicofani, made an inroad on the Perugians for A.D. 1230. assisting her and demanded the sovereignty of their lake as belonging to the abbey of Florence. The Perugians asked assistance of the Romans but the Florentine general retired and fell upon Siena with such vigour as to carry one of the suburbs and lead twelve hundred of the inhabitants away as prisoners ‡.

This predatory warfare recommenced in 1232 under

* It was at the latter siege that Frederic II. being in want of specie, issued promissory notes of leather with his head on one side and an eagle on the other. Their value was one golden *Agostaro* which was equivalent to a golden florin and a quarter or 20 carats of pure gold. These notes had great credit and circulation and were faithfully redeemed. (*Vide Fiorino d' Oro Illustrato, Capit°.* xxxi.) Malespini, cap. cxxviii., cxxix.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. xx., xxi.—S. Ammirato, Lib°. i., p. 82.

† Here stood a lofty tower bearing on its summit the image of two human arms extended in an insulting attitude of defiance towards Florence a mode of insult not uncommon then, and in the present instance was so sensibly felt by the Florentines that when anything was pointed out to them which they had no wish to see the usual expression was "*I cannot see it for the citadel of Carmignano is in the way.*" "*Non lo veggio perocche mi è dinanzi la Rocca di Carmignano.*"

‡ Malespini, c. cxvii.—Mar, di Coppo Stefani, Rub. 72.

Jacopo di Perugia to retaliate for a second investment and partial destruction of Montepulciano, and so far differed in its result from previous inroads as to gain a new ally and dependent in Count Hubert of the Maremma who annoyed by the power of Siena wisely selected a more distant master and agreed to do homage to the republic by the annual tribute of a hind covered with scarlet cloth: Florence was to succeed to his domains and shortly after in consequence of his death became possessed of Port Ercole and several other important places in the Maremma.

A.D. 1232.

The next year's campaign was conducted with equal energy, and Siena invested on three sides, the besiegers insulting it by throwing dead asses and other offensive matter into the town from their mangonels according to the custom of the time: Giovanni del Giudice of Rome being Podestà renewed these forays for fifty-three days in 1234 until the enemy wearied out by continual alarms sued for peace at the moment when another army was ready to take the field under Compagnone del Poltrone: a treaty was therefore concluded that secured indemnification and independence to Montepulciano with some stipulations in favour of Florence, which thus in despite of domestic jars had maintained offensive war for six years against a powerful enemy and finally accomplished her object, a thing that seldom happens.

A.D. 1233.

A.D. 1234.

Civil discords which had relaxed during the first ardour of the crusaders or were absorbed in the more generous enthusiasm of external war, revived at the approach of peace and for several years dim the lustre of Florentine history: parties and families were nearly balanced and private feuds were frequently suspended or finished by regular truces, treaties of peace being drawn up with all the technical forms of public diplomacy and witnessed by public notaries in presence of the magistrates.

A.D. 1235.

The disputes between church and empire for temporal

possessions, religion being the rallying-cry, still continued in all their violence, and added fresh venom to the Guelph and Ghibeline factions which rose or fell according to the talents of their two great chieftains. Frederic returned excommunicated but successful from Palestine, and suddenly descending on Puglia soon regained the kingdom of Naples which the pope had treacherously occupied in his absence. Tuscany was divided, but the imperialists always maintained an ascendency in Pisa both from ancient obligations and against the insidious intrigues of Rome: missionaries had been dispatched into many parts of Italy ostensibly to preach peace but really to exact an oath of allegiance to the pope, in the accomplishment of which the bishops were ordered to assist. The emperor had prohibited these inconvenient messengers, but one of them penetrating as pope's-legate into Sardinia, then a province of Pisa, persuaded the four principal vassals of that republic to surrender their fiefs and receive them again at his hands as feudatories of the church. This enraged the Pisan government which accordingly drew closer to Frederic, but as the pope had many blind adherents there, even in purely temporal affairs, both factions flared up with new spirit and threw the city into confusion *. A.D. 1240.

Frederic repaired to Pisa for the purpose of concerting a vigorous opposition to the Church whose anathemas were still rolling in successive volleys over him; a council was summoned at Rome for more solemn cursing; but the emperor treated it with scorn, arrested all the ecclesiastics that came within his reach on their way to the Lateran and hearing that a bevy of prelates was proceeding from Genoa to Rome he persuaded the Pisans to unite their galleys with his Sicilian squadron and captured them. But although at war with Genoa, Pisa had too much respect for the clergy not to A.D. 1241.

* Flam. dal Borgo, Dissert. iv., dell' Istoria Pisana, tom. i., Parte i., p. 178.

give them timely notice of what was preparing; yet confident in the skill and bravery of Genoese mariners the prelates sailed and fell in with the combined squadrons off the island of Giglio: after a bloody battle the Genoese were defeated on 3rd May 1240 with the loss of twenty-five galleys and 4000 prisoners; prelates and all being conducted in triumph to Pisa where these dignitaries were honoured by silver instead of iron chains.

Frederic hailed this victory as the judgment of Heaven in a rightful cause, and Piero delle Vigne exerted all his eloquence to prove it; meanwhile this prince advanced to Rome and Pope Gregory IX. bowed down by extreme age and mortification soon after expired*. Celestine IV. succeeded, but lived only a few days and made room for Sinebaldo Fieschi the intimate friend of Frederic who however knew both him and the Church too well not to feel that he had lost a friend in the cardinal and acquired a new and bitter enemy in the pope.

Feeling himself insecure from the emperor's great power in Italy Innocent IV. sent secretly to Genoa for a squadron of
A.D. 1243. galleys and escaping Frederic's vigilance proceeded by stealth to Civita Vecchia where he embarked and arrived safely at Genoa, then departing for Lyon he
A.D. 1244. immediately prepared to call a council for the emperor's deposition.

Meanwhile Frederic employed himself in strengthening his own authority by depressing the Guelphs; he took hostages
A.D. 1245. from both factions in Florence with apparent impartiality but soon exposed his real views by releasing the Ghibelines while their unfortunate rivals were allowed to
A.D. 1246. pine away in the fortress of San Miniato as objects of public charity†. The preservation of a strong party in that city was essential, and he therefore maintained an

* Muratori, An. d'Italia.—Giannone, Istor. Civ. di Napoli, vol. viii., Lib. xvii., cap. ii.—Flam. del Borgo, Diss. iv., p. 208.—Pignotti, Storia di Toscana.
† G. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. xxxiii.

active correspondence with the potent family of Uberti, the acknowledged chiefs of his faction, promising them ample support in expelling their adversaries and establishing a purely Ghibeline government.

Frederic was then paramount in Italy, and had in fact sheltered himself against the sudden blasts of priestly anathemas by retaining a disciplined body of Saracens in his service to whom he gave the ancient city of Nocera as a possession; thus securing a strong fortress and twenty thousand faithful soldiers depending entirely on himself and invulnerable to the sharpest maledictions of the Lateran. The Ghibelines now felt the full strength of their position, while the recent flight of Innocent, in despite of his formal excommunication and deposition of Frederic in 1245, depressed the spirits and unnerved the strength of their adversaries. Arms, friends, money, and intrigues were all diligently employed by the emperor to increase his influence in the Italian cities, and aware that parties were nearly balanced at Florence he hoped by a bold and vigorous effort to drive every Guelph from the town and reduce it to his own devotion. He called on the Uberti to smite strongly and demolish their adversaries, and the rising passions of either faction gave awful note of a bloody and tremendous struggle.

There was no need of a second word; peace had disappeared at Buondelmonte's death; both parties now flew to arms; even the middle classes, who had hitherto preserved some union and principally upheld the state, now joined the general cry, and the year 1247 was marked by slaughter, rapine, outrage and conflagration*. Every occupation ceased but that of arms: the plebeians, even the lowest classes of the town, were soon affected; and pride and hatred and faction, and ambition, raged equally in the lordly tower and the humblest dwelling. Each district of the city was a separate camp, each A.D. 1247.

* Malespini.

battled with its neighbour in promiscuous fury; but in four of them were as many strong positions of the Ghibelines where the struggle was pecularly severe: thus in San Piero Scheraggio *; round the Duomo and the Torre di Sancia; about Porta San Piero; and beneath the lofty tower of Scarafaggio de' Soldanieri; not only citizen with citizen but persons of the same name and lineage stabbed at each others' breast with indiscriminate rage; and thus the Buondelmonti and Scolari; the Buonaguisi and Brunelleschi, disregarded the ties of consanguinity in this general frenzy. Tower fought with tower; house with house; and every span of earth was wet with blood: no nuptials, no feasts, no pastimes; but in their stead funerals and wounds and homicides, now of this citizen, now of that, with short and weeping intervals.

The centre of Ghibeline strength was at the Uberti palace where they were opposed by the Bagnesi, Pulci, and Guidalotti backed by some Oltr' Arno Guelphs who had crossed the river on the upper wear: at Porta San Piero the Tedaldini were strong in towers, and along with the Lisci, Abati, Giuochi, Galigai, Caponsachi and some of the Buonaguisi, opposed the Donati Bisdomini and Pazzi, while the remainder of the Buonaguisi stood firm in the Guelphic ranks. At the Porta del Duomo, Sancia de' Cattani chief of the Ghibelines headed the Agolanti and a strong body of citizens: they were met by the Tosinghi and Arrigucci, but the Brunelleschi like the Buonaguisi divided on either side. In San Pancrazio the Lamberti, Toschi, Arnieri and Miglorelli with a crowd of Ghibeline burghers closed round the Scarafaggio; they were checked by the Vechetti and Tornaquinci, but the Pigli sided with both factions: in Borgo Sant' Apostolo, the Soldanieri, Scolari and Guidi encountered the Scali, Bostichi,

* San Piero Scheraggio once occupied the spot where the north end of the Royal Gallery now is, opposite to the Palazzo Vecchio. The Uberti Palace stood on the present Piazza Gran Ducale.

Giandonati, and Buondelmonti. Beyond Arno the Obriacchi and Mannelli were the only nobles for the imperial cause, in opposition to the Guelphic Rossi and Nerli.

These were the principal heads of battle, and its fury was still raging when Frederic, watching the crisis, sent his son Frederic of Antioch with 1600 German horse towards the capital and gave fresh spirit to the Ghibelines. The Podestà Jacopo di Rota had battled stoutly for the Guelphs whom the intelligence of this reinforcement urged to closer work and a speedy termination of the struggle ere the enemy could form a junction within the town. The Ghibelines on the contrary studiously avoided a combat until they could pounce with augmented vigour on their adversaries. Cautiously abandoning all weaker positions they concentrated in great force round the palace and towers of the Uberti, believing that if they succeeded in gaining the open places of Florence they could afterwards more easily reduce the towers and houses which only admitted of a few defenders: uniting therefore with the King of Antioch's men-at-arms and issuing from their barricades in powerful sections they brought an overwhelming force to bear on every Guelphic position, successively carrying each, until the whole mass of their enemies was driven upon the *Serragli* of the Bagnesi and Guadalotti where they stood at bay. But they were all too weak; their numbers diminished, the enemy was reinforced, and the struggle became hopeless. A.D. 1248.

A retreat was determined on, when they suddenly heard that Rustico Mangonelli one of their principal leaders had expired: this gallant knight after many valorous deeds had fallen mortally wounded by an arrow from the tower of the Soldanieri, and his fellows were too high-spirited to leave the body as an object of insult from a haughty faction, who according to the then barbarous custom would have dragged it ignominiously through the streets and plunged it in the Arno. Thoughtless of every danger, eager for the honour of their

dead chief and animated by one spirit, they marched tired as they were, to where the body lay and carried it off to the temple of San Lorenzo with a military pomp to which their dented shields gave more effect than all the misplaced trappings of a funeral train. These iron obsequies moved on in grim array; the bier was borne by six knights besmeared with blood and dust, each with a lance or crossbow on the outward arm: no funeral torch was seen in flank or front; but in their stead, the grey gleam of battered arms with a flash from the spear, or the partizan; it was more the triumph of a conqueror than a funeral, the torn and trailing banners and the bloody corpse alone proclaiming its mournful character. Not a countenance betrayed any emotion of fear or softness: grief was dimly seen, but ire and vengeance were predominant. None pitied the fallen knight; each envied his renown and honourable death, but felt himself disgraced in still existing for future shame and long enduring sorrow.

Such thoughts, first muttered then audibly expressed sud-
A.D. 1249. denly roused up the Guelphic youth who would have again begun the battle and fallen, and lie festering in their fathers' sepulchres rather than wander as fugitives with their wives and children to exist on a stranger's bounty. Age and prudence prevailed; Rustico Mangonelli was interred in gloomy silence and the defeated remnant of these Guelphic bands slowly and sullenly retired *.

Thus fell for a season the Guelphic faction, but still unbroken; they retreated to neighbouring towns and castles, principally to Monte Varchi and Capraja whence a predatory and annoying warfare was maintained against the capital: to this the Ghibelines opposed taxation and German auxiliaries, but the foreigners were beaten at Monte Varchi with great slaughter so that Frederic, after an unsuccessful encounter

* Malespini, cap. cxxxvii.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. xxxiii.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 84.—Giuseppe, M. Mecatti, Storia Cronologica Fiorentina.

with the people of Parma, passed into Tuscany where joining the Florentines he attacked and took Capraia making prisoners many Guelphic chiefs whom, it is said, were carried to Puglia and put to death, Rinieri Buondelmonte alone escaping but with the loss of his eyes, and he too afterwards died a hermit in the island of Monte Christo *.

The Ghibelines also abused their victory and soon lost all popularity in Florence by the destruction of towers, palaces, and even churches, merely because they belonged to or were frequented by the rival faction: amongst these was the magnificent dwelling of the Tosinghi in the old market-place, an edifice celebrated for its size and beauty and distinctively called "*the Palace* †." A lofty tower called the *Guardamorto* at the entrance of the Corso de' Adimari was undermined and tumbled headlong down, but swerving in its fall cleared the baptistry of Saint John which the rage of party had doomed to destruction only because it was the usual place of Guelphic assemblies. The escape of this ancient and revered edifice was hailed as a miracle and its intended ruin execrated by the majority of citizens; nor was this rabid vengeance against inanimate things a forgotten, or neglected precedent when their adversaries returned to power.

These were Frederic's last exploits in Tuscany: after the capture of Capraja he retired into Puglia, while the administration of his party in Florence became universally odious, their private deportment insolent, and their taxation grievous: the private citizens, whom common vexation bound in closer bands, began to feel their strength; they became impatient of wrong, saw plainly that the church would prove the only real support

* Malespini, cap. cxxxviii.—G. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. xxxv.

† Il Palazzo.—It was 90 Braccia, or about 170 English feet in height and adorned by successive ranges of small marble columns after the fashion of the leaning tower of Pisa, and attached to it was a tower of 250 feet high of similar materials and architecture.

for national independence, and the best nurse of that liberty which then was and must ever be in danger under the wolfish protection of unrestricted royalty *.

'The emperor's absence together with the defeat and capture of a natural son by the Bolognese also depressed the spirits of his adherents in the north; and the discomfiture and nearly total destruction of the Florentine army by the Guelphs in the upper Val d'Arno left these a fair occasion to reëstablish themselves which they were too sagacious to neglect. Tired of continual alarms, of repeated tumults, and the everlasting disorder with which Florence was filled by the insolent insubordination of the Ghibeline nobles especially the Uberti; galled too by the pressure of increased taxation ostensibly levied to oppose the Guelphs; the citizens deemed it a far wiser act to recal the exiles than ruin the commonwealth by eternal divisions and intestine war.

A.D. 1250.

As early therefore as the twentieth of October the people guided by some principal citizens assembled together in arms, first at the church of San Firenze, and then through fear of the Uberti at that of Santa Croce: here all their grievances were enumerated in short, pointed, and exciting harangues, the conduct of their oppressors was sharply arraigned, the distinction of Guelph and Ghibeline denounced, and a resolution passed no longer to submit to the vexatious insolence of the nobles. Amongst these a more intense hate attached to the Uberti who glorying in their German ancestry treated the Italians like mere slaves and trampled upon them as if they were not composed of the same materials as themselves. A resolution to assume the government was carried by acclamation, but much caution was necessary to give full effect to so bold and uncompromising a decision, wherefore they determined neither to separate nor quit their arms until this purpose should be completed. Marching in a body to the towers

* Malespini, cap. cxxxvii.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii.

of the Ancioni in San Lorenzo and establishing themselves in that position was the work of a moment; the Ghibeline Podestà was then driven from power and replaced by a man of their own; a provisional government of thirty-six citizens was organised, and a complete revolution accomplished. The nobles depressed by their recent overthrow made no resistance, and the Guelphs' restoration becoming every hour more popular was finally urged so home on their adversaries that even one of the distrusted Uberti became an advocate for the emperor's acquiescence: but Frederic was already dead and the despondency of his faction augmented, wherefore the people assuming new courage easily compelled their opponents to consent to the exiles' recal and a general pacification.

A reconstruction of the whole machine of government was loudly and universally demanded, as well as an efficient organisation of all external means of defence ere a new emperor should have leisure to strengthen himself and disturb the national tranquillity. Florence was accordingly divided into six parts called "*Sestos*" with two magistrates to each, chosen by the citizens of every division so as to make a governing body of twelve "*Anziani*" or elders, whose official authority lasted for one year: along with these, but of superior rank, a new magistrate charged with the administration of civil and criminal justice was substituted for the Podestà whose office was now abolished, but restored the following year with more limited authority*. The new officer was denominated "*Captain of the People*" in order to mark more distinctly the spirit of his duty, which was to protect inferior citizens against aristocratic power by a prompt and uncompromising execution

* Macchiavelli says that the Podestà was *created* at this period, but this is evidently one of his careless assertions, as every other historian differs with him. Beautiful as he is in his writing and profound in his knowledge and remarks, this justly celebrated author is careless in his facts although correct in the general results.

of justice: and to avoid all local attachments it was decreed, as in the case of a Podestà, that so high a dignity could only be held by a foreigner, Uberto di Lucca being the first on whom that honour was conferred.

As authority, however strong in theory, requires wherewithal to give it vitality, for like a statue of the human figure it cannot be sustained without extraneous support, the military strength of the republic was remodelled in a more effective form both for internal police and national protection: all the Urban population capable of bearing arms was divided into twenty companies and that of the Contado into ninety-six "*Pivieri*" or unions of several parishes, each union being connected with a certain number of others and forming what was denominated a "*League*."

Every civic company served under its own banner or "*Gonfalon*" round which it rallied at the sound of the great city bell, called the "*Campana*," or at the command of the "*Capitano del Popolo*." Each *Piviere* had also its Gonfalon, and a body of horse was attached to every "*Sesto*" besides the regular companies. Their arms were as various as their ensigns but all distinctly organised and suited to each other; cavalry, heavy-armed infantry, archers, cross-bowmen, baggage train, and some bands of irregulars denominated "*Ribaldi*,"* each under its respective standard, composed the military force of the community, which could assemble in great strength and with wonderful celerity †.

The commander of each company had charge of the colours and thence was denominated "*Gonfaloniere*," the office being renewed every Whitsuntide with great pomp and the several

* *Ribaldi* originally signified irregular undisciplined troops or rather perhaps the populace taken indiscriminately in emergencies, but the appellation degenerated into a term of reproach and was, probably from the licentious conduct of these troops, at last applied generally to all persons of infamous character: hence "*Rebel.*"

† Goro Dati, Storia, Lib. ii., and iii., pp. 26, 37.

standards delivered in the square of the "*Mercato Nuovo*" to the respective chiefs of companies. These regulations were of singular importance inasmuch as they employed the armed hand of the people to enforce the execution of their own laws against a haughty and potent nobility who rarely deigned to submit to the voice of unsupported justice.

As a further security the strong palace of the Podestà, now called the "*Bargello*," was erected for the permanent seat of government which before this having no fixed place of meeting used to assemble wherever circumstances made it most convenient. They also took this occasion for reducing the height of private towers, to about ninety-six feet or something more than a third of their usual altitude; and almost all belonging to between eighty and ninety noble families, of whom few possessed less than two; and their massiveness may be more easily conceived from the circumstance of the materials having been nearly sufficient to erect the city walls beyond the Arno.

The people in this revolutionary movement conducted themselves with great moderation and carefully avoided the example set them by their oppressors; no one was molested and nothing was destroyed; the inhabitants were free in action and opinion and as long as peace was preserved no inquiry was made whether a citizen were Guelph or Ghibeline; he only being held an enemy who attempted to disturb public tranquillity: even the Uberti submitted with grace, and by such measures the more opulent citizens and great mass of the community, forming what Villani calls "*Il Primo Popolo*," were inspired with new spirit and felt confident in their own united strength, as well against the power of individual chiefs as the general insolence and injustice of the great*.

By this arrangement every Sesto of the city was a military

* Malespini, capi cxli., cli.—Villani, Lib. vi., cap. xxxix., xl., xlii.—Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. ii., R. 89-90.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. ii.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. ii., p. 90.

as well as a civil division; each with its own separate powers, interests, and resources; each in close union with the neighbouring compartment, and all vigilant over public interests. The twenty companies were distributed according to the size and population of the Sesto, those of San Piero Scheraggio and *Oltr' Arno* having four, the others but three each: their equipment varied much in the same manner as in other Italian states of the period where it was customary to select from amongst the wealthy citizens, and from the nobles too, when they became citizens, one or two squadrons of horsemen in complete armour: in Florence it would appear as if there were one company of men-at-arms to each sesto, and the same quarter also sent forth two other chosen bodies each of which was double the number of the cavalry; one of cross-bowmen the other of heavy-armed infantry, the latter being equipped with a *palvese* or great shield, a helmet and a long lance; the rest were lighter armed, and all between the ages of seventeen and seventy were enrolled. The only officers were the sectional chief, his ensign and the captain of each company; the whole body being commanded by the Captain of the People or the Podestà.

In order to give more dignity to the national army and form a rallying point for the troops, there had been established a great car called the *Carroccio* drawn by two beautiful oxen which carrying the Florentine standard generally accompanied them to the field. This car was painted vermilion, the bullocks were covered with scarlet cloth, and the driver, a man of some consequence, was dressed in crimson, was exempt from taxation, and served without pay: these oxen were maintained at the public charge in a public hospital and the white and red banner of the city was spread above the car between two lofty spars. Those taken at the battle of Monteaperto are still exhibited in Siena Cathedral as trophies of that fatal day*.

* Malespini, cap. clxiv.—Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Rubric lxxii.

Macchiavelli erroneously places the adoption of the Carroccio by the Florentines at this epoch, but it was long before in use and probably was copied from the Milanese as soon as Florence became strong and independent enough to equip a national army. Eribert Archbishop of Milan seems to have been its author, for in the war between Conrad the first and that city, besides other arrangements for military organisation, he is said to have finished by the invention of the *Carroccio:* it was a pious and not impolitic imitation of the ark as it was carried before the Israelites *. This vehicle is described, and also represented in ancient paintings as a four-wheeled oblong car drawn by two, four, or six bullocks: the car was always red, and the bullocks, even to their hoofs, covered as above described, but with red or white according to the faction; the ensign staff was red, lofty, and tapering, and surmounted by a cross or golden ball: on this between two white fringed veils hung the national standard, and half way down the mast a crucifix. A platform ran out in front of the car spacious enough for a few chosen men to defend it, while behind on a corresponding space the musicians with their military instruments gave spirit to the combat: mass was said on the Carroccio ere it quitted the city, the surgeons were stationed near it, and not unfrequently a chaplain also attended it to the field †. The loss of the Carroccio was a great disgrace and betokened utter discomfiture; it was given to the most distinguished knight who had a public salary and wore conspicuous armour and a golden belt: the best troops were stationed round it, and there was frequently the hottest of the fight ‡.

* Rolandino however asserts that Padua had a Carroccio in the time of Attila; and the supposed Archbishop Turpin gives it an eastern origin amongst the Saracens (Vide cap. xix., Cronica di Turpin) which however may rather tend to prove the more modern date of that Chronicle. (Vide Giulio Ferrario, Storia ed analisi degli Antiche Romanzi di Cavalleria, &c., pp. 46, 258).

† Macchiavelli, Lib. ii°.—Malavolti, Storia di Siena, Parte i°, Lib. iii., p. 25.—Sismondi, vol. i., p. 255.—Sigonius, Hist., Lib. viii., p. 197.

‡ Muratori, Antichità Italiana, vol. iii.,

The Carroccio seems to have been admirably adapted to preserve the incipient discipline of those early times when the Italian republics were only commencing their military career, by preventing inexperienced troops from tumultuously breaking their ranks either in advancing or retiring with undue precipitation: the station of each company depended on that of the car which was generally placed in the rear as a rallying point from whence a new and more determined attack could be made. It served well to connect the troops, to give the civic infantry a degree of confidence in themselves, and spirit enough to withstand the heavy charges of the men-at-arms who were all gentlemen, and formed the great strength of armies at that period. It perhaps first showed that steady infantry would deprive both knights and barbed steeds of a portion of their terror; but they never dreamed in those chivalrous days of the great superiority that more recent tactics have imparted to infantry over the cavalry of later times, a secret which Gonsalvo di Cordova first revealed to modern horsemen.

Although the Italian bullocks walk more rapidly than the northern race yet the movements of these armies were necessarily slow, but the troops were kept well in hand and the whole force concentrated on one point; which, when we consider that victory then depended less on tactics than individual strength and courage, was a considerable advance in discipline.

The colours belonged to the whole army not to any particular column or company; they were the banners of their city and all the troops were citizens; to support the point on which *they* waved was the object, the duty, and the safety of all; no smoke prevented the standard from being seen; the mast that carried it was thirty feet in height, and all the physical and

Dissert. xxviii, who cites Arnolfo, Rolandino, Burcard, Cronica di Parma, Antonio Campi, Storia di Cremona and others.—Sigonius, Lib. viii., p. 197.—Storia degli Antiche Romanzi, p. 259.

moral force of the army was directed towards it. Where the movement of the Carroccio was to be followed, rapid evolutions of infantry could not be expected, but neither was there more celerity on the enemy's part, and the troops once ranged, the battle was commonly decided by hard fighting: the *Feditori* who began the onslaught, if unsuccessful, generally fell back on the second line for support, or retreated through it and rallied on the third, and the battles before the time of the Condottieri were often obstinate and bloody*. Besides the *Carroccio* the Florentine army was accompanied by a great bell called "*Martinella*" or "*Campana degli Asini*" which for thirty days before hostilities began, tolled continually day and night from the arch of "*Porta Santa Maria*" as a public declaration of war and as the ancient chronicle hath it "*for greatness of mind that the enemy might have full time to prepare himself*†." At the same time also the *Carroccio* was drawn from its place in the offices of San Giovanni by the most distinguished knights and noble vassals of the republic, and conducted in state to the "*Mercato Nuovo*" where it was placed upon the circular stone still existing, and remained there until the army took the field. Then also the *Martinella* was removed from its station to a wooden tower placed on another car, and with the *Carroccio* served to guide the troops by night and day. "*And with these two pomps, of the Carroccio and Campana*" says Malespini, "*the pride of the old citizens our ancestors was ruled.*"

The death of Frederic liberated many Florentine prisoners and hostages, and determined the Anziani, after a solemn

* The situation of the Carroccio varied according to the custom of the city to which it belonged: thus we find in Tassoni's "*Secchia Rapita*" (cap. v., stanza 53) that

"Il Carroccio restò com 'ora usanza
Trai Bolognesi, appo il sinistro corno" &c.

Its station was in the left wing of the army. Also see Muratori, Antichita Dissert. xxvi.

† Malespini, cap. clxiv.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii.

pacification between hostile factions, to recal the Guelphs who were on several accounts less unpopular than their rivals; for independent of their carriage being less haughty and overbearing both politics and religion united in making the cause of the Church most agreeable to the majority. They were restored in the beginning of 1251 after two years of exile but found their power abridged and their influence diminished; for the late revolution had annihilated the exclusive government of an aristocracy; the democratic rule now commenced, the city was at once calmed and united and the republic increased in dominion riches and grandeur*. It is says Macchiavelli, impossible to conceive the extent of force and authority acquired by Florence in a very short period after this revolution when she rapidly mounted up not only to be the first city of Tuscany but one of the first class in Italy itself.

A.D. 1251.

An expedition against Pistoja in favour of the exiled Guelphs of that city was strongly opposed by the Ghibelines who refused to take the field against their friends in an aggressive and unjust war which, however veiled in plausibility, was a manifest breach of the peace by a direct attack on the Ghibeline faction. The Guelphs on the contrary maintained that they meant no harm to the imperialists, but merely to unite parties in Pistoja as they were at Florence: the Ghibelines maintained their opposition, but the expedition proceeded; the Pistoians were defeated at Monte Robolini but preserved their town, and the Florentines returned unsuccessful though victorious. The government bent on union and the due assertion of its authority drove the refractory Ghibelines into exile and made a closer union with the Guelphic party who in the triumph of the moment resolved to change the standard of Florence from a white lily in a red field to the red lily in

* Malespini, cap. clii.

a field of white; a flag which there seems some reason for supposing they had previously adopted in their civil conflicts with the Ghibelines who still retained the ancient banner *.

These new exiles joined the Ubaldini and maintained a predatory but unsuccessful warfare in the Mugello; then shifting to the Val d' Arno and uniting with some German remnants of Frederic's army they defeated the Florentine Guelphs and took the town of Montaia: treaties were afterwards concluded by the captain of the people and podestà of Florence, with Lucca Genoa, San Miniato, and Orvieto; and the Anziani prepared for a vigorous campaign. Alarmed at the vicinity of a purely Ghibeline town a restoration of the Pistoian Guelphs was their principal object; the recent success of their own exiles touched their pride, and the loss of Montaia was a disgrace to their arms. In the depth of a severe winter they took the field, regained Montaia in face of the united armies of Pisa and Siena, marched on Pistoia, besieged Tizana, and while still before it, heard of the defeat of the Lucchese army by the Pisans at Monopoli; terms were instantly made with the besieged, and a sudden march brought them on the victor's flank at Pontadera where encumbered by prisoners and spoil the Pisans were totally defeated with great slaughter. Many of them were delivered over to the Lucchese as an indemnification for their recent loss, and the podestà with 3000 of his beaten troops was carried in triumph to Florence †. A.D. 1252.

This battle presents a curious example of the mutability of

* S. Ammirato, Lib. ii°.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vi., capi. xxxiii. xxxiv., Dante, *Paradiso*, Canto xvi.

† According to Malavolti the Senese and Pisans revenged this defeat by driving the Florentines nearly to the gates of Florence and carrying off much booty and many prisoners: and Flam° del Borgo confirms this account by citing the Senese Chronicle of Andrea Dei but with a slight difference as to time. (Vide Diss. Quinta, p. 287. Malavolti, Parte i^a, Lib. Quinta, p. 65.)—Malespini, cap. cl. —Gio Villani, Lib. vi., cap. xlix.

fortune, for at one moment the Lucchese soldiers were dragged away in bonds amidst the scoffs of the victorious Pisans; the next saw them leading their captors captive and returning their unmanly insults as they moved in chains to the capital*. Without a halt the victorious army marched against Count Guido Novello and the exiled Ghibelines in Fighine which surrendered on condition that they were to be restored and the Count set free; these conditions were observed but the town was destroyed.

In this manner the popular government of Florence moved steadily forward for ten years gathering honour and riches and spreading its influence over the greater part of Tuscany: Count Guido Novello who had joined the Ghibelines and excited the people of Figlini to revolt was attacked and beaten and the town recaptured; Pistoia, after repeated failures was finally reduced to subjection; the Guelphs were re-
A.D. 1253. stored, and the Florence gate of that city turned into a citadel and placed in the hands of the Anziani.

The dominions of Volterra where the Ghibelines were paramount was next assailed, and the country laid
A. D. 1254. waste up to the very walls of the city: this proved too much for the inhabitants to bear; they sallied with a great force of infantry and were nearly victorious when the Florentine horse dashed gallantly over the rocky and uneven ground and with a terrible shock drove back their army in confusion to the town, but so closely pursued that victors and vanquished rolled in together, and the strongest city in Tuscany was taken in an instant. Here bloodshed ceased; no robbery, no violence, not an insult was allowed; the vanquished submitted without a blow and Volterra became ever after a vassal of the Florentine republic. The army then marched on Pisa, passed the river Era and devastated the surrounding country

* Ammirato, Lib. ii°, p. 96.—M. di Coppo Stefano, Rub. ci.

while the Pisans weak from domestic jars became alarmed and disheartened; they sued for peace on any conditions: and the victors accepting every preliminary returned home to dictate the definitive treaty. It was settled, without much appearance of moderation, that all Florentine merchandise should be free while in Pisan territories; that several towns should be surrendered to the Genoese, Lucchese, and Florentines, and others emancipated; besides several articles of less importance all too severe not to be infringed on the first favourable occasion.

The success of Florence had been constant since democracy first gained the ascendant there, and the unusual good fortune of the year 1254 had procured for it the emphatic denomination of "*Anno Vittorioso*," yet it was darkened by the permanent institution of the Inquisition, an act supported by the government more perhaps from political than religious motives because all heretics were naturally attached to the emperor's party, and under Innocent IV. for the first time the stake and the faggot were seen in Florence *.

Conrad son of the late emperor arrived in Puglia the year after his father's death and immediately attempted a reconciliation with the pope: this was rejected by Innocent, at whose instigation the country rose in arms against him; war and its usual cruelties succeeded, until the death of Conrad in the spring left the whole kingdom at his mercy and depressed the Ghibeline spirit throughout Italy.

Except Pisa and Siena all Tuscany was either sincerely or politically Guelph; even the Counts Pepo de' Visconti of Campiglia and Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi, though Ghibelines themselves, had found it necessary to join the Guelphic republic. Pisa was therefore forced into an ignominious peace

* Lami, Lezioni, pp. 527, 531, 544, 570.—R. Malespini, cap. clv.—G. Villani, Lib. vi., c. lviii.—Sc. Ammirato, Lib. ii°, p. 101.—Flam. dal Borgo, Diss. v^a, p. 296.—Mecatti, Stor. Cron. —Muratori, Annali.

and Siena principally in consequence of this state of things submitted to terms scarcely less humiliating: these last were hastened by a vigorous and successful campaign on the part of Florence who at the pontiff's death expected some unwelcome changes in the south of Italy: the negotiations with Siena were carried on principally by the celebrated Brunetto di Buonaccorso Latini, the friend and master of Dante, and included the relinquishment of all rights asserted by Siena over the petty republics of Montalcino and Montepulciano with the guarantee of their independence by Florence: these were the most difficult and important articles of this treaty which in addition to another with Arezzo concluded the transactions of this triumphant year *.

Florence was now rich powerful and quiet, wherefore Count Guido Novello finding the difficulty of retaining his feudal authority in the immediate vicinity of so ambitious a republic, wisely disposed of his rights in the towns of Empoli, Monterapoli, Vinci, Cerreto, Collegonzi and others, to the Florentines for ten thousand Pisan lire. A.D. 1255.

The rising influence of Manfred natural son of Frederic II. now first affected Viterbo which making war on Orvieto involved Florence in the cause of her ally, and a body of five hundred men-at-arms were dispatched under Count Guido Guerra to the latter's assistance: these necessarily passed by Arezzo, which like the rest of Italy was divided by the two contending factions but not so violently as to cause any open rupture. Tempted by such a favourable occasion the Aretine Guelphs demanded assistance of Count Guido to expel their rivals, and he, seduced by a promise of the citadel as a reward, disregarded the existing alliance of both parties with Florence and lent himself without hesitation to the former.

* Scip. Ammirato, Lib. ii., p. 104, differs from all other historians in his date of this treaty, which he places in the following year.—Malavolti, Parte i^a, p. 65.

When the rumour of this event arrived at Florence the people, although hating the Ghibelines, honestly expressed their indignation at so flagrant a breach of faith and were not without fears of its consequences on Pistoia and other cities where the Ghibelines were powerful, and whose obedience depended in a great measure on their security *. The citizens therefore armed at once and with a contingent from Siena moved on Arezzo; but Count Guido an independent chieftain, would not tamely resign such a prize as the citadel and therefore prepared to defend it: the Arretine Guelphs had no other reward in their power, and were unwilling to forfeit their word to him, upon which Florence from a sense of justice and policy immediately lent them 12,000 lire, and restored the Ghibelines.

The Ghibeline power which Frederic's death and the inferior capacity of Conrad had materially reduced, began to acquire new life under Manfred Prince of Tarento natural son of the late emperor: this prince inherited the talents courage and energy of his father as well as his personal graces and amiability; and he has equally though perhaps with even less reason shared the unmeasured abuse of Guelphs and churchmen. Left regent of the two Sicilies, his talents soon began to attract sufficient attention to raise his brother Conrad's jealousy, from the last effects of which it is probable that nothing but extreme prudence saved him: at the latter's death he re-assumed the government, became tutor to his infant nephew Conradine, tried in vain to conciliate the pope; who taking advantage of existing circumstances overran the kingdom; and after much hard fighting and a succession of romantic adventures reëstablished the royal authority so fully and fairly that when a false report of Conradine's death reached Naples, of which he is accused of being the author, he was elected king by the clergy, the great barons, and inferior gen-

* Orl°. Malavolti, Parte i^a, Lib v°, p. 67.—Villani, Lib. vi°, cap. lxi.

tlemen; for the *people* in our modern sense were unheard of except as tools for war or objects of especial rapacity. On the truth about Conradine being announced by his messengers Manfred's reply was that the Sicilian kingdom had been lost to his nephew, and that he had recovered it by his own exertions alone; that German rule and German troops were alike hateful to the people who were determined not to suffer the one or the other; that consequently a boy like Conradine could never hold the sceptre a moment, and finally that having once mounted, he Manfred could not now descend from the Sicilian throne; but that his nephew should succeed him and if he would come to Naples, should be treated as his own child, and instantly acknowledged as his heir. This offer being refused Manfred continued to reign, and a primary object of policy was to strengthen his connexion with all Ghibeline cities and become the head of that faction in Tuscany *. The firm and prosperous
A.D. 1256. administration of the Guelphs excluded him from Florence; he therefore it is said incited Pisa, still smarting with the hard conditions of her recent peace, to try the chance of war; and under his powerful protection it was an easy task †. Not daring a direct attack on Florence the Pisans invaded Lucca but were met by the Guelphic army near *Ponte a Serchio* and defeated with such slaughter as to force an instant submission and request for peace, which they obtained on harder conditions than before ‡.

Several towns of consequence were ceded to the victors and

* Pietro Giannone, Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, vol. viii., Lib. xix., p. 224.

† Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iiº, p. 105. Folio Ed.

‡ It seems very doubtful whether Manfred was the cause of this war: the Genoese certainly began it and according to Tronci were assisted by the Lucchese, which enraged the Pisans so much that they instantly attacked Ripafratta; on this the former called in the Florentines and overcame them. At San Jacopo in Poggio the latter, as a sign of sovereignty, cut down an enormous pine tree and coined money on its trunk with the impression of a leaf of trefoil planted like a small tree at the feet of the Baptist. These were called "*Zecchini Gigliati.*"

amongst them *Mutrone* which as a sea-port might in the hands of a commercial people like the Florentines become a dangerous rival to that of Pisa not only in commerce but naval warfare, and hence its loss was one of the hardest conditions of this peace.

A council having met at Florence to arrange the definitive treaty, Aldobrandino Ottobuoni an old, poor, and respectable citizen, voted strongly in favour of the destruction of Mutrone as a place of no utility to the republic, and this decision (which by the preliminary articles was left to the will of the Florentines,) was precisely what Pisa was most anxious for, as quieting her apprehensions on the score of commerce. Ottobuoni had nearly persuaded all his colleagues to adopt his view and the question was to be decided on the following day; meanwhile the Pisan envoy with less discretion than zeal, in order to make all sure sent through a friend to offer Aldobrandino four thousand golden florins for the successful termination of his measure. The old man immediately perceiving his mistake dismissed the messenger with civil words and next day, without mentioning what had happened, asked pardon for his sudden change of sentiments and spoke so strongly on the other side as to bring his colleagues round, but with considerable difficulty to his new opinion: Mutrone was therefore saved, much to the annoyance of Pisa. Ottobuoni's disinterestedness transpired in despite of his own silence and gained him such applause that at his death, which happened shortly after, a magnificent public funeral was decreed and a monument erected to his memory in the church of Santa Reparata*.

* Malespini does not mention this anecdote and Tronci tells it differently without taking away the merit of Ottobuoni: but as the Pisans wished Mutrone's destruction their subsequent anger would prove its preservation. Tronci however says that it was destroyed to the great regret of the Pisans. They took an unworthy revenge after the disaster of Monte Aperto by dragging his body from the tomb and after ignominiously trailing it through Florence cast it into the Arno.—S. Ammirato, Lib. ii., pp. 107—123.—Gio.

Ottobuoni acted like an honest man and his silence proved him to be an unpretending one; but such fame, and such honours paid to one of the chief magistrates of the republic for a common act of public honesty argue either the rarity of this virtue or a very different notion of it amongst the Florentines from that of the present day.

Manfred's successful campaigns and recovery of his kingdom from the Church had revived the imperial spirit in
A.D. 1257. Tuscany, some slight indications of which awakened Guelphic jealousy lest the Ghibeline towns should be excited to tumult: wherefore Florence knowing the political bias of Poggibonzi and fearing that with the aid of Siena public tranquillity might be disturbed, determined to destroy its defences both for present security and future example; and although the principal citizens begged with ropes round their necks for a remission of this sentence the Florentine government remained inexorable*.

Hitherto by a sagacious policy supported by great military vigour the Florentine government through fear or
A.D. 1258. inclination had managed to avail themselves of the services of both factions in Tuscany and we have already shown how the Ghibelines for refusing to join in the expedition against Pistoia were driven from Florence and subsequently restored by the capitulation of Fighine; nevertheless the Guelphic ascendancy had taken such deep root that although nominally there was no party distinction, their rivals were in fact practically excluded from any share in the government and watched with the utmost jealousy. The Uberti an able proud and ambitious race, descended as they boasted, from Cataline, were still the acknowledged leaders of the Ghibeline party but jealous and discontented that eight long years of

Villani, Lib. vi., cap. lxii.—Tronci, Annali Pisani, Tom. ii°, p. 132.—Flam. del Borgo, Dissert. v, p. 299.
Gio. Villani, Lib. vi., c. lxiii. — Orl. Malavolti Storia, di Siena, Part i^a, Lib. v., p. 68.
* Mar. di Coppo Stefani, R. 112.—

national triumph should have been achieved not only by a government of tradesmen but principally at the expense and even shame of themselves and their Tuscan allies: the success of Manfred against the church inspired them with better hopes, and accordingly Giovanni degli Uberti was dispatched to implore his assistance in changing the government of Florence*. Whether the king gave them any promises does not exactly appear; it is probable that he was too clear-sighted not to perceive the little prospect of success that would attend the efforts of an unpopular faction against a strong and popularly elected government; but he is accused by all the Florentine historians of fomenting the Uberti plot.

This conspiracy could not long escape democratic vigilance, and accordingly that family was cited before the Podestà Jacopo Bernardi of Lucca; the mandate was disregarded, the Podestà's force opposed and repulsed; an attempt was even made to seize the government, when the populace, ever ready on the side of liberty, seeing the authorities defied and the defiance come from a family they detested, immediately flew to arms and attacking the quarters of the Uberti killed their chief Schiatuzzo with many of his followers, then seizing Caini degli Abati and Mangia degli Infangati forced what confessions they wanted from them by torture and chopped their heads off in the Place of Orsanmichele; nor would popular hatred have rested here if the remaining Ghibelines had not saved themselves by a timely retreat.

Seventeen of the principal families escaped from Florence besides many others not named, and the Abbot of Vallombrosa being accused as accessory was in despite of the pope and his own sacred office first tortured to confess and then beheaded on that confession; but in the opinion of many perfectly innocent of the crime†.

* Filip. Villani, Vite d' Uomini illustri Fiorentini, p. 51.

† Malespini, cap. clviii.—M. di. C. Stefani, Rub. cxii.—S. Ammirato,

Pope Alexander IV. placed the whole city, all Guelphic as it was, under an interdict for this audacious violation of ecclesiastical rights, directing his censures especially against the official authors of the sacrilege; but a bold and severe spirit at this time animated Florence, a determination in the government to vindicate its authority at any cost, and a minute and rigid attention to the appearance at least, of scrupulous honesty in public officers which set all danger at defiance. For an instance of the latter it may be mentioned that one of the Anziani or ministers of state was this year fined one thousand lire as a public peculator for sending to his villa an old broken door which once belonged to the cage of the public lions of Florence, but useless and neglected had been long tossing about in the streets: the property was public and therefore considered inviolable; yet from the loud and long-continued applause showered on Aldobrandino Ottobuoni, who was called the Florentine Fabricius, this extreme nicety would not appear to have extended itself to the exterior relations of the commonwealth. In this revolution the Guelphs failed not to take a lesson from the defeated faction, and palace and tower went to the ground under their destructive fury: some amends were however made by employing the materials to complete the city walls beyond Arno to the southward an object of vast importance in the approaching conflict with Siena*.

Lib. ii., p. 109.—The principal families that left Florence on this occasion were the Uberti, Sifanti, Lamberti, Circini, Amidei, Scolare, Caponsachi, Migliorelli, Infangati, Ubriachi, with a portion of the Abati, Guidi, Soldanieri, Tedalnini, Galigai, Buonaguisi, Razzanti and Giuochi with many others, noble and citizen; and probably on an average there could not have been less than one hundred of the same name to each, besides their retainers, &c. As regards Don Tesauro di Beccaria of Pavia Abbot of Vallambrosa, Dante at least has pronounced him guilty.—(*Inferno*, Canto xxxii.)

"Tu hai dal lato quel di Beccaria,
Di cui segò Fiorenza la gorgiera" &c.

Thou hast beside thee him of Beccaria
Whose head was chopped at Florence.

* Malespini, cap. clix.

That Ghibeline republic had received the fugitives with open arms, for its hopes began to revive with the growing power of Manfred; but as Florence considered their reception a breach of the treaty of 1255 by which no exiles from either state could be protected an embassy was immediately sent to demand their expulsion; this had no effect, for the Senese fairly insisted that their league was with the *whole* Florentine nation of which these were a principal part, and until some crime were proved that might bring them directly within the meaning of the treaty it would be an absolute breach of hospitality to refuse them shelter. The Florentines would not admit such reasoning, but being aware of Siena's communications with the Sicilian prince at once declared war and marched troops to the frontier*. Nothing however occurred during the following year, partly because the army was opposed to the Bishop of Arezzo, under whose auspices the Aretines had surprised Cortona an ally of Florence of which he claimed both temporal and spiritual sovereignty; and partly because it was held in readiness to keep the Pisans in check who were prepared to assist Venice against the Genoese in consequence of a quarrel in the Levant, which was subsequently arranged by the pontiff†. It however became necessary for Florence to push

* Malavolti, Lib. v., Prima Parte, p. 68.

† Michaelangelo Salvi, Hist. di Pistoia e Fazione d' Italia, Parte ii^a, Lib. iii., p. 99.—Tronci, Annali Pisani.—Malespini, cap. clvi.—Malavolti, Lib. i^o, Parte ii^a, p. 2.—There is an interesting anecdote related by Malespini as having occurred this year in Florence. One of the lions which were maintained at the public charge escaped from his cage and ranged over the whole city: every body was in alarm, which was not diminished when in Orto San Michele he seized a child, the only son of its mother who had given birth to it after its father's death: the father had been stabbed in a private feud and this child was her only consolation. On seeing him in this situation she with a loud shriek darted at the lion and snatched her infant from his claws. The noble beast made no resistance nor did he harm the child, only stood and stared at the mother as she carried off her babe in triumph. It became a question says Malespini (who lived at the time) whether this arose from the noble nature of the animal or because fate had preserved the infant to revenge his father's death, which he afterwards did, and was named *Or-*

on this war with vigour in consequence of Manfred's increasing influence and if possible match the latter by some prince whose own interest should attach him to her cause.

The imperial throne being still vacant a principal stay of the Italian Ghibelines was wanting; Manfred followed fast in his father's steps, but still in the actual state of Italy the imperial countenance became indispensable. Pisa felt this, for even the want of Manfred's aid had already compelled her to receive the dictation of Florence and Lucca while Genoa harassed her on the other side; wherefore it was resolved to promote as she best could the election of an emperor.

Although Innocent the Fourth at the deposition of Frederic, wishing probably to weaken the ties of Germany and Italy, had invested seven German princes under the name of "*Electors*" with the power of nominating a king of Italy and the Romans, it does not appear that the Italian cities had ever renounced this privilege; therefore in 1256 Pisa by a bold and decided act named Alphonso the Wise, King of Castile, to these high dignities and sent a solemn embassy to inform him of this decision *. Four German electors supported Alphonso's cause, the rest voted for Richard Earl of Cornwall brother of Henry III. of England; Alexander IV. remaining neuter until Richard's death when he opposed Alphonso's pretensions.

While this matter was in suspense the Florentines from different motives followed the example of Pisa; they wanted a counterpoise for Manfred and believed the pontiff not indisposed to Alphonso: Brunetto Latini was again employed, but ere he could fulfil his mission the battle of Monteaperto put an end to all diplomacy and drove him an

A.D. 1260.

landuccio del Leone. This incident occurred in *Orto San Michele* close to the houses of the *Buonaguisi* and *Compiobesi.* (*Malespini, Hist*ª. *Fiorentina,* cap. clxi.)

* Muratori, Antichità Italiane, Dissert. iii.—Flam. dal Borgo, Dissert. v., p. 303.—Paulo Tronci, An. Pisani, vol. iiº, p. 134.

exile into France where he published his "*Tesoro*" in the language of that country.

Trusting to the talents of their envoy in Spain, the Florentines resolved to make vigorous war in the Senese states; the *Carroccio* was drawn out*, the forces mustered, and in the month of May marched under the chief command of the Podestà Jacopino Rangoni, assisted by twelve captains of the republic besides the gonfaloniers of Sestos: six Anziani accompanied the troops but had no military command, and it does not appear that the Captain of the People stirred from the metropolis†. Siena soon felt the scourge; town and castle fell before them, village and hamlet were trodden under their feet as they advanced towards the Maremma, where Grosseto city and the strong fortress of Montemassi were in a state of open insurrection. At Colle of the Val d'Elsa the Carroccio was deposited with the real or feigned intention of marching more rapidly to the Maremma; the Senese, fearful of this, reinforced their army in that quarter retaining only what was sufficient to defend the capital, and even withdrew Count Guido Novello's force from the Valdichiana for the same purpose. Probably expecting such a movement the Podestà, accompanied by the Carroccio, turned short to his left and after securing his communications by the capture of Menzano and Casole, suddenly appeared and encamped before the Camullia gate of Siena itself‡.

On the Florentine declaration of hostilities in 1258 the Senese prepared for active war, and in consequence of Manfred's friendly disposition as announced by his two ambassadors Ser Niccolò Mustaglia of Cremona and Ser Paulo Usa, they dispatched orators in return to secure a still closer alliance.

* Ammirato says the 19th *April* and Malavolti the 20th.

† It was probably in consequence of the inconvenience of leaving the city without a supreme justiciary when the army was in the field that caused the restoration of the Podestà in 1251.—S. Ammirato, Lib. ii., p. 112.

‡ Malespini, cap. clxiv.—Malavolti, Lib. i°, Parte ii., p. 8.

Manfred anxious to strengthen his party in Tuscany promised everything, but required an oath of fealty to himself which the envoys were instantly desired to offer in the public name. An instrument was accordingly drawn up in May 1259, by which Manfred promises to take the city under his particular protection; and early in the following December Count Giordano d'Anglona, Manfred's vicar-general, arrived at Siena with eight hundred German horse and a body of infantry; he was honourably received by the rulers who for the convenience of his men ordered that the "*Ounce*," (a coin of which the name alone remains at Naples) should pass current for six lire or golden florins, but the troops as appears from public documents, were paid entirely by Manfred, his interest and that of Siena being identical *. Count Giordano fearing that the revolt of Grosseto, Monteano and Montemassi might produce serious mischief if assisted by Florence, proposed their immediate reduction with a powerful force and this was formally decreed in public council, Giordano being invested with the chief command. On the nineteenth of January the army marched from Siena: Grosseto soon capitulated, Monteano and Montemassi were invested, and everything appeared promising when the formidable preparations of Florence alarmed them. Provenzano Salvani and other ambassadors were instantly dispatched to implore a reinforcement from Manfred; the siege of Monteano was to be relaxed, or if necessary abandoned; and the count taking hostages and securing Grosseto was ordered back with most of his troops to the defence of the capital. The delay of the Florentines before Menzano and Casole afforded time for this movement which by forced marches was successfully completed, so that with other neighbouring detachments and the naturally strong position of Siena no anxiety remained.

* Malavolti, Parte ii., Lib. i., p. 3.—Six lire were 8 grains above the value of the *Oncia*, if then at its full weight.

As a sudden capture was impossible and a regular siege might have unexpectedly brought down the army of Montemassi at a critical and inconvenient moment, the Florentines contented themselves with a wide-spread devastation and a harassing of the citizens by continual alarms in order to force them to terms.

A lamentable want of dates and the discrepant accounts of authors render all movements previous to the battle of Monteaperto extremely uncertain: Malespini, the only source of all the Florentine authorities, relates that Farinata degli Uberti with a deputation of Ghibelines repaired to Naples and implored the aid of Manfred but after considerable hesitation and delay on the king's part were about to leave him in disgust, when he promised them a hundred men-at-arms: affronted at this mockery they were on the point of refusing when Farinata exclaimed "*Be not cast down, nor reject his assistance however "small, let us only persuade him to give the royal banner along "with them and at Siena we will put both in such a situation "that for his own honour he will be compelled to send us more.*" This advice was followed, the German cavalry were gratefully accepted, the banner accorded, and they returned to Siena with their petty escort amidst the jeers of the Senese and the regrets of their exiled countrymen.

Manfred having much on his hands; with a large force already in Siena, and probably drawing a wide distinction between a powerful republic and a small and desperate body of refugees whose sanguine promises were seldom justified by facts, naturally hesitated, and unwillingly granted even this assistance to an irresponsible body of private individuals independent of Senese government.

Malespini goes on to say, that one day Farinata invited these hundred knights to a repast where good wine and the promise of double pay increased their eagerness for action; in this conjuncture an alarm was given and these excited cavaliers

rushed impetuously forward: the enemy, despising the Senese, were negligent, and the Germans breaking through all obstacles drove everything before them in confusion. The Florentines seeing their small and unsupported number soon rallied and closing round the devoted squadron put every man to the sword: Manfred's banner was taken and after having been trailed insultingly through the dirt was borne in triumph to Florence.

Farinata lost no time in giving the king notice of this disaster with the insult offered to his flag and by means of 20,000 florins borrowed from the Salimbeni (rich bankers of Siena) he succeeded on condition of paying half their expenses for three months, in having a body of 800 horse dispatched to his assistance under Count Giordano d'Anglona *.

It is very probable that most of the above story is true and that the sally might have been made as narrated, but it would be difficult to fix the exact time; that the part relating to Count Giordano and the 800 men-at-arms is an error seems clearly proved by Malavolti from public documents; and a second reinforcement which arrived after the retreat of the Florentines appears to have been the effect of Provenzano Salvani's negotiations; they were commanded by Agnolo da Sepontino and probably made up the number of 1800 horse in the Senese army, the greater part of which says Malespini were Germans.

We may believe that this sally could easily have taken place in the interval between the investment of Siena and the junction of Count Giordano with the Maremma force if any such interval occurred; or even in some of the numerous skirmishes after that event, and that this and the more serious affair of the eighteenth of May have been confused: it will appear that in both accounts the German horse were most conspicuous and even in the great attack these hundred cavaliers might have pushed rashly on and been cut to pieces by the enemy. The

* Malespini, cap. clxiii., clxiv., clxv.

account most relied on by Malavolti who must have had access to more cotemporary documents than he has quoted, is that the Florentines being resolved to bring their enemy to a battle or else a peace on their own terms, maintained a war of fire and sword in the circumjacent country, destroyed the small towns of Sugara, Montarrenti, Rosia, Sovicille, Marignano, Montecchio, and several others, and kept the capital itself in continual alarms until the eighteenth of May; the Senese then finding that their enemy, fatigued by such devastating service and with an utter contempt of themselves kept a negligent guard, determined to try their fortune in a general sally. Uniting therefore a part of their own cavalry and a strong band of Germans under Count Giordano's camp-marshal, they suddenly fell upon the Florentine intrenchments broke through every obstacle and completely surprised the enemy, driving everything before them in terror and confusion. The Germans in particular charged with such impetuosity that few of their immediate opponents were able even to arm themselves, and had they not been supported in time an immense carnage would have followed with little loss to the victors; but as it was, cotemporary authors according to Malavolti, assert that about thirteen hundred of the Florentines were killed, and only two hundred and sixty of the Senese army; and all historians agree in describing the terror and confusion of the day, which could hardly have been produced by a hundred unsupported Germans. Villani says that Florentine knights and citizens made but a poor figure; and Leonardo Aretino asserts that the camp was in great confusion and in some parts the soldiers fled shamefully: but however caused, this affair was afterwards cited in the stormy debates at Florence about a second expedition, as a strong argument against the measure. "Some others have said," says Malavolti, "that the Senese who were with the army round Montemassi having received more particular notice of the quantity of people who were in the camp of the

Florentines and of their allies where (as it is said) were assembled Lucchesi, Pistolesi, Aretini, Orvietani, Pratesi, San Gimignanesi, Colligiani, the Count Aldobrandino of Pitigliano, Pepo Visconte of Campiglia and others their adherents; considering in what great peril and difficulty their city was placed; and moved not solely by the general interest, but each individual also by his particular welfare; having before their eyes the apprehension and terror that this must have caused in the minds of their children, of their wives, of their mothers and of every other person connected with them, all remaining abandoned in such a horrible and frightful peril. Leaving therefore some of their captains with the local troops and 200 horse, as well as some companies of infantry which Count Giordano had sent them, and having persuaded the Podestà, who was general of the army, to agree, they departed with him from that siege to go and succour their own people. Having arrived at Siena and an occasion offering, several squadrons of Germans made a sally from the Porta a Ovile to attack the head of the enemy on one side, and the Senese issuing at the Camullia gate assailed them at the same moment on the other with such spirit and vigour that after great slaughter that army was put into so much fear and disorder that they began to fly and the Senese followed a part of them as far as Castel Fiorentino, as Messer *Agostino Patritij* also relates. Others say not that day but the day after, that army broke up and fled, and retired with their Carroccio into the Florentine territory*".

This sortie was made on the 18th of May the day on which Farinata's German knights are supposed to have fallen so bravely; but as on the 19th the Senese council decreed that the German soldiers and their marshal should have their wounded in the last day's action cared for at the public expense, and that they should be presented with 500 lire for their gallant bearing in the fight, it may be supposed that they

* Malavolti, Parte ii^a, Lib. i^o, p. 9.

were not all killed in this engagement and that the affair of the hundred horse must have been a distinct and previous thing*.

The consequences of a battle are commonly the best proof of victory where both sides claim it, and the results of this attack were a sudden retreat of the Florentine army without having gained the object of the war, a separation of the auxiliary troops, an immediate devastation of the Colli territory by detachments of the Senese army, and the simultaneous relief of Montelatrone which the Orvietani aided by Counts Aldobrandini and Visconti had attacked in their homeward retreat, after separating from the Florentines. Besides these results there were the reduction of Staggia and Poggibonzi to obedience, a reinforcement of the besieging army before Montemassi, a ravaging of the Montalcino country; the unsuccessful attempt of Counts Aldobrandino and Ugolino Visconte to reconcile themselves with Siena and the investment of Montepulciano. Montemassi soon after fell, and Count Giordano even made an inroad on the Florentine territory; but as all these events occurred within twenty-five days after the above combat it seems evident notwithstanding the silence of their historians that the Florentines were completely discomfited.

The Orvietani exerted themselves to make peace between Montepulciano and Siena and demanded a safe conduct for their ambassadors; passports were accordingly given but from a mutual want of sincerity the mediation failed: the besieging army

* The words of this decree are. "Consilium est in concordia quod vulnerati medicentur omnibus expensis communis Senensis et quod medici cogantur medicare vulneratos pro competente precio, et salario, et solvator de pecunia communis, et quod Mariscialco et militibus Theutonicis pro remuneratione probitatus quam fecerunt heri contra inimicos communis Senensis debeant donari, et dari de pecunia communis quinquaginta libras denariorum Senensium, et quod hoc non intelligatur pro menda equorum et armorum; sed pro remuneratione probitatis, quam fecerunt tantum." (Vide Malavolti, Storia di Siena, Lib. i°, Parte ii^a, p. 9.)

marched on the twelfth of June from Siena; but altered their plan by investing Montalcino, and the necessity of relieving this city, a place under the immediate protection of Florence, was subsequently put forth as the ostensible object of that great Florentine armament which terminated so disastrously in September 1260.

We now come to an important and interesting portion of Florentine or rather Tuscan history, for the shock of Monteaperto was felt throughout that country by Guelph and Ghibeline; it vibrated even to the Sicilian shores and influenced to a considerable extent the general fate of Italy. All summer was spent by the Senese in ravaging the district of Montepulciano, making inroads on the Florentine territory, and cutting off succours from Montalcino which was kept closely blockaded: this town since its rejection of the Senese yoke in 1234 had remained under Florentine protection and became a conspicuous party in every subsequent treaty between those republics whose early wars were mainly occasioned by contentions about that town and Montepulciano*. The Florentines therefore considered themselves bound to raise the siege of Montalcino, but the manner of doing it became a subject of warm dispute and finally led to the memorable battle of Monteaperto †.

In tracing the principal causes that led to this conflict we cannot trust implicitly to the Senese historian Malavolti who on all occasions seems as little inclined to allow any credit to Florentine exiles as to place confidence in Florentine writers: he does not even mention the name of Farinata degli Uberti to whom every other author gives the credit of what was done; and blinded by national prejudice reasons weakly where he

* Montalcino and Montepulciano are particularly celebrated for their wines in that exquisite little poem of Francesco Redi called "*Bacco in Toscana*" but the production of the Montepulciano vineyards though still excellent is no longer what the poet describes it in his day. The "*Moscadelletto di Montalcino*" still retains its flavour.

† Malespini, cap. clxvi.—Malavolti, Lib. i°, Parte ii^a, p. 13.

attempts to conceal part of the truth because it raises the diplomatic reputation of the exiles: Malavolti claims *all* the honour for Siena, while the Florentine writers, unable to avoid acknowledging their failure, endeavour to bestow the credit of it exclusively upon their own banished countrymen. But Malavolti wrote when the recent subjugation and existing misery of Siena still fretted the hearts of his compatriots; when ancient hatred was sharpened by the conscious impotency of rage, when the feelings of the conquered added new bitterness to the present, new honour to the past, and the impassioned mourner hung in melancholy fondness over the departed glories of his country *.

It was of paramount consequence to the exiles that a decisive blow should be immediately struck; a war of incursions they argued would only waste time and money without advancing their cause, and they saw that the Senese government, naturally intent on recovering their own revolted towns, was not disposed to risk a bold invasion of the Florentine territory. Under this impression they determined if possible to draw the enemy with a large force into that of Siena and finish by one decisive battle. Montalcino was under a close siege and although Florence became desirous of relieving it the government hesitated ere they ventured to march an army across the heart of an enemy's country, and commence operations with a city like Siena in their rear, and a necessarily long line of communication exposed to all the garrisons between that capital and the Florentine territory †. It was however the object of Farinata that they *should* do this, and to accomplish it he and Guardaccia de' Lamberti by means of two friars commenced a

* Although Malavolti dedicates his history to Ferdinand the First in 1596 he yet draws a marked distinction between the notion of Siena being a subject province of Florence, and its being as he asserts a separate dominion under the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This was clinging to a straw, the gilding was there; but it did not mitigate the bitterness underneath.

† Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iiº, p. 114.

false negotiation with that government, apparently with the knowledge of the Senese authorities, in which their enemies were assured that the Florentine exiles disgusted with the domineering manners of Provensano Salvani who governed the republic, and also wearied out by misfortune, were ready to make their peace; that they had the means and were willing to deliver into Florentine hands the gate of San Vito leading towards Arezzo, if they would only send ten thousand florins and march a powerful army to the Arbia, a stream about six miles from Siena, under pretence of raising the siege of Montalcino. The friars who were themselves deceived, immediately proceeded to Florence, declaring their secret mission without divulging its nature, and two of the Anziani were directly chosen to receive this communication with full powers to act on behalf of the government. The commissioners, Spedito di Por San Piero, a bold ignorant and presumptuous man of mean extraction, and Giovanni Grancalcagni, a doctor of laws, after having heard the friars, prepared the money and with their colleagues' consent assembled the great council at which people of every rank assisted, and proposed to victual Montalcino under the escort of an army even more numerous than that of the preceding spring. Their plan was to invest Siena and relieve the besieged town while the enemy was occupied in self-defence: it was easy to persuade a people flushed with so many triumphs that their armies had only to march and conquer; but Count Guido Guerra and the military nobles had not forgotten the combat of the preceding May; German valour was still fresh in their memory, and the dastardly conduct of the people on that occasion made them apprehensive for the future. The Anziani boasted of ten years of victory; the nobles replied that the community was then strong and united but now divided; the Ghibeline families, composing almost half the city, were then with them, but now on the side of their enemy; Siena was in those days comparatively weak; she was now powerful from

concord and aided by a formidable body of brave and disciplined strangers whose prowess they had already experienced to their cost; but the nobles were not in the secret and therefore spoke loudly against the imprudence and uselessness of this enterprise. Count Guido first, and then Tegghiaio Aldobrandi, an experienced chief and eloquent debater, insisted on the danger of marching into the heart of a hostile country and risking their troops for an object that might be more easily and cheaply accomplished by their allies of Orvieto who had offered to perform it quietly at a trifling cost*: by this they said there would be no risk and time would be gained, an object of vital importance because the German auxiliaries being only paid for three months as they erroneously believed, and half that time having already elapsed, they would soon return into Puglia leaving their allies in a weaker condition than before†. Aldobrandi was instantly answered by Spedito who opposed only coarse and vulgar invective to his reasoning, taunted him with cowardice and insulted him by repeating a beastly expression

* These two nobles according to Dante partook of the vices of the times: he places them in the seventh circle in hell, Canto xvi.

Questi, l' orme di cui pestar mi vedi,
Tutto che nudo e dipelato vada,
Fu di grado maggior che tu non credi:
Nepote fu della buona Gualdrada: &c.

He whose foot-prints thou seest me trample on,
Although thus naked and despoil'd he goes,
Held higher rank than thou dost now believe:
The good Gualdrada's grandson once he was:
And Guido Guerra nam'd, who in his life, &c.

† This mistake probably arose from the custom of paying the men-at-arms every three months and the Germans were probably paid in advance on this occasion; but that it was an error is proved by Malavolti who shows that Count Giordano had already been five months at Siena, and also gives the decree of council for lending Giordano a certain sum to pay his troops and a minute of the *repayment* of it; which proves that these auxiliaries were maintained by Manfred. The minute and tiresome details of all connected with the battle of Monteaperto is perhaps the reason why his statements have been so little considered, but the public documents which he quotes substantiate his principal assertions.

of the day, to which he replied with great dignity, and not long afterwards had the sad opportunity of retorting when they met as fugitives under the portico of San Triano of Lucca.

Cecci di Gherardini undaunted by power or the unpopularity of his cause followed up the same argument with such vehemence of rhetoric that the Anziani commanded him to be silent under the penalty of a hundred florins; heedless of this, the penalty was doubled and he then offered to pay three hundred for the privilege of freely expressing his opinion; obstinately continuing his discourse the penalty at last reached four hundred florins when the Anziani perceiving that he would submit to any fine rather than discontinue, peremptorily commanded him to be silent on pain of death; and thus the discussion terminated. The people supported their magistrates against the military experience of the nobles whom they were ever ready to mortify; the decree was passed, and an impatient shout of popular ignorance brought down ruin on the country*.

As there were however many disaffected Ghibelines in Florence it was decided to make them serve with the army as a safer course lest they should take the opportunity to foment disturbances: their allies of Arezzo more prudently expelled all the adverse faction from the town and closed every gate but one until their return from Siena.

A summons to meet in arms went forth to all the Guelphic league and every allied city bristled with war: the power of Lucca was quickly in the field; Prato, Pistoia, and San Miniato poured out their troops; San Gimignano and Colle of the Vale of Elsa armed their battalions; Genoa and Bologna united their Guelphic banners on the banks of the Arno; Modena was not lukewarm in the cause, and the more distant plains of Lombardy sent their squadrons across the Apennines

* R. Malespini, cap. clxvi.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. ii°, p. 114.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital., vol. ii., p. 311.—Leonardo Bruni Aretino, Tradotto da Acciaioli, Lib. ii°.—Dal Borgo, Diss. vi., p. 253.

to enrol themselves under the standard of Florence. Besides these, Arezzo and Orvieto were in full movement; and even Perugia is said to have joined in this formidable armament. Visconte of Campiglia and Aldobrandino of Santa Fiore mustered their vassals and lent a willing hand to destroy the power that curbed their greatness; and Count Guido Guerra, although against the war, had already assembled his followers, not indisposed to break a lance with his Ghibeline kinsman the chief of the Florentine exiles. This was the auxiliary force. In Florence eight hundred men-at-arms, all nobles or rich citizens, pranced through her streets and arrayed themselves under the republican standard, while six hundred foreign veterans were already in their saddles quietly awaiting the orders of their chief *. Heavy-armed infantry with ponderous bucklers slender lances and helmets of burnished steel; archers cross-bowmen and irregulars, poured in successive streams from the six divisions of the capital, each under its banner and peculiar chief; nor was there a single family in Florence whether noble, popular, or plebeian, but sent forth one or two of its sons to try their spirit in the coming war, on foot or horseback according to its power and opulence. The *Martinella* was still tolling when the Red Carroccio, the military Palladium, rolled heavily from the precincts of the Baptistry to its war-station in the centre of the Mercato-nuovo. The last hours of August witnessed these two "*pomps*" of the Florentines move slowly over the Arno amidst the shouting of a multitude that gazed with pride, but for the last time, on that veteran banner which for ten successive years had led them on to victory †. The rear-guard soon cleared the town, and all

* The men-at-arms were each attended by two squires, often by three, who generally did good service, so that this body of troops would be three times its nominal force.

† Malespini, cap. clxvii.—Leonardo Aretino, Lib. ii.—Giov. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. lxxviii. — Mar. di Coppo Stefano, R. cxxiii.—Malavolti, Lib. i°, Parte ii^a.—S. Ammirato, Lib. ii°, p. 113.

the army was then seen winding amongst the hills in full march to the enemy's capital: near this the bands of Arezzo Orvieto and Perugia were expected to join them and move forward to the Arbia as a convenient position for the meditated capture of Siena.

But while these measures were in progress the banished Ghibelines had been actively arranging through the means of two friars a secret plan of treason by which, when a favourable occasion presented itself, their friends in the hostile camp were to join the Senese banners: these malcontents led by the families of Abati and Della Pressa having been suspected by the Anziani were forced to march and therefore in the true spirit of faction did not feel themselves bound by the common ties of national fidelity.

The Florentines encamped on and about the hill of Monteaperto near the left bank of the Arbia, a small river which falls into the Ombrone at Buonconvento: here they mustered and reviewed the troops, which by the lowest accounts even of the Florentine writers amounted to 30,000 infantry and 3000 men-at-arms, but which some authors run up to 40,000 combatants. This army however was drawn from different states, with independent chiefs, and many disaffected men; and although all under the supreme command of the Anziani and Podestà assisted by twelve experienced captains, there was not that unity amongst them which is commonly the handmaid of victory.

The allied camp was inclosed by palisades fixed upon a range of elevated land overlooking a triangular valley from the north-east, the other sides of this valley being confined by similar ranges inclining to each other in a point towards the south-west, through which the road from Siena led to the castle of Monteaperto on the right wing of the confederates.

Here they impatiently waited for the promised possession of the San Vito gate and trusting to their good intelligence

within, never dreamed of being attacked where they were: numerous messengers passed and repassed, ostensibly on account of this treason but really in concert with the Ghibelines of the army, to settle the moment of open rupture. Many taunting messages and insulting propositions were sent to the council of Siena, who merely replied that they would maintain their country's honour to the death with equal valour and they hoped with the same good fortune as before, but they would give them a final answer on the field *.

Siena (ever after this called "*Civitas Virginis*") was then bestowed by a solemn act on the Virgin Mary accompanied by some curious ceremonies that show the religious extravagance of the age †.

* Conflicta di Monteaperto. Composta da Lanzilocto Politi Senese. Siena 1502. Dedicated to the celebrated Pandolfo Petrucci. A very rare book.

† Messer Buonaguida, verily a good and excellent guide to the health and *perpetual health* of his country; the moment he was almost forcibly elected chief and prince of Siena, incited by that glorious queen who never rests from favouring and stimulating miserable mortals until she conducts them to the true and straight road, (however in the beginning it may be rough and difficult its asperity is wont to be mitigated by the certain hope of the abundant premium) stripped himself of every part of his daily garments, even to his shirt, and clothed in an incredible warmth divine, ample ardour and a most flagrant affection for his country, pronounced before all the people these pious and affecting words. "Most dear and eminent citizens, since by your singular benignity you have, trusting to my loyalty, trusting to the unbounded love that I have had, have, and will always have towards our Siena, committed her safety, and that perhaps I too immodestly have accepted it; it appears to me, (as unworthy of such a gift,) that for the common utility and the public glory it should be given to the most illustrious Virgin, before every other the delight of God: so that if you wish our faith to be firmly established as it ought to be, concede to me all of you with one tongue and one heart this honest favour and follow me." When his short and modest speech was finished, as a man transported by too much desire fixes his whole mind in one sole object and hears, sees, and considers it alone; without waiting for an answer, his bosom bathed with many tears, thus barefoot and in his shirt, with frequent sighs pressed and drawn from his exalted breast and moving with rapid pace the keys of the city in his hand accompanied by the weeping citizens, and with loud exclamations, imploring mercy, arrived at the temple; where Messer Buonaguida having entered thus with a voice that penetrated the starry heaven he lamentably said.

The secret expectations of the Anziani then in camp now began to transpire, and the supposed betrayal of the city came to the knowledge of the Ghibeline chiefs who instantly dispatched Razzanti of Porto San Piero, to give secret notice of this treason, to represent the formidable power of the confederate army, and advise their friends against the hazard of a battle. Farinato and Gherardo Lamberti who first received him immediately perceived his mistake and the great danger of his mission transpiring; they accordingly undeceived him, with injunctions to keep the enemy's real state a profound secret and even to give a totally different complexion to his tale. Razzanti willingly complied, and crowned with garlands cheerfully accompanied these chiefs to the public palace where the citizens were assembled, and told them that the allies were badly commanded, disunited, and all ready to disperse, and that if suddenly and vigorously attacked they would be easily defeated. His address was answered by cheers and loud cries of "*Battle—Battle.*"—The whole assembly flew to arms and all their military strength was quickly marshalled: the people were then harangued; they were reminded that their honour, their lives, and their liberty, depended on that day's conduct;

(*Here follows his prayer*). And thus saying he approached the bishop and prostrating himself with all the vulgar at his feet implored for peace and benediction; which he had: afterwards rising and taking the prelate's right hand with his left they went to the great altar and there on their bare knees they remained astonished and half inanimate for a long space of time. Afterward when they recovered their minds and lost strength, Buonaguida rose and gazing on the altar, with timid but high-sounding expressions hardly intelligible to the bystanders, and with joined hands, he sobbing pronounced these words. (*Another prayer to the Virgin which ends,*) "Here are the keys of your city which I along with my fellow citizens freely and simply give to you." After a long supplicatory prayer "he turned his eyes towards the stupified crowd and repeated these words, received as he affirmed with his own ears from the Virgin," (*who accepts the gift.*) Then after a long exhortation to peace and mutual forgiveness of injuries, the bishop takes off his clothes and runs naked about Siena. "With all the prelates and other priests, and with all the converted people, men and women, great and little, that it was an astounding marvel to behold!"—*Conflicta di Montecaperto.*

that wives and daughters implored their protection from all the brutal violence of war; and finally, they were bid to stand firm and never doubt of victory. Ruffredo da Isola, the captain of the people, was posted on the walls with the few old men and boys that could be spared, and every man, of whatever age, that remained in the city, cheerfully took his post on the ramparts if his shrunk limbs could bear the weight of arms. The nuns, matrons, and daughters of the citizens, all robed in white, moved softly through the streets in long procession filling the air and temples with their song as they tremblingly implored the protection of that Virgin on whom they had so lately bestowed themselves.

As Florence into "*Sesti*," so was Siena divided into "*Terzi*," each with its Gonfalonier and band of armed men, united under the Podestà Francesco Troghiso: five thousand citizens thus served without pay, and three thousand Contadini from the surrounding country*. The rest of the army was composed of about 3000 mercenaries; amongst these were the Florentine exiles led on by Count Guido Novello, besides fifteen hundred German horse with two thousand veteran infantry under Giordano d'Anglone Count of San Severino; in all about 14,500 men.

Malavolti denies that any assistance came from Pisa although the historians of that state speak confidently of a contingent of three thousand men.

The troops were high in spirit and the whole city echoed to the sounds of war; at length the moment arrived when the gate of San Vito was to be opened, but instead of treason an army of well-appointed soldiers issued to the war. After a few miles' march they crossed the Arbia and halted near Mon-

* The Contadino was the inhabitant of the "*Contado*" or county of the city, and might also be a citizen and a gentleman, for the name had not then the same signification as at present, which is that of a mere peasant living on a "*Podere*" or farm.

selvoli to examine the allies' position; Count Giordano then detached his marshal with four hundred cavalry and eight hundred Senese infantry under Niccolò da Bigozzo, by a circuitous route to lurk unseen behind some bare hillocks in rear of their left wing, and there await the events of the day. The main body leaving Monselvoli to the right resumed their march by the left-hand road leading to the Valdibiena and Monteaperto, and immediately formed their line in the valley beneath the Florentine camp. At the first glimmering of their spears the confederates believed them to be only a body of skirmishers sent from the city; but when they beheld column after column in firm and silent march covering the adjacent plain a sudden apprehension overcame them: none had believed they would be attacked; the chiefs found themselves overreached, some of them were known to be disaffected, and the rest were too confident. They immediately quitted their camp and formed in order of battle about half way down the southern slope of the hill, their right wing resting on the castle of Monteaperto which appears to have been unoccupied: the men-at-arms were posted in the centre of either army, and the Carroccio of Siena halted opposite to that of Florence, both being surrounded by a chosen guard of gallant gentlemen armed to the teeth and proud of the high distinction. There was a dead silence. The champing of bits or the jar of a cuirass as the troops closed up in the still fluctuating line were the only interruptions; all was then steady; and immediately the Senese right wing was seen in forward movement, while a low murmur of mutual encouragement passed from man to man as the word was given to advance, and rose gradually to a shout when they neared the opposing height where the adverse legions like a wall of iron stood ready to receive them. The whole line was now in motion, when a pause, a steady cheer and a rapid charge brought the infantry of the left wing half way up the acclivity; nor were they tamely welcomed; a shout

as long and loud, and a shock as rough, soon bore them back, and left the hill as yet unconquered: the Senese rallied on the plain, where they were pressed by the enemy, and there the sword and the spear were plied with equal spirit and equal advantage. Meantime the Florentine general endeavoured to avail himself of superior numbers by bringing up a strong body of troops on his right, and pushing them along a line of rising ground near the castle, which trended towards the rear of the enemy's left, and thus turn their flank; but this manœuvre was not unperceived by the German who quickly crowned the hill with fresh troops, and a severe repulse of the enemy succeeded in foiling him after an obstinate resistance, which long maintained the balance in that quarter.

During these events the centre of neither host was idle; Jacopo de' Pazzi with the Guelphic banner and three thousand men-at-arms impatiently waited to charge: at a signal given three thousand lances were in their rests, three thousand visors shut, and three thousand hardy knights ready to strike into the heart of the enemy, when a sudden lowering of the banner and a slight commotion round the Pazzi betokened some mischance: Bocca degli Abati * had severed the leader's arm with a single blow as he waved the flag aloft, and then followed by all his Ghibelines galloped over to the enemy. The treason was manifest, but its extent concealed, and confidence was entirely lost; no man felt sure of his comrade, fear and suspicion unsettled them, and the charge was feeble. At this crisis Giordano's horse came up at a rapid pace and completed the disaster;

* And for this Dante plunges him up to the neck in the "thick-ribbed ice" of Cocytus the place of wail and woe, frozen by the cold flapping of Lucifer's pinions. (*Inferno*, *Canto* xxxii.)

"Piangendo mi sgridò: perchè mi peste?
Se tu non vieni a crescer la vendetta
Di Mont' Aperti, perchè mi moleste?" &c.

Weeping he cried: Why dost thou bruise me so?
If thou com'st not the vengeance to increase
For Mont' Aperti, why molest me thus?

everything went down before their sounding charge as they fell like a cataract on the disheartened Florentines: but when yielding in disorder and about to fly, a band of gallant gentlemen who had kept steadily together now couched their lances and with spear and spur bore rudely on the Germans: their staves were soon in splinters, but horse to horse and man to man they contested every inch with swords and maces, and so roughly did they handle Manfred's soldiers as to allow full time for their friends to rally and renew the combat. Along the whole line the struggle was again maintained with fresh vigour; the Florentine cavalry could now distinguish between friends and foes and battled well and bravely, while the Germans supported their ancient reputation.

The Senese right wing was still in stubborn conflict with the confederates' left, while at the extreme left the struggle continued bloody and obstinate. The day was yet doubtful, when the German marshal and Niccolò da Bigozzo who had been watching all the current of the fight; seeing the rear of the allies without a reserve of horse exposed by their descent to the plain broke suddenly from their concealment and charged with such speed that the shock was felt, even before they were seen, and Bigozzo's infantry following after them carried terror and confusion through the field. The cavalry believing themselves betrayed soon gave way and fled; the infantry still fought courageously; but all broken and disordered, every soldier trusted to himself alone, resolved at least that national honour should not suffer from his individual conduct. A desperate band of devoted warriors under old Giovanni Tornaquinci, gathered around the sacred Carroccio, the yet unconquered standard of Florence which still waved over the gentle animals that carried it unconscious of the passions that surrounded them. Here in compact circle an iron barrier was opposed to every attempt of the victors; with determined eyes they glared fiercely upon each other; no dust arose, for the soil was wet with blood;

but the bow twanged and the arrow flew, and soldiers fell; and the cut and the stab were given and returned with equal fury: the shouts of the victors, the silent resolution of their opponents, the groan of the stricken, the rattling of staves, the crash of the battle-axe and the heavier clang of the cuirass as horse or knight went to the ground, betokened the mortal struggle about the bloody Carroccio. Tired out, wounded, dying; but still unconquered; man after man sank under the coming blows, until this remnant of gallant spirits was finally overpowered by the victorious assailants.

Yet for more than an hour did this defence of the Carroccio continue: at last, every hope being gone, the veteran Tornaquinci, whose natural force was not abated by the action of seventy years, thus addressed his son and three young kinsmen who fought by his side.

"What are we to do my sons? To fly? But where? "Perhaps to Florence:—where we shall find the victorious "enemy before us! There were those that of yore envied the "death of Rustico Marignelli who fell in his native city when "we were driven the first time from our homes: let us now "make others envy *our* fate by dying in harness on the Arbia "sooner than allow the banner committed to our charge to "fall, as it never yet has done, into the hands of the enemy: "and as I was born before you, so will I, as I ought, show "you the way to a most honourable death." Thus saying he spurred his horse onward and with his four companions died bravely fighting in the midst of the enemy.

The Carroccio and Martinella were led away in triumph but the day was not yet won; the battle still raged upon the hills and the right of the confederates held together although their first line was driven from its position, and the Senese legions pushed forward with a spirit well worthy of their comrades on the plain: the success of these infused new vigour into those that battled on the heights; one more shout and a

determined charge bore down the now dispirited and yielding foe; retreat soon hurried into flight, and one wild storm of tumult slaughter and confusion, swept madly across the plain.

The battle was won: a small body of troops threw themselves into the castle but were soon cut to pieces; and had not the victors remained to plunder, scarcely a soldier of that vast armament, which only four days before had quitted their homes in all the confidence of success, would have escaped to tell the tale to his countrymen! Florence alone by the most moderate computation left 2500 dead on the field besides the wounded and prisoners, and there was scarcely one of her numerous families that had not reason to bewail that day, when ten thousand bloody victims to civil discord made the next year's harvest wave greenly on the banks of the Arbia.

Nothing in those times was perhaps more doubtful than the returns of killed and wounded, and the conflicting accounts of authors about this battle take a wide range; it was certainly one of the most sanguinary encounters of the age and the most important in its consequences. It was the Cannæ of Florence!

The loss of the victorious army is said to have been from six hundred to a thousand men in killed and wounded, and fifteen thousand captives crowded the joyous streets of Siena; while in Florence nothing was heard but the wailing of wives and mothers demanding sons and husbands; consternation pervaded the town, an indistinct sense of annihilation was impressed on the public mind; the gates were closed, the shops and houses shut, and men looked sad and silent at each other: fugitives flocked in hourly but brought no hope: despair in their heart and death in their aspect, a downward glance on their bloody garments was the only reply to loud and frantic inquiries: the widow, the orphan, the sister, and the promised bride had no other comfort; but to the graver questions and ill-repressed tears of bearded men they sorrowfully answered. "It is not for them who have bravely died in battle for their

country's cause you should weep, but for us who have survived the conflict: *they* have fallen with glory as soldiers ought, but *we* are spared only to become the objects of scorn and mockery to our bitterest foes."—Thus ended the battle of Monteaperto *.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—England: John (1216), Henry III.—Scotland: Alexander II. and III. (1249).—France: Louis VIII., Louis IX. (1226).—Castile and Leon: Henry I., Ferdinand III., Alphonso X. (1252).—Aragon: James I.—Germany: Frederic II., Conrad IV. (interregnum from 1254).—Popes, Honorius III. (1216), Gregory IX. (1227), Celestine IV. (1241), Innocent IV. (1243), Alexander IV. (1254).—Portugal: Alphonso II., Sancho II., Alphonso III. (1248).—Latin Emperors of Constantinople: Peter (1216), Robert (1221), John of Brienne (1229), Baldwin II. (1237.)

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* Malespini, cap. clxiii., clxiv., &c.—G. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. lxxvi., lxvii., lxxviii.—Mar. di Coppo Stefano, Rub. 120, &c.—Leonardo Aretino, Lib. ii°. Volgariz° da D. Accaioli.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. ii°, p. 112, &c.—Orl°. Malavolti, Hist. di Siena, Lib. i°, Parte ii^a, p. 1, *et seq.*—Muratori, Annali, 1260.—Flam. dal Borgo, Dissert. vi^a, p. 352.—Tronci, Annali Pisani.—La Sconfieta di Monteaperto, Siena, A.D. 1502.—Sismondi, Rev. Ital. vol. ii., p. 306.—Roncioni, "Ist. Pisane," Lib. x°, p. 548.—Vol. vi., Ar. Stor. Ital°.—Sardo, Cronaca Pisana, cap. xxxix.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM A.D. 1260 TO A.D. 1282.

THE battle of Monteaperto bowed Florence to the ground; and so withering was its effect on the remaining citizens that the whole Guelphic faction resolved to abandon their country; not from inability to defend the town, for it was strongly walled, the ditches broad deep, and well filled with water; and blood must have flowed and spears have been broken ere its gateways echoed to a hostile footstep; but along with Ghibeline treachery came a dread of future treason; many of that faction remained and insulted the universal grief by their open exultation; recrimination between Guelphic citizens and Guelphic nobles began; the campaign was the headstrong work of the former, and the latter did not spare them.

A.D. 1260.

Besides this some of the richest citizens were becoming too aristocratic, and raised the jealousy of their poorer neighbours at the same time that they were in open enmity with greater families of their own party, while the plebeians, deprived of honour and office, were indifferent as to which faction governed: for the victory being gained by their countrymen, as they believed, did not stain the national honour, wherefore it was absurd in their opinion to endanger the city by endeavouring to exclude these exiles from their homes: they were Florentines returning to Florence, not a foreign enemy at her

gates, and whether Guelph or Ghibeline ruled, they themselves would be equally excluded from a place in the commonwealth*.

This state of public feeling was well known to the governing party who were also aware that their own lives as well as property would be perilled by remaining, wherefore every principal family, popular and noble, to the number of sixty and more, retired from the town and with their women and children sought refuge at Lucca and Bologna: the Guelphic families of the other allied cities, with the single exception of Arezzo, in like manner abandoned their country and swelled the population of Lucca which became a place of general refuge for the Guelphs until three years after, when forced out by Ghibeline confederation they sought elsewhere for an asylum.

The Guelphs retired on the thirteenth of September, and on the sixteenth the allied army marched to Florence. An unusual quiet reigned in the suburbs; no sound, no stir, no sign of animation; the city gates were open, the houses closed, the streets desolate, and the whole town a vast and striking solitude. Not a living creature was to be seen, no murmur heard except here and there the low articulation of assembled voices issuing from a church or hospital and then melting in universal silence. The victors struck with awe and full of suspicion entered cautiously, apprehensive of danger from this strange tranquillity; they marched directly to the public palace observing the strictest discipline, and there fixing their head quarters occupied the remainder of the town: at length some bolder citizens confiding in this peaceful demonstration issued from their concealment and throwing themselves at Count Giordano's feet implored protection †. Few outrages were committed except on the houses and other property of the absent Guelphs

* Malespini, cap. clxviii.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. lxxix.—Leonardo Aretino, Lib. ii°.— Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Rub. 124.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. ii., p. 122.

† Orl. Malavolti, Parte ii°, Lib. ii°, della Storia di Siena, p. 23.

which were plundered and confiscated; but the hatred of faction carried some so far as to insult the dead, and, as already related, the tomb of Aldobrandino Ottobuoni was shamefully violated. The treatment of this worthy citizen's remains exasperated the people, and their discontent was augmented by the abrogation of many laws passed during the ten years of Guelphic government to secure public liberty: supreme authority was now exclusively vested in the nobles but under the protection of Manfred, to whom all were compelled to take an oath of allegiance. Count Guido Novello was made Podestà for two years and the German troops under Giordano were to be maintained by Florence. The Ghibelines immediately dispatched ambassadors to thank King Manfred for his aid, and request that Count Giordano might be continued as his representative, under whose authority they had no doubt of soon being able to arrange the affairs of Tuscany. Arezzo was speedily attacked by her banished Ghibelines assisted by the Senese and Florentines, and as stoutly defended by the remnant of Guelphic citizens who had escaped from Monteaperto. A new gate was opened at Florence to communicate more rapidly with Count Guido's vassals in the Casentino district, which with the adjoining street leading directly to the public palace took and still keeps the name of the ascendant faction*.

By this time the ambassadors had returned from Naples and announced that the Count of San Severino could only be spared for a few months, so that it became necessary to organize a general plan of government before his departure: a diet of the Tuscan Ghibelines was therefore summoned to meet at Empoli a small town about twenty miles from Florence, where besides the Count Giordano and deputies from all the principal cities, every Lord or Baron of any distinction

* Malavolti, Lib. ii°, Parte ij^a.—Leonardo Aretino, Lib. ii°.—Malespini, cap. clxviii.

power or territorial authority repaired and assisted in the deliberations. This congress was opened by the Count of San Severino who informed the assembly that as he was recalled by his sovereign into Puglia it became necessary to adopt a line of conduct calculated to secure King Manfred's authority and the Ghibeline ascendancy in Tuscany*. Upon this the deputies from Siena and Pisa arose and declared that they could conceive no other means so effectual for the general security as the destruction of Florence: it was an opulent powerful and ambitious city which always was and ever would be attached to the party of their adversaries, a city whose ramparts were ever their citadel and which would infallibly reserve its resources for the day of vengeance: nothing therefore but the demolition of her walls and the dispersion of her people they said could insure safety to the Tuscan Ghibelines. There was doubtless much truth in this proposition, and its barbarity did not prevent its being favourably received, more especially by those small towns which Florence had subdued, as well as by many noble Florentines who saw a fair opportunity of recovering their independence by the ruin of that power which had tamed them. The decree seemed likely to pass when Farinata Degli Uberti rose, and in a short energetic speech opposed himself to the whole assembly and saved his country.

"It would have been better," he exclaimed, "to have died "on the Arbia than survive only to hear such a proposition as "that which they were then discussing. There is no happi- "ness," he continued, "in victory itself, *that* must ever be

* This at least is asserted by Malespini, Villani, Leonardo Aretino, and other writers but distinctly denied by Malavolti who certainly proves by public documents that Count Giordano was made Podestà of Siena in 1261 and therefore could not have returned into Puglia. The fact is of no consequence in itself but tends to throw a doubt upon the accuracy of those historians. Giordano might however have been recalled first to Naples and afterwards appointed Podestà of Siena by Manfred. (Vide Malavolti, Lib. ii°, Parte ii^a, p. 25).

" sought for amongst the companions who helped us to gain
" the day, and the injury we receive from an enemy inflicts a
" far more trifling wound than the wrong that comes from the
" hand of a friend. If I now complain it is not that I fear
" the destruction of my native city for as long as I have life
" to wield a sword Florence shall never be destroyed; but I
" cannot suppress my indignation at the discourses I have just
" been listening to: we are here assembled to discuss the
" wisest means of maintaining our influence in Florence, not
" to debate on its destruction, and my country would indeed
" be unfortunate and I and my companions miserable mean
" spirited creatures, if it were true that the fate of our city
" depended on the fiat of the present assembly. I did hope
" that all former hatred would have been banished from such
" a meeting and that our mutual destruction would not have
" been treacherously aimed at from under the false colours of
" general safety; I did hope that all here were convinced that
" counsel dictated by jealousy could never be advantageous to
" the general good! But to what does your hatred attach
" itself? To the ground on which the city stands? To
" its houses and insensible walls? To the fugitives who
" have abandoned it? Or to ourselves that now possess
" it? Who is he that thus advises? Who is the bold bad
" man that dare thus give voice to the malice he hath
" engendered in his soul? Is it meet then that all *your*
" cities should exist unharmed and ours alone be devoted
" to destruction? That *you* should return in triumph to your
" hearths and we with whom you have conquered should have
" nothing in exchange but exile and the ruin of our country?
" Is there one of you who can believe that I could even hear
" such things with patience? Are you indeed ignorant that
" if I have carried arms, if I have persecuted my foes, I
" still have never ceased to love my country, and that I
" never will allow what even our enemies have respected, to be

" violated by your hands, so that posterity may call *them* the " saviours, *us* the destroyers of our country? Here then I " declare, that although I stand alone amongst the Florentines " I will never permit my native city to be destroyed, and if it " be necessary for her sake to die a thousand deaths I am " ready to meet them all in her defence *". Farinata then rose and with angry gestures quitted the assembly; but left such an impression on the mind of his audience that the project was instantly dropped and the only question for the moment was how to regain a chief of such talent and influence †.

When this decision was known Farinata proudly resumed his place at the public request and it was resolved that their cause should be strengthened by those measures alone which were generally approved, the first step being to place a thousand men-at-arms under the command of Count Guido Novello, and maintain them at the common expense of the league, independent of the ordinary contingent of each member. This alliance of all the Tuscan Ghibelines against the Guelphic faction was afterwards formally ratified at Siena, and from the contribution of each chief and state took the appellation of "*La Taglia di Toscana*" ‡.

Count Giordano according to the Florentine writers returned

* " A ciò non fu' io sol, disse, nè certo
Senza cagion sarei con gli altre mosso.
Ma fu' io sol colà, dove sofferto
Fu per ciascun di torre via Fiorenza,
Colui, che la difesi a viso aperto."

I was not there alone, he said, nor certes
Without cause would I have mov'd with others:
But when all wished to ruin Florence, then
I *was* alone, and stood in her defence
With open undisguised countenance.

† Leon. Aretino, Lib. ii°.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. ii., p. 124.—Dal Borgo, Dissert. vi., p. 365.—Dante, Infer. Cant. x.

‡ Scip. Ammirato, Lib. ii°, p. 125.—Flam. dal Borgo, Diss. vi., p. 366.

to Naples and Guido Novello, with the title of Manfred's Vicar General and Chief of the League, established himself in Florence: the Tuscan Guelphs were dispersed, or leading a miserable existence within the walls of Lucca; the power of Manfred was strengthened and extended by the victory of Monteaperto, while he and his Saracens commanded the South of Italy: the Torriani of Milan had deserted the Church; Mastino della Scala led the Veronese Ghibelines; Eccelino had fallen; but it was more from tyranny than Ghibeline politics and principally by the enmity of certain chiefs of his own faction.

A.D. 1261.

Manfred and his party were thus prosperous when the death of Pope Alexander IV. suddenly removed a feeble enemy and made way for a pontiff that very soon altered the aspect of affairs in Italy. Urban IV. was the son of a shoemaker of Troyes in Champagne, whose talents raised him to the bishopric of Verdun, the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and finally to the Popedom: Manfred was too little disposed to reverence priests ever to be on friendly terms with such a haughty ambitious pontiff as Urban, who attacked him with a persevering bitterness hardly inferior to the enmity of Innocent the Fourth. His crying sin was independence of the Church; in itself deadly and unpardonable; but his Saracens had also appeared in the Campagna of Rome and Urban instantly published a crusade against him, giving the command of his troops to Roger of San Severino a Neapolitan refugee, whom he ordered to assemble all the rebels of that kingdom and make cruel war on Manfred. Not content with this he cited the king to appear and justify himself against a long catalogue of crimes, and endeavoured to break off an alliance then negotiating between Manfred's daughter Constance, and the son of John King of Aragon, which originated the claims of that family to the two Sicilies *.

* Ricor. Malespini, cap. clxxv.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital., vol. ii., p. 374.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. lxxxvii.

Most of the year 1261 was consumed by Count Guido in consolidating the internal government of Florence; but the month of September found him in the field with 3000 men-at-arms and a strong force of infantry: Lucca the only remaining strength of the Guelphic party was the object of this expedition; Castello Franco, Santo Croce, and other places fell before it; several more were restored to Pisa; but Fucecchio was bravely defended and resisted every attack so that the Ghibelines retired without much honour to Florence.

In the last efforts of despair the Guelphs sent ambassadors to Conradine who as legitimate heir to the crown of Sicily they hoped would espouse their cause; but he was still a child; his mother would not part with him; and his furred mantle, given as a pledge of future assistance was the only result of this embassy: yet their misery may be conceived when we learn that the mantle was publicly exhibited at Lucca and worshipped like the brazen serpent in the wilderness as a type of things to come. Once they surprised and attempted to keep the town of Signa, six miles from Florence, but Count Guido after driving them from the place advanced to Castiglione where the Guelphs met him with inferior forces and were defeated: the capture of more towns and the devastation of more territory cooled the friendship of Lucca for her Guelphic inmates and produced a secret negotiation with Count Guido: it however dragged slowly on until the following year when the Guelphs again saw themselves driven with their wives and children to seek a more distant home. Lucca by this treaty was to join the league; receive a Podestà in the name of King Manfred; regain her prisoners taken at Monteaperto; and to have no class of her own citizens of either party molested; but all foreign Guelphs to be instantly banished from her walls. Three days only were allowed to these unfortunate people to remove and after severe suffering on the mountains between Lucca and Modena

A.D. 1262.

A.D. 1263.

the greater part arrived at Bologna in a state of extreme misery. Here their fortune changed; for a civil war having broken out between the Guelphs and Ghibelines of Modena they were invited by the former to lend them assistance and did so with such effect that their adversaries were driven from the town and the Florentine exiles rewarded and enriched with their spoils. Similar dissensions soon after began at Reggio; the exiles' assistance was again sought and they were again victorious; but this time with such an increase of wealth as enabled them to appear in knightly harness and form a veteran band of four hundred men-at-arms, which afterwards did good service in the Sicilian wars.

In this last affair a certain Carca da Reggio, a knight of gigantic stature and prowess, with a ponderous iron mace bore down every opponent and almost alone sustained the combat, for none approached within reach of his weapon that was not instantly felled to the earth: the Florentine gentlemen observing this, selected twelve the most valourous of their company, and under the name of the twelve Paladins sent them armed with daggers only against the terrible Carca: a bloody struggle ensued in which many sunk beneath the giant's arm, but he finally yielded to their close assault and died where he fell, in the market-place of Reggio. This decided the victory, every Ghibeline fled from the city and the Florentines received their reward under the young Forese degli Adimari by whose hand the giant is supposed to have fallen*.

The fate of Lucca hastened that of Arezzo where the Guelphs had made a long and gallant defence; but worn out and pressed by their own exiles, by Florence, and Siena; they finally yielded to an adverse fortune and retired.

The abasement of Guelphic Tuscany seemed now complete and the star of Manfred high in the ascendant; but a

* Leon. Aretino, Lib. ii°.—Villani, Lib. vi., cap. lxxxvi.—Malespini, cap. clxxiv.—S. Ammirato, Lib. ii°, p. 127, &c.

cloud arose in the west which at first dimming its lustre finally extinguished it in blood. Urban stimulated from within and without, both by his own hatred and the Guelphic exiles; strained every nerve to accomplish the fall of Manfred: he began a secret negotiation with Saint Louis of France and offered the crown of Sicily to his son; the gift was refused by that conscientious monarch as it was the inheritance of Conradine; but the decree of a council had anathematised Frederic and all his posterity, and though Urban charged himself with the sin, yet would not Louis be tempted. His brother the Count of Anjou more ambitious and far less scrupulous, coveted the prize and was well seconded by the vain temper of his wife Beatrice Countess of Provence: this lady having three sisters enjoying the queenly dignity could not brook an inferior title, although ranking in power and riches next to the crowned heads of Europe. Her husband, says Villani, "was wise and prudent in council, of great prowess in arms, severe, and greatly feared by all the kings in the world; magnanimous, of aspiring thoughts, and equal to the greatest enterprises; untamed in adversity; firm and faithful in all his promises; speaking little and doing much: scarcely ever smiling; decent as a monk; a zealous Catholic; severe in justice, and fierce in his aspect. His figure was tall and muscular, his colour olive, his nose long, and he seemed more adapted than any other lord to the kingly office. He scarcely slept. He was generous to his followers, but rapacious in amassing lordships lands and money on every side to supply the expense of his enterprises, and never took any pleasure in jesters troubadours and other court followers*." The negotiations with Charles of Anjou were attended by much difficulty and delay; the pope was too exacting and the prince firm in his purpose to make himself as little dependent as possible on the Roman pontiff, so that one year was thus unprofitably wasted, and A.D. 1264.

* Villani, Lib. vii., cap. i°.

another consumed in military preparations for the enterprise. The announcement of these intentions was the first shock to Ghibeline power and his arrival at Rome with a thousand men-at-arms the signal for hostilities: Charles had escaped from a Pisan fleet equipped to intercept him, and after seeing his own squadron dispersed arrived almost alone at a convent outside the walls of Rome, where however he was soon joined by his followers and entered the city on the 24th May 1265 amidst general acclamation.

A.D. 1265.

Urban IV. died in 1264 while Charles was in the midst of his preparations and a vacancy of five months threw a damp on Guelphic hopes; but Urban who had found only eight cardinals at his accession completed the list with his own friends, and his counterpart the Cardinal of Narbonne then on a mission to the court of Provence, was chosen pontiff under the name of Clement IV*. The enterprise therefore proceeded as vigorously as before and Charles with the aid of his brother, who perhaps was not sorry to see so unquiet a spirit out of his kingdom, besides the riches and even jewels of his wife, assembled an army of 5000 cavalry 15,000 infantry, and 10,000 cross-bowmen, but impatient to arrive at the scene of action he hurried on to Rome as already related.

Charles was publicly acknowledged as King of Sicily and Puglia by the new pope; and the Roman people wishing to have some powerful prince for their senator, who at that time had great authority, also appointed him to this dignity in preference to Manfred or the Prince of Aragon. The pope only favoured this election because he was enabled to secure his own temporal power by annexing certain conditions that the Count of Anjou's eagerness for the Sicilian crown induced him to accept. His arrival infused new spirit into the Florentine exiles, now rich and powerful through their own gallantry; they therefore sent a formal embassy to the new pope with an

* Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iiº, p. 129.—Muratori, Annali.

offer of their services for the king, and demanding the blessing, and recommendation of the church: they represented their band as being composed of 400 gentlemen well armed and mounted besides a considerable body of footmen, and added that they would appear with increased dignity before that prince if as soldiers of the church they were presented with a banner bearing the arms or some other device of his holiness. Clement of course granted all their requests furnished them with money, and gave them a standard emblazoned with his own arms; namely a red eagle in a white field holding a green dragon in its talons, and the exiles afterwards placed a red lily over the eagle's head which thenceforth became the peculiar badge of the "*Party Guelph*" a faction that acted so important a part in the subsequent history of Florence*. Under these auspices the exiles prepared for war and advanced towards Mantua to unite with the Provençal cavalry commanded by Guy de Montfort fourth son of the Earl of Leicester who had fled to France after the battle of Evesham. The Florentine Guelphs under Count Guido Guerra led them through Romagna and La Marca to Rome where they arrived about Christmas, and were received by Charles with peculiar favour not only on account of their own strength and military reputation, but because they were the first Italians that had joined his standard, were deadly enemies of Manfred, and demanded no reward except a speedy restoration to their country. The rest of the troops joined their sovereign in the month of January 1266. Charles after the ceremony of a coronation, in which he acknowledged himself a vassal of the church, with exhausted resources hurried on to the frontier where he took the pass of Ceperano, crossed the Garigliano without a check, in consequence of the treachery of Manfred's kinsman the Count of Caserta, and occupying a considerable part of the country prepared for a speedy termination of the

A.D. 1266.

* Leon. Aretino, Lib. ii°.—Malespini, cap. clxxvi.—S. Ammirato, Lib. ii., p. 129.

contest. Manfred alarmed by the disaffection of his brother-in-law and the subsequent disloyalty of others endeavoured to come to terms and sent an embassy for that purpose; but Charles perceiving his advantage scornfully rejected all communication. "Tell the Sultan of Nocera with him I will "have nor peace nor truce, but that ere long I will either send "him to hell or he shall send me to Paradise." The war was a crusade and Charles had persuaded his followers that as they fought for the Catholic faith against an excommunicated heretic and a Saracen, they were sure either of the crown of martyrdom or the glorious triumph of victory. The unexpected capture of San Germano and consequent slaughter of some of his bravest Moslems still further depressed Manfred; treachery appeared on every hand and even the very season seemed to side with the enemy; nevertheless he took up a position at Benevento and resolved on battle.

The river Calore flowed between the armies and the fate of prince and kingdom was decided in a few hours: there were from three to four thousand lances on each side according to the lowest statements; the infantry began the attack; the Saracen archers passed the river and with loud shouts assaulted the French; shooting so well that the latter could scarcely withstand them; the cavalry rode up to their support blest by the Pope's legate with uplifted hands in the midst of the tumult; the Saracens were repulsed and then the German cavalry galloped over the plain of Grandella to encounter the Provençal knights. "*Montjoie Chevaliers*," "*Suabia Chevaliers*" was shouted on either side; the Germans bore everything before them, but the French were successively supported at every repulse by their second, third, and fourth lines: they out-numbered Manfred's brigade and striking at the horses, a foul proceeding amongst knights, succeeded in disordering it: Manfred ordered his reserve to their support; it was a critical moment and was not lost on the disaffected; his grand

treasurer; the Count della Cerra; the Count of Caserta, and and nearly fourteen hundred men-at-arms who had never been engaged shamefully fled and sacrificed their master and the kingdom.

With a handful of still faithful gentlemen Manfred resolved to die gloriously rather than yield the day: while in the act of adjusting his helmet, a silver eagle which formed the crest fell on his saddle-bow. "*Hoc est signum Dei*," said he; "I fixed on this crest with my own hands: it has not fallen by chance." Immediately plunging into the thickest of the fight, but unable to rally his disheartened soldiers, he fell dead amidst a heap of enemies and remained three days before the body was discovered.

Thus died King Manfred, a victim to his own treacherous barons: the ambition of reigning led him into errors that have been distorted by papal hatred and ecclesiastical intolerance into the characteristics of a cruel, faithless and irreligious barbarian; but says Giannone, "If it had not been for his ambition he might be compared with the most famous captains of passed ages; magnanimous, energetic, liberal, and a lover of justice, he always maintained his kingdom flourishing and abundant; he violated the laws only to ascend the throne but in everything else was just and compassionate. Learned in philosophy, a consummate mathematician; not only an encourager of literature but himself most accomplished" * * "He was fair and handsome, of gentle aspect, affable with everybody, always smiling and cheerful, of admirable and delightful wit, so that he has by several been compared to Titus son of Vespasian for his liberality, his beauty, and his courtesy." And Muratori, himself a churchman, agrees substantially in this character.

Benevento soon fell and many of King Manfred's most faithful adherents were cruelly put to death or reserved for lasting imprisonment. The Florentine exiles bore themselves

so bravely at the battle of Grandella that Manfred could not help exclaiming with some bitterness, "*O where are the Ghibelines for whom I have done so much! Whatever may be the fortune of the day that band of Guelphic gentlemen cannot lose.*".

Dead as he was, the enemy's hatred still pursued him; his body was thrown across the back of an ass; Charles and the Pope's legate refused him a tomb in consecrated earth because he died excommunicate; his remains were laid at the foot of Benevento bridge where every soldier in the victorious army threw a stone, and thus a monument was suddenly raised to the memory of a prince a hero and an accomplished gentleman, by the natural sympathy of generous enemies, when the hatred of kings and cardinals sternly refused him the common offices of mortality. Even this resting-place was denied, for the Archbishop of Cosenza with the pope's approbation, on pretence of its lying in papal ground, ordered Manfred's body to be disinterred and carried away in darkness to the banks of the *Verde*, now the *Marino* river, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather so that all traces of its existence were speedily lost to the inhabitants *.

The victory of Grandella was bloody but the pursuit still more so; the kingdom remained at the conqueror's mercy and he soon entered Naples in triumph: the Florentine auxiliaries still followed his standard while their Ghibeline rivals alarmed at these events drew closer together and resolved on measures of precaution against the fatal consequences of this campaign.

* Dante alludes to this—

"Poi sorridendo disse: Io son Manfredi
Nipote di Costanza Imperadrice:
Ond' Io ti priego," &c^a.
(*Dante, Purg^o: Canto* iii.)

Then he smiling said: I am king Manfred
Nephew of the imperial Constance:
Wherefore I pray thee, &c.

R. Malespini, cap. lxxvii. to clxxxi.—G. Villani, Lib. vi., from cap. iii. to cap. x.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. ii°.—Muratori, Annali, An. 1266.—Giannone, Stor. Civile di Napoli, vol. viii., Lib. xix., cap. iii., p. 261.—Sismondi, vol. ii°, p. 389.—Costanza, Istor. del Regno di Napoli, Lib. i°, p. 40, *et seq.*

The fall of Manfred was likely to drag them from that pedestal on which the battle of Monte Aperto had placed them; yet there seems to have been no good reason for apprehending a reverse in Tuscany if their affairs had been ably conducted, and with an impartial administration of justice in Florence where public opinion ran fearfully against them, the ancient freedom of a popular government being still fresh in the public mind.

All the Tuscan cities were nominally Ghibeline, but a strong and silent mass of Guelphic matter existed within each, and a stronger and more enterprising set without who only waited for a favourable opportunity to right themselves: Florence above all was essentially Guelph; the citizens openly rejoiced at the death of Manfred, and Count Guido perceived when too late that it would be politic to try and acquire the public favour with some show of beneficial intentions after having forfeited it by every kind of injustice. Since the victory of Monte Aperto the government had nominally been in the hands of the nobles, but Count Guido both as Podestà and royal Vicar was little less than absolute: the names of Guelph and Ghibeline now began to express something more definite and local than the general Italian meaning of these words. Guelph in Florence now signified popular government; Ghibeline that of the aristocracy: and as the latter party in adhering to the empire strove for an oligarchy, so the former being attached to the church desired a democracy, into which by a wider gate all the most able and virtuous of the community whether noble or plebeian would be permitted to enter. Count Guido saw clearly that things were fast drawing to the same state as in 1250 and likely to be attended by similar consequences unless some timely sacrifice were offered to popular feeling: his resolution though wise was useless, for public opinion began to express itself openly without fear or equivocation and his own motives were exactly estimated.

A short time before this a new order of religious knight-

hood under the name of "*Frate Gaudenti*" began in Italy: it was not bound by vows of celibacy or any very severe regulations, but took the usual oaths to defend widows and orphans and make peace between man and man: the founder was a Bolognese gentleman called Loderingo di Liandolo who enjoyed a good reputation, and along with a brother of the same order named Catalano di Malavolti, one a Guelph the other a Ghibeline, was now invited to Florence by Count Guido to execute conjointly the office of Podestà. It was intended by thus dividing the supreme authority between two magistrates of different politics that one should correct the other and justice be equally administered; more especially as, in conjunction with the people, they were allowed to elect a deliberative council of thirty-six citizens belonging to the principal trades without distinction of party. This little senate aware that apprehension alone had called it into being felt itself under no obligation to Count Guido and determined on a political reformation independent of his authority. Amongst other useful regulations the seven superior "*Arts*" or *Trades* seem to have been more regularly organised than formerly and greater powers given to the consul or chief magistrate of each, who administered justice amongst all those belonging to his particular calling or connected with it; and to this was added a standard under which every member assembled when the public service required their aid. These were called the "*Arti Maggiori*" to distinguish them from the inferior trades which were subsequently embodied under the denomination of "*Arti Minori*"*. Although apparently a

* There appears to be some confusion in all the accounts of this reform, from Malespini downwards; because by a document of the year 1204 the seven superior *Arts* are distinctly mentioned *with their Consuls*, who also appear to have formed the government. (Vide S. Ammirato, Lib. i°, p. 67.) Three of these Consuls were especially named "*Priors of the Arts.*" One was "*Chief of the Administration of Justice*," two were "*Consuls of the Army*," and one was called "*The Senator*," the nature of whose office

trifle this reform was extremely important and afterwards proved the great instrument of emancipating the people from the fetters of the aristocracy, as it gave them a constitutional right to assemble in arms whenever their own interests required it.

As the causes of discontent were similar to those of 1250 so were the feelings of the people and the measures of redress; names alone had changed; the thirty-six chiefs and the Anziani were then created, the same number of governors and seven consuls now; but increased strength and experience made them more determined. On the other hand the nobles, who were far from blind to the consequence of these alterations began openly to condemn them, and Guido taking advantage of this feeling which he secretly encouraged warned them against allowing any more prejudicial measures to be concocted under the plea of maintaining public tranquillity: they were advised to assemble their friends and retainers without delay while he reinforced his garrison by the contingents of several neighbouring cities to the amount of 1500 men-at-arms: money was necessary to pay the troops, a first attempt to register property for taxation was introduced; additional contributions were imposed; the new assembly demurred; the collection was unusually tardy, the tax unpopular, and Guido full of fear and suspicion resolved on an open demonstration of his force. His intentions could not long be concealed; the nobles were already armed, and the Uberti and Lamberti began the tumult by sallying from their houses in Mercato Vecchio and driving the thirty-six governors from their neighbouring place of

does not appear. Macchiavelli and those who follow him seem therefore to be mistaken in saying, "*Costoro, come prima convennero, distinsero tutta la città in Arti*," unless he means that every citizen was at this time compelled to enrol himself in one of these corporations; an event of later date: but it seems clear that neither the corporations of trades nor their Consuls were now created for the first time. (Vide Bruto, Sismondi, Pignotti, and Ammirato himself on this subject.)

assembly. All Florence was soon in arms under the banners of the "*Trades*," as formerly under those of the "*Sesti*:" the people met in Piazza Santa Trinità a wide street which gave room for their numbers and was easily barricaded at all its approaches: Count Guido took up his position in the Piazza of San Giovanni: he and his nobles moved forward to the attack and the people did not refuse it. Led by Gianni de' Soldanieri *, a noble who for private ambition was false to his own party and not true to any, they poured down showers of stones and other missiles from towers and houses; cross-bows played briskly from the barricades, one German knight cleared them with a bound, but was not followed, and the troops retired with some loss of men and reputation to their previous position. The principal struggle took place about the Loggia of the Tornaquinci now occupied by the palace of the Corsi, and decided an event that governed the future destinies of Florence; for Guido alarmed at the general indignation and extent of the movement and disheartened by its result; fearing as well the disaffection of some nobles of his own party as a night attack from the citizens, determined to evacuate the town without delay. Thus panic-stricken he mustered the troops, and against the advice of his own officers and the two rectors who engaged to tranquillise the people, he hastily called for the keys and on the eleventh of November issued from Porta Bovina six years after his triumphal entry and, with some molestation in Borgo Pinti then outside the walls, was soon in full retreat to Prato.

* G. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. xiv.—Dante does not forget him: in the icy crust of Cocytus he places him near Bocca degli Abbati. (*Inferno, Canto* xxxii.)

"Gianni del Soldanier credo che sia
Più là con Ganellone e Tebaldello,
Ch' aprì Faenza quando si dormia."

Gianni del Soldanieri I believe
Lies off with Ganellon and Tebaldell,
Who oped Faenza when the people slept.

No sooner was he in safety than apprehension vanished and error became palpable; he tried to retrieve his position by immediately moving on Florence, but the people were wide awake, the city all in arms; wherefore seeing that neither threats prayers nor promises made any impression on them he sullenly retraced his steps to Prato, and thence to his feudal possessions while the other Ghibeline nobles dispersed to their several castles *.

Thus relieved the citizens hastened to organise a government, the two Frati Gaudenti who had forfeited all public confidence by their peculation and hypocrisy † were dismissed; a single Podestà was appointed on the application of Florence with a hundred men-at-arms from Orvieto a Guelphic city. Twelve men were named to execute the duties of the former Anziani; and as almost all the nobles of both factions were now absent it was at once decreed that political crimes should be obliterated and the gates thrown open to every exile of either party.

The people beheld with pride the return of their distinguished countrymen whose fame in arms had shed a new lustre on the Florentine name; and to strengthen the present peace numerous marriages were promoted between A.D. 1267.

* R. Malespini, cap. clxxxiii., &c.—G. Villani, Lib. vii°, cap. xiii. and xiv.—Leo. Aretino, Lib. ii°.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii°.—S. Ammirato, Lib. ii°, p. 131.

† Hence Dante gives them a conspicuous place in his Inferno (Canto xxiii.) amongst the leaden-mantled hypocrites of the sixth *Bolgia*.

"Frati Gaudenti fummo, e Bolognesi,
Io Catalano, e questi Loderingo
Nomati, e da tua terra insiemè presi,
Come suol esser tolto un uom solingo
Per conserver sua pace, e fummo tali,
Che ancor si pare intorno dal Guardingo."

Frati Gaudenti we, and Bolognese,
I Catalano, he Lod'ringo named,
And by thy town together were pick'd out
As men are wont to choose a single judge
Expressly to keep peace; but proved such
As still appears about Guardingo's site.

The "Guardingo" was a street where the Uberti lived which some writers say was destroyed by these two *Gaudenti*.

the adverse families, so that the whole city rang with merriment: but the factious spirit was deep, the joy shallow and transient, and the Guelphs could never forgive six long years of banishment and sorrow. Public feeling was entirely with them; internal power and external support made them bold and insolent; while the fear of Conradine's arrival in Italy gave point to their enmity. Charles, whose political interests were now, except in name, the same as Manfred's, looked to be paramount in Tuscany and an invitation from the Florentine Guelphs gave him a legitimate opening that he was not disposed to neglect. The military preparations of Conradine to recover his Italian states were now heard plainly and alarmed the pope for the fate of those countries; the empire was vacant, the kingdom of Italy left without a chief; and Tuscany composed of various independent republics became in a manner insulated; so that until a new imperial election occurred the pontiff easily persuaded himself that he as the father of Christendom was a proper person to assume the vacant office. Charles also, not being without apprehension and equally anxious to secure himself on the side of Tuscany was appointed vicar-general of that province and according to some, on this authority alone without any invitation from the Guelphs, marched a body of 800 men-at-arms to Florence under Guy de Montfort and Malatesta da Verruchio, one of whom was appointed his vicar in that city. They were received with public rejoicing by every class, for the Ghibelines scared at their approach had hastily retired and assembling in force round Pisa and Siena established themselves permanently at Santo Ellero whence they made a war of incursions up to the very gates of Florence. This became insufferable, wherefore the united French and Florentine forces besieged and took their stronghold after a sharp resistance in which eight hundred Ghibeline gentlemen fell a sacrifice to the rancour of faction and private feuds, hatred at this epoch so deep and

deadly that one of the Uberti who had taken refuge in the belfry tower, leaped desperately from its battlements and dashed his brains out, rather than yield to his private enemies of the Buondelmonti race *.

Siena next became the seat of hostilities; Poggibonzi, where the Ghibelines were strong in numbers and position, was besieged, and the arrival of King Charles in August as Vicar of Tuscany gave a higher and more brilliant character to the war. He was welcomed with peculiar honours; the Carroccio issued in full state and accompanied him in triumph to Florence.

This prince was far too energetic to remain long inactive; wherefore after having knighted several citizens, an honour then of the most distinguished class, he repaired in person to the siege of Poggibonzi which the Pisan and Senese armies with a body of Ghibelines had united to raise: but skilful as he was it occupied him for four months incessantly and then only surrendered by capitulation from a total want of provisions. Pisa next felt the Guelphic lash, Porto Pisano was taken and its two defensive towers destroyed; the country ravaged and the strong town of Mutrone finally capitulated to the king in person. A.D. 1268.

The Guelphs with some justice demanded compensation from government for the confiscation of their property after the battle of Monte Aperto and a similar sacrifice of the Ghibeline possessions was demanded; some opposition took place and the dispute referred to Charles by whose judgment all confiscated property was divided into three parts, one to be given as compensation to the sufferers, one assigned to the state, and one intrusted to the magistracy of the "*Party Guelph;*" about which a few words are necessary. A public committee had been appointed in 1266 to ascertain the extent

* S. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 138.—Malespini, cap. clxxxvii. and cxciv.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. ii°.

of this damage, whose still existing report makes it amount to 132,160 or according to others 130,736 lire perhaps equal to near two hundred thousand pounds of our present money; but there are great doubts about the precise epoch when the permanent *magistracy* of the Party Guelph was created: according to Leonardo Aretino it had certainly existed before this time though under a different form and most likely was abolished during the Ghibeline administration: its origin is however generally ascribed to this period when by a realisation of solid property in a body corporate it assumed a force and character which did not previously exist: this was due to Clement IV. and Charles of Anjou who in working zealously together for the ruin of Ghibeline principles promoted every measure that gave strength to their own faction *. By their command this tribunal was now composed of three Knights-Rectors chosen from each sesto in succession for two months, and at first denominated "*Consuls of the Knights*," but afterwards "*Captains of the Party Guelph*;" under which title with accumulated riches and authority they exercised extreme influence and finally oppressed the Commonwealth. By them too the antagonist faction was annihilated; for power and enmity concentrated and embodied in a corporation, lynx-eyed, sleepless, backed by the force and spirit of the people, and directed exclusively against the Ghibelines, was too much for that faction both within and without the city †.

Except Pisa and Siena, all the Tuscan states followed the politics of Florence and a Guelphic league was soon organised on the plan of the Ghibelines, commanded as before by the Florentine Vicar of the King of Sicily and Puglia; so that the whole revolution both in the north and south was a simple change of actors, but the same drama.

* Lorenzo, Cantini.—Saggi, Istorici d'Antichità Toscane, tomo iii., p. 192.
† Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 137.—Malespini, cap. clxxxvi.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. xvii —Leon. Aretino, Lib. ii°.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii°.

The Florentines anxious for peace and wishing to reorganise their constitution in safety, thought they could accomplish both objects and also manifest their gratitude to Charles by an offer, which was made in 1267 of the Florentine sovereignty for ten years: Anjou at first refused; declaring himself well contented with their good will without further jurisdiction: he however subsequently accepted it as simple chief of the republic, declining the extraordinary powers with which they were willing to invest him. This dignity involved the right of appointing a vicar to administer the affairs of war and justice in his name, all other offices and the power of changing the form of government still remaining with the citizens; for Charles on being invested with the Seignory only entered into the constitutional authority of that office in whatever form the people were pleased to mould it. The thirty-six governors of Guido Novello were now reduced to twelve "*Buonomini*" or Good Men, whose term of office was two months: along with these was a council called the "*Credenza*" of eighty citizens; and also an assembly of one hundred and eighty of the people, thirty from each "Sesto," which with the Credenza and Buonomini formed the Council General. Another council of one hundred and twenty members created at the same period and composed of every privileged class perfected all measures previously discussed in the preceding assemblies and distributed the various offices of the republic. This at least is Macchiavelli's account, but there is considerable discrepancy in the statements of different writers about the constitutional reforms of this epoch: Malespini a contemporary author, does not mention the Credenza nor Macchiavelli that of the Podestà which is noticed by the former and Villani, who themselves are silent about the council of one hundred and twenty, asserting that the general council consisted of three hundred members. Cantini, a good authority, tells us that the deliberations of the Buonomini had no effect unless previously

approved of in the popular council of a hundred; afterwards in that of the consuls of Trades; then in the Credenza; subsequently in the Podestà's council of ninety, and finally in the council general of three hundred. Sismondi follows Cantini and Villani, therefore differs from Malespini and Macchiavelli; he tells us that the first council for consultation was that of the people, then on the same day the matter went to the Credenza where the consuls of the seven superior trades had a place, but no nobles or Ghibelines: the next day the same matter went first to the council of the Podestà where nobles and people and consuls of the arts all took part, and then to the council general composed of citizens of every rank. Other disagreements might be quoted from different authors, but Macchiavelli is clear in his statement that all these councils united, (to which may be added the consuls of arts,) formed the general council; and that the council of one hundred and twenty was that which completed any public business under discussion. The reader may choose which account he pleases; but the general result was that a body of continually changing representatives divided into four classes and giving their opinion on all subjects of legislation, each being a check on the other, formed a sufficiently liberal exposition of the public will and maintained a free democratic spirit in the community in opposition both to the aristocracy and any undue power of the Podestà. The machinery of the "*Party Guelph*" consisted of a secret council of fourteen and a general one of forty or by some accounts sixty members of both classes, which latter elected the "*Captains*" by ballot besides six priors as treasurers, a public accuser of the Ghibelines, and a keeper of the seal; and so penetrating was its influence that in the course of time all the Ghibeline property which had been confiscated to the public treasury found its way into that of the Party Guelph *.

* G. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. xvi. and xvii.—Malespini, cap. clxxxvi.—Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Rub. 139, 140.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii.—Cantini, Saggi Istorici, vol. iii., p. 191.

Such was the domestic occupation of Florence under the auspices of Charles of Anjou who had now acquired almost all the authority enjoyed by his predecessors Frederic and Manfred, both in the south and Tuscany with the exception of Pisa and Siena which still maintained their positions. Both however would probably soon have fallen had not his course been suddenly checked by Conradine's advance to Trent, and intelligence of insurrections in Rome and the two Sicilies. Henry and Frederic sons of Alphonso King of Castile having joined the Spanish barons against their father were obliged to fly to Tunis where becoming rich and weary of exile they determined to try their fortune in Italy: Henry came over to his cousin Charles of Anjou who received him the more favourably because he was able to lend large sums of money, and supported his prayer to Pope Clement for the investiture of Sardinia: he gained the hearts of the Romans while residing amongst them, and in one of their frequent insurrections was made senator of Rome an office which he filled so justly and popularly as to raise the jealousy of Charles who consequently demanded the kingdom of Sardinia for himself, and refused to repay what he had borrowed. These and other injuries raised Prince Henry's anger and revenge. After an immediate alliance with Conradine he sent for Prince Frederic from Tunis who landed at Sciatta in Sicily with eight hundred Tuscans, Germans, and Spaniards; published a manifesto of Conradine calling on the inhabitants to rise in his favour, and in a short time the whole island with the exception of Messina Palermo and Syracuse, was in a state of revolt. The Saracens of Nocera, Calabria, almost all the Abruzzi, Rome and its whole campagna soon caught the flame, and the Ghibelines of Tuscany sent a hundred thousand florins to Conradine who after some difficulties arrived at Pisa in the month of May 1268.

Long before this Charles had hurried to the south leaving William de Belselve with eight hundred men-at-arms as his

vicar in Tuscany; Conradine meanwhile marched towards Lucca where Belselve with a strong body of troops was in garrison; the former had been excommunicated, a crusade was even preached against him, and many such crusaders had joined the French and Florentines in Tuscany: both armies drew up at Ponterotto two miles from Lucca on each bank of the Guiscianella; but neither ventured to begin the fight and soon retired out of all danger from each other: Poggibonzi revolted and Conradine marched to Siena where he established himself; upon this Belselve moved on Arezzo to impede his advance to the southward accompanied by the Florentines, whom however he dismissed at Montevarchi, being foolishly confident in his own strength and equally negligent of discipline. At Ponte-a-Valle on the Arno he fell into an ambuscade formed by a detachment of Conradine's army under the Uberti and other exiles and was completely defeated with the loss of many soldiers. This although a slight affair had considerable effect on the spirits of either party and excited more revolts in Puglia. Conradine soon after marched to Rome where he was received in triumph by Don Henry and the citizens in despite of repeated anathemas from Pope Clement at Viterbo*.

This young prince, then only sixteen years of age, who is said to have given good promise of rivalling the spirit and abilities of his uncle and grandfather, marched from Rome on the 18th of August with five thousand men-at-arms and crossing the Abruzzi mountains arrived without any opposition at the plain of Saint Valentino in the district of Tagliacozzo: Charles immediately raised the siege of Nocera and advanced to meet him with only three thousand men-at-arms but strong in having the experienced council of an old French knight

* Malespini, cap. cxc., cxci.—Villani, Lib. vii., cap. xxiii., xxiv.—Leon. Aretino, Libro iii°.—S. Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 142.—Muratori, Annali. —Giannone, Stor. Civile di Napoli, Lib. xix., c. iv., p. 281.—Costanza, Lib. i°, p. 53.

called Alard de Saint Valery who was returning from twenty years' service against the Infidels and happened to touch at Naples in this critical moment. This veteran being well acquainted with German soldiers advised Charles to choose eight hundred Lances and remain concealed while the rest of his army in two divisions began the battle, one being commanded by Henry de Cosence dressed as was then customary in the king's apparel and resembling him in person. Conradine supposing these two divisions to be the whole force of his antagonist attacked them with such vigour that they were soon routed and Henry de Cosence being slain the victory was supposed complete and the Germans as Saint Valery expected, dispersed to plunder. On seeing this the old knight exclaimed "*Now Sire let us charge, for the victory is our own.*" The vigour and moral effect of these fresh troops told fatally on the dispersed and heedless Germans and a complete defeat with dreadful carnage was the result*. Conradine fled with a few followers, but Charles fearful of a similar stratagem by Alard's advice remained under arms until night to assure himself of the victory: the young monarch's destiny pursued him; with his friend the Duke of Austria and other lords he was soon taken and delivered into the hands of his merciless conqueror who on the 29th of the following October brought his head to the block in the market-place of Naples. A.D. 1269.

It is said and apparently with good reason that Charles consulted Pope Clement IV. as was his custom on important occasions, about the fate of young Conradine and received the following laconic answer "*Vita Corradini, mors Caroli; mors Corradini, vita Caroli* †." But he himself was summoned in the following November to answer for this counsel, if ever given, at a far more awful tribunal than that of mundane history.

* This battle was fought on 23d August 1268.

† This story is believed by Giannone but denied and doubted by other authors amongst them Sismondi and especially Costanzo, who designates it as "*Falsissima*" and the pure invention of Collenuccio.

Charles's success was accompanied by the most cruel executions throughout Naples and that unstable people again sighed for the juster sway of a Manfred: but the house of Suabia was no more; with Conradine it became extinct and opened the way for the more fortunate dynasty of Hapsburg which with better auspices has hitherto maintained its position amongst the crowned heads of Europe*.

These great events gave new courage to the Tuscan Guelphs without however discouraging their adversaries, for in the month of June Provenzano Salvani chief of the republic of Siena accompanied by Count Guido Novello and other Ghibelines took the field with 1400 men-at-arms and 8000 infantry and threatened the town of Colle by encamping about the Abbey of Spugnole not far from that city, where their own Guelphic exiles had taken refuge: the French and Florentines immediately marched under the orders of Charles's vicar Gianni Bertaldo and uniting with the Senese exiles and some citizens of Colle came suddenly upon them while in the act of changing their ground. After a weak resistance the whole army gave way; Count Guido fled, Provenzano was killed by one of the Tolomei, a private as well as public enemy; and as Montaperto had not yet been revenged no quarter was given, so that the slaughter is described to have been terrible: this battle occasioned the subsequent return of the Guelphs to Siena through the mediation of Guy de Montfort Vicar of Tuscany, also the present destruction of Ghibeline power in that republic and a more lasting peace with Florence †.

The remainder of 1269 was consumed in military inroads on the Pisan country in conjunction with Lucca, and accompanied by the usual boasts and insults common to the age;

* Malespini, cap. cxcii. and cxciii.—Annali di Simone della Tosa.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. xxvi., xxvii., xxviii.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 142.—Muratori, Annali, 1268.—Giannone, Sto. Civile, Lib. xix., cap. iv.—Sismondi Ital. Rep., vol. ii., p. 412.—Costanzo, Lib. i°, p. 34.—Platina Vite de' Papi.

† Malespini. cap. cxciv.—Orl. Malavolti, Part ii^a, Lib. ii°, p. 38.

such as coining money under the enemy's walls and contemptuously celebrating games and festivals as if in profound peace.

These incursions were followed by the execution of Neracozzo and Azzolino degli Uberti, with other Ghibelines taken in their flight from Siena when that faction was expelled, every one of which Charles immediately ordered to be decapitated: on their way to the scaffold young Neracozzo asked Azzolino the son of Farinato where they were going: "*To pay a debt,*" replied his brother, "*which our fathers have left to us.*" A.D. 1270.

The extreme youth of a third brother Conticino degli Uberti who was also taken, only saved him from death to linger in perpetual imprisonment; such was the bitter effect of faction on the fierce disposition of the age, and Charles of Anjou was even beyond the age in cruelty.

Another instance of this revengeful spirit occurred in the year 1271 at Viterbo where the cardinals had assembled to elect a successor to Clement the Fourth, about whom they had been long disputing: Charles of Anjou and Philip of France with Edward and Henry sons of Richard Duke of Cornwall had repaired there, the two first to hasten the election, which they finally accomplished by the elevation of Gregory the Tenth.

During these proceedings Prince Henry, while taking the sacrament in the church of San Silvestro at Viterbo, was stabbed to the heart by his own cousin Guy de Montfort in revenge for the Earl of Leicester's death, although Henry was then endeavouring to procure his pardon. This sacrilegious act threw Viterbo into confusion, but Montfort had many supporters one of whom asked him what he had done. "*I have taken my revenge*" said he. "*But your father's body was trailed!*" At this reproach de Montfort instantly reëntered the church walked straight to the altar and seizing Henry's body by the hair dragged it through the aisle and left it still bleeding in the open street: he then retired unmolested to the

castle of his father-in-law Count Rosso of the Maremma and there remained in security! Prince Edward, says Malespini, indignant at Charles for allowing the murderer to escape unpunished, instantly quitted Viterbo and passing through Tuscany remained a while at Florence; he then departed for England carrying his brother's heart with him in a golden vase, which was subsequently placed on a column, or as some say in the hand of a statue, erected on London Bridge as a memorial of the outrage *.

Although human passions ran thus high amongst the great and their dependants, there were many citizens of a more humble rank that suffered the evil consequences without sharing the fiercer moods of their superiors; on such minds the extraordinary phenomena of nature; storms, floods, and meteors, struck with a melancholy foreboding of national misery. But neither the power nor the cruelty of Charles which were both excessive; nor the severe judgments against themselves, nor their evil fortune, nor the amity of Florence and Pisa the last hold of their party, could subdue the angry spirit of the Ghibelines or stop their rash assaults on the Florentine Guelphs backed by popular authority and public opinion. Amongst these the Pazzi who had the year before incited the town of Ostina to revolt, now with only the assistance of a few unfortunate exiles in addition to their own retainers urged the people of Pian di Mezzo into open rebellion and led them against the whole power of the republic; but they were more

* Muratori, Annali 1271.—Ammirato, *Lib. iii.*, p. 145.—Malespini, cap. excvi.; but some authors date this event in 1270.—V. Simone della Tosa, Mecatti, Ammirato, &c.—Dante (Inferno, Canto xii.) alludes to this :—

> "Mostrocci un' ombra dall' un canto sola,
> Dicendo: Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
> Lo cuor che'n su Tamigi ancor si cola."

> "A ghost he shewed us all apart, alone,
> Saying: He in God's lap did rive the heart
> Still honour'd, mould'ring above Thames's stream.

See Holinshed also, about this murder.

troublesome than formidable and soon reduced to terms, when the town was dismantled along with that of Ristuccioli, another stronghold of the same Ghibeline family.

After this feat the army returned to Florence but immediately marched on Poggibonzi where Ghibeline principles had taken deep root and sprouted on every favourable occasion, notwithstanding the heavy trampling they had always suffered from the Florentines. Poggibonzi was not only dismantled but destroyed; its walls and towers, remarkable for their strength beauty and commanding position, were almost entirely demolished, yet some old grey ruins still indicate their ancient position to the traveller; its magnificent churches, marble fountains, rich abbeys, commodious dwellings and manufactories, all were razed to the ground and the inhabitants compelled to descend and settle on the plain: the destruction of this city, considered equal in beauty to some of the first in Italy, was even in those times denounced as a cruel measure but necessary for Guelphic security, besides which the inhabitants had brought down their own destruction by breaking the articles of capitulation which they had signed with Charles, receiving the Florentine exiles, and uniting themselves with every Ghibeline city in Tuscany*.

In 1271 a comparative calm succeeded to these struggles; Florence was tranquil, and Tuscany everywhere quiet under the searching eye of Charles, who cruel, rapacious, and insatiate had mastered all his enemies without satisfying his own ambition: monarch of the two Sicilies, paramount at Rome; at once the creature and the master of the church; Vicar of Tuscany, and strongly influencing all northern Italy, he yet looked forward to a more decided sway over that devoted kingdom and even intended to make it an instrument of future aggressions. A.D. 1271.

* Malespini, cap. cxcv.—Simone della Tosa, Annali.—S. Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 146.

The house of Suabia was extinct, or existed only in the female illegitimate branch of Spain: Henzius the natural son of Frederic II. expired after twenty years' confinement at Bologna; and although a natural son of Manfred still existed, a poor blinded prisoner in the Castello dell' Ovo, he was lost to the world and ultimately died of old age and suffering *.

All these things therefore conspired to favour the existing tranquillity when Tiobaldo Visconte, of Placentia, although absent in Palestine, was elected pope in 1271 after a vacancy of thirty-three months; he returned to Italy in 1272 and
A.D. 1272. assuming the appellation of Gregory X. was the first potentate that checked the ambitious career of Anjou. A long residence in Syria had separated him from the poison of Italian strife and an earnest desire to succour the eastern Christians turned his mind almost exclusively to the deliverance of Palestine: with the extinction of the Suabian family he considered the primitive cause of dissension between Church and Empire to have ceased; pontiffs no longer feared imperial power, and the peace of Christendom was essential to the salvation of Jerusalem. With this view he convened a general council at Lyon for the year 1274 and determined to employ the interval in calming the fury of faction and reconciling man to man: the maritime states were most necessary to his project; but Pisa was uneasy and irritable, Genoa and Venice at war, and the latter threatened by Bologna: all these differences Gregory attempted to reconcile †.

Intent on this object he arrived at Florence on the 18th of June 1273 accompanied by Charles of Anjou and the Greek
A.D. 1273. Emperor Baldwin II.; where finding party spirit high and the Ghibelines banished he immediately commenced the great work of pacification: Gregory was received in the Mozzi palace by that rich and powerful family then

* Malespini.

† S. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 47.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital., vol. iii., p. 12.

collectors of the revenue and bankers to the Church; Charles lodged with the no less potent family of the Frescobaldi, and the emperor was a guest of the bishop. After a consultation with the king, who gave his consent with a secret determination to counteract the measure, the public ceremony of a general pacification took place on the stony bed of the Arno by the Rubaconte bridge, and was confirmed by the chief families of either faction through their deputies with the kiss of peace and delivery of several hostages, under the penalty of excommunication. Besides this the Ghibelines were compelled to surrender certain castles into Charles's hands which they probably agreed to with sincerity because their object was self-restoration, while the Guelphs acted throughout with all that hollowness that would have accompanied the conduct of their adversaries had the case been reversed. Passions ran too strongly against the benevolent intentions of Gregory, and Charles either spontaneously or at the secret instigation of the Guelphs quietly intimated to the other party that they would all be massacred if they remained another day in Florence, and the latter knew him too well to doubt a punctual execution of the threat. After informing the pope of this they all suddenly withdrew, and the holy father himself soon following their example indignantly retired to the Castle of Cardinal Ubaldini in the Mugello where he passed the remainder of the summer, leaving Florence under an interdict. A hatred of this treacherous conduct filled Gregory's mind, and probably influenced his desire for the speedy election of a German emperor strong enough to check the king's ambition: this led to his approbation of Rodolph of Hapsburg's election in 1273 and its confirmation by the general council of Lyon the following year.

The feverish sensibility of Florence exposed it to perturbation from any external accident, and the present year was signalised by an expedition to assist the Guelphs of Bologna

who were then struggling with the opposite faction for the mastery of that city: when the Florentines arrived the dissension had ceased by a victory of the former, who however refused to admit them within the town lest their furious party spirit should ruin Bologna as it had done Florence, and the Florentine commander showing some natural resentment at this unamiable reception was unceremoniously murdered by the people *. The effect of these unhappy disputes appeared again in the secession of Simone de' Conti Guidi who separating from his brother Count Guido Novello and the Ghibeline party placed himself under the protection of Florence: Pisa too was in the same agitated state from the two factions which under their chiefs the Visconti, judges or lords of Gallura in Sardinia, and the Counts of Gherardesca and Donoratico eternally tormented the community.

A.D. 1274.

It has already been mentioned that the former did homage to the pope in order to free themselves from the Ghibeline republic and acquire a protector against Henzius King of Sardinia natural son of Frederic II. This was considered as rebellion by Pisa; but more expressively condemned by their rivals the Ghibeline Counts of Gherardesca who hitherto had governed the city while the Guelphic Visconti confined themselves to their insular domains. Two of the Gherardeschi, zealous Ghibelines, had followed Conradine and shared his fate; but Ugolino della Gherardesca; a name immortalised by Dante; now chief of the family, had marked for himself a different career: he had given his sister to Giovanni Visconti judge of Gallura and without openly renouncing his own party endeavoured to gain an influence with both. His ambition was feared, for its object was the lordship of Pisa; and neither his friendship nor enmity with the Judge, (who had returned to his country after its reconciliation with the pope,) were favourably regarded by

* R. Malespini, cap. cc.

the Gualandi, Lanfranchi, Lismondi and other ancient Ghibelines then directing the Pisan government: the attempts of both were dangerous to the commonwealth and both were punished; Visconte with banishment, Gherardesca by incarceration. The first took refuge at Florence, was warmly received and assisted with troops; he made an aggressive war on Pisa, captured the town of Montelopoli and soon after died at San Miniato leaving his son Giovanni or Nino de' Visconti in possession of all his power and all his ambition. A.D. 1275. Ugolino was banished shortly after with the principal Guelphs of Pisa, and making common cause with the Lucchese and Florentines assisted in devastating his native country. A more regular war now became inevitable; Pisa took the field; her army was attacked at Asciano by the united forces of Florence and Lucca and defeated with considerable loss; the castle of Asciano soon surrendered, and being immediately ceded to Lucca the whole country relapsed into its usual state of war and mutual animosity. This perverse opposition to his benevolent intentions incensed the pontiff, now returning from France, and contrary to his wishes he was compelled by a flooding of the Arno to pass through Florence on his way to Rome: determined to show his anger he only took off the interdict for the few minutes necessary to pass through the city and, with a menacing verse from the psalmist, left it still trembling under his displeasure*. Gregory X. expired at Arezzo on the A.D. 1276. 10th of January 1276 after a short and busy pontificate in which he had vainly exerted himself to tranquillise Italy: he had filled the long vacant imperial throne; united the Greek and Latin churches, and held a general council by which many salutary regulations are said to have been passed, amongst them a decree for shutting up the cardinals in *Conclave* at the pope's

* Malespini, cap. cc., cci., ccii., cciii.—Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 149.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital., vol. iii., p. 24.

decease and subjecting them to certain privations until a new election were completed. The last long vacancy had alarmed all Christendom and made Gregory almost as eager in preventing the recurrence of such an abuse as he was in sending Rodolph of Hapsburg with no less than four monarchs under his auspices to the delivery of Palestine: he had already accomplished much good and was providentially cut off at the very moment when his honest but mistaken zeal was leading him into mischief*.

Adhering to the new system of election the Cardinal of Tarantasia was chosen with the name of Innocent V. He had but just time to restore peace to Genoa ere he followed Gregory to the grave, and a successor was chosen on the 12th of July under the name of Adrian V. who also died in little more than a month making room for John XXI. Neither did this pontiff long survive, and Nicholas III. who succeeded him in 1277 being alarmed at the increasing power of Charles, played the latter off so dexterously against Rodolph that he diminished the authority of both †. Charles under various titles was absolute master of Italy; but Rodolph

A.D. 1277.

* Malespini, cap. ccii.—G. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. i.—Muratori, Annali 1276.

† Nicholas III. is accused of simony by the old writers: he was of the Orsini family and had an excellent character before he became pope. Dante is said to have been too severe on him but he speaks truth of his nepotism. (*Inferno*, Canto. xix.)

"Se di saper ch' io sia ti cal contanto
Che tu abbi però la ripa scorsa,
Sappi, ch' io fui vestito del gran manto:
E veramente fui figliuol dell' orso
Cupido sì per avanzar gli Orsatti,
Che su, l'avere, e qui mi misi in borsa."

If to know who I am doth press so hard,
That this alone hath brought thee down the bank;
Know thou, that the grand mantle once I wore:
And a true offspring proved of the Bear,
For in my keenness to advance the cubs,
On earth, my wealth I pursed; and here myself.

announced his intention of marching to Rome for the purpose of assuming the imperial crown, and the former could not contemplate this event without uneasiness, A.D. 1278. while the pontiff's friendship became necessary to each; Charles had no title to the vicarial dignity in Tuscany and both that and the senatorial rank of Rome were by the terms of his investiture to be renounced on the simple demand of the church. The possession of Lombardy and Tuscany was the cause of dispute between the king and emperor but Charles renounced both along with his Roman honours at the pope's command: peace was then made between them and the king's moderation offered as an example to the emperor, who finally consented to grant a formal charter for separating the provinces claimed by the church from those of the empire. This deed, without immediately generating any active assertion of authority on the pontiff's part, or being much noticed by the people, who saw in it no diminution of their freedom, was yet the foundation of the present temporal power of Rome which had been gradually consolidating itself by a succession of nominal acknowledgments, light and fleecy in the beginning, but finally hardening into weight and density.

While Nicholas thus followed the uniform policy of the church he at the same time was zealously attentive to the pacification of Italy, and employed his own nephew Cardinal Latino Bishop of Ostia, in La Marca, Romagna, Tuscany and Lombardy, with authority to reconcile the conflicting factions. After a successful termination of his mission in Romagna, where the Geremei and the Lambertazzi of Bologna were the most conspicuous, he arrived at Florence with an imposing escort of three hundred Roman knights, and was received with the honours of the Carroccio by all the magistracy, clergy, and citizens, who met him in public procession at A.D. 1279. some distance from the gates. Scarcely a state in Italy needed so much the presence of a peace-maker; but where human

passions or fancied interests are opposed to public tranquillity it must be force not forms, after reason fails, that will preserve even its semblance. Florence at this time was relapsing into its usual state of turbulence; the Guelphic nobility had become powerful from union, and insolent from success; they protected murderers and every other species of criminal from the visitation of justice while assassinations and crimes of all descriptions filled the streets of the capital: power and riches had banished forbearance and augmented pride; private war was common; the Adimari, one of the most potent families of the republic, were at variance with the Donati who unable alone to oppose them were aided by the Pazzi and Tosinghi: as these clans, numerous in themselves, were still more powerful in adherents, fierce and frequent encounters disturbed the town, frays that were calculated to draw a whole population not disposed to tumult, into their quarrel and thus again endanger the Guelphic interest. The chief magistrates and captains of the *Party Guelph* therefore determined to repress such disorders and had early implored the assistance of Nicholas, while the Ghibelines seized the same auspicious occasion to have the pacification of Pope Gregory completed and enforced: both were in accordance with the pontiff's general objects and received with corresponding favour, more especially as the old jealousy of Anjou's power had lately been augmented by a scornful rejection of the holy father's proposal for the union of their families; and the pacification of Florence he knew would render Charles less necessary to a community where he had artfully fomented dissension to preserve his own influence *.

The popes feared everything greater than themselves in Italy even though it were of their own creation; by attempting to reduce the powerful they filled the peninsula with war, and

* Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°.—Sim. della Tosa, Annali.—Malespini, cap. cciv. and ccv.—Villani, Lib. vii., cap. liv. and lvi.—Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 152.—Mecatti, Stor. Cronologica di Firenze.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital., vol. iii., chap. xxii.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii.

often raised weakness to such strength as in its turn became an object of political jealousy and apprehension. Manfred was not ruined for Charles but the church, and this prince had now to become a mark for papal indignation. The Cardinal Latino entered Florence on the eighth of October 1279, and was received by the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella, the convent of his order; he laid the first stone of the present church, and on Sunday the 19th November before the assembled commonwealth, Scurta della Porta being the royal vicar, explained his mission and demanded absolute authority from the people to secure its faithful and efficient execution: this being instantly granted the whole assembly retired from the ancient square of Santa Maria high in expectation from the character and vast influence of this able churchman *.

Until the eighteenth of the following January the legate was occupied in reconciling private interests, allaying apprehensions, and removing individual suspicions; but on that day accompanied by the Archbishop of Bari, the Bishop of Lucca, and several Tuscan prelates; having previously delivered an eloquent discourse on the necessity of concord; he commenced his arduous task. The same A.D. 1280. spot where the former assembly was held being now magnificently adorned for the occasion, the pope's legate before the Podestà, the party Guelph, the council-general of three hundred, that of the ninety, the Credenza, the twelve Goodmen, with every other magistrate and member of the commonwealth, gave his solemn judgment on the conditions of political and private peace between the Florentine citizens. A general reconciliation was proclaimed between Guelph and Ghibeline within and without the town, to be sworn to by both parties under the severest spiritual and temporal penalties. Confiscated Ghibeline property with the interest due was to be restored by government and all losses made good on either

* Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 153.

side; every sentence against Ghibelines was to be cancelled and the records of them publicly burned: the exiles were to return, be eligible to office, and free from arrest for debt during four months; and besides the syndics or deputies of the two factions then present, a number of the heads of families were selected to give the public kiss of peace.

Many other conditions, amongst which the ecclesiastical interest was not forgotten, were devised to insure the permanent success of this measure, but a number of Ghibelines, whose pacific disposition was rather doubtful, were to remain at the frontier during the pope's pleasure as hostages; yet with a promise of release the moment that by marriage or otherwise their private feuds should be extinguished. The legate then endeavoured with force or persuasion to reconcile the Guelphic families amongst themselves, chiefly by intermarriages between the Adimari, Pazzi, Donati, Tosinghi and many others; but especially the Buondelmonti and Uberti, who however continued such determined foes that all the Cardinal's authority was insufficient to force the former even into the outward forms of a treaty.

On the seventh of February both factions in great numbers publicly ratified the conditions, and on the eighteenth of the same month they gave securities for the payment of 50,000 marks of silver in case of their violation, half of which was to be paid to the pope's treasury and the rest to that party which had been faithful to their promise: particular securities were moreover required and given on the twenty-seventh of February, by the Counts Guido, the Counts of Mangone, the Pazzi of Valdarno, and the Ubaldini della Pila; who all bound themselves in a bond of a thousand marks each to observe the articles of pacification. After this the consuls of the arts entered into some further engagement on the seventh of March, and thus finished this great attempt, the effects of which we shall be able to judge of hereafter.

In order to secure a fair division of political power Cardinal Latino new-modelled the government by creating fourteen Buonomini, eight Guelphs and six Ghibelines, or according to Macchiavelli seven of each faction, chosen by the pope: their term of office was two months or perhaps a year, for writers differ. Under these officers assisted by Giovanni di Santo Eustachio proconsul of the Romans and captain of the people, Florence began to enjoy some tranquillity, not however unmixed with apprehension from the power and talents of Rodolph of Hapsburg whose projected descent on Italy disturbed all parties either with hopes or fears *.

The emperor and pope were friends, but long experience had proved that such friendships sooner or later were dissolved, and it became a question of prudence whether it were safer to refuse or receive such a visitor; even Charles himself, powerful as he was, seemed to dread the imperial visit and endeavoured to unite his family by marriage with the house of Hapsburg. Besides this some of the Ghibeline cities of Tuscany showed signs of agitation; the pope died in August; the Ghibelines were urging Rodolph to make good his pretensions in Italy, and the imperial vicar with a small escort had already taken up his residence at San Miniato al Tedesco. The Florentines and Lucchese refused to obey him, denying any imperial jurisdiction in their cities; and he not being supported by the emperor who was more wisely occupied, fell quickly into contempt; but the Florentines perceiving that considerable advantages might be quietly gained by a trifling expenditure, managed to send him back contented into Germany after formally confirming all the privileges they had ever received from the emperors †.

Charles instead of being the lord and arbitrator of Italy now saw with anger that he was reduced to the simple monarchy of

* Malespini, cap. ccv.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. lvi.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii°.—Leon Aretino, Lib. iii°.—Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 153.

† Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 157.

the Two Sicilies; even the seignory of Florence had passed from his hands; his enemies were everywhere restored, and the Florentines governing themselves under the protection of a pope whose authority had reduced him to this state of comparative weakness. But in the midst of his mortification Nicholas III. suddenly died of apoplexy at Suriano near Viterbo and Charles determined if possible to influence the coming election in his own favour. Hurrying instantly from Florence to Viterbo where the cardinals had already assembled, and finding all the Italian prelates were against him, he made an insurrection in the city, carried off the two Orsini and Cardinal Latino, whom he confined, while the rest were urged to make their choice, and after six months' hesitation, being intimidated by the continued imprisonment of their colleagues, it fell on Simon Cardinal of Saint Cecilia a Frenchman completely devoted to the Sicilian monarch. The new pope took the name of Martin IV. and became the tool of his imperious patron: Bertoldo Orsino a brother of Nicholas was immediately compelled to resign the government of Romagna into the hands of John d'Appia one of Charles's dependents, with instructions to make sharp war against the Ghibelines of that country, while in Tuscany the Lucchese and Florentines had attacked Pescia which the latter were inclined to spare but being reproached with their slackness in the Guelphic cause they yielded to harsher councils and destroyed it *.

A.D. 1281.

Charles, again elected senator of Rome, was fast recovering his former power, and schemes of higher ambition carried his thoughts to Greece when a sudden explosion in Sicily dashed his aspiring edifice to ruins. Ambition, cruelty, and insatiable avarice had rendered him hateful to his subjects who too late regretted Manfred's just administration and their own infidelity; human patience was nearly exhausted and all things

* Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 157.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1281.—Mecatti, Storia Chronologica Fiorenta.

tended to a change; Sicily which had so boldly and generally declared for Conradine was the peculiar object of Charles's hate; new taxes, new duties, new contributions; confiscations, insults, rapes, and every sort of licentiousness, marked in disgusting characters the rule of Frenchmen in that unhappy island. In vain did this miserable people implore the protection of the church; in vain did the popes remonstrate; the stern and insatiate Charles kept steady in his course and from the wretchedness of one nation tried to extract the means for rendering others as miserable.

Giovanni di Procida a nobleman of Salerno devotedly attached to the house of Suabia determined to liberate his country from the cruel yoke of Charles and his tyrannical governors: he was a man of great wisdom and profound talent; bold, secret, and indefatigable; an eminent physician, for in those days, and particularly at Salerno, medicine was one of the peculiar studies of the aristocracy and even the highest dignitaries of the church. He had been the intimate friend and physician of Manfred and his father Frederic and had taken up arms for Conradine: in consequence of this or previously, his estates were confiscated, and after the melancholy end of that young prince he sought refuge at the court of Aragon under the protection of Queen Constance the daughter of Manfred. Peter the Great, king of Aragon gave him honours and estates, but attachment to the memory of his friends, hatred of the living tyrant, and pity for his country, moved the heart of John of Procida more than the allurements of ease and opulence, and led him to stimulate the Spanish princes to the rescue. When Conradine was beheaded; after a short address he threw down a glove amongst the people as a sort of gauge of battle, to revenge his death, or as some say as an investiture of the kingdom to his sister Constance wife of Peter of Aragon. Procida is supposed to have picked up the glove, or ring, for both are mentioned; and now in all the

romantic spirit of the day brought it to Constance as a proof of her right to the Two Sicilies*.

Peter being thus fully satisfied with his consort's legitimate claims only mistrusted his individual power to cope with so potent an adversary; but Procida encouraged him to the enterprise and first selling his own remaining property promised to find money for the cause. He went in disguise to Sicily and thence crossed over to Calabria in 1279 but he was soon convinced that nothing could be accomplished on the Continent; the power of the French barons had become too firm and the monarch's eye and presence were everywhere. The island presented a different picture; there the conquerors were more scattered; the mountain districts almost clear of them; the native barons not entirely deprived of their authority, and still retaining considerable influence; the court far distant, and the three great officers who governed the country acting with all the savage insolence of delegated and irresponsible tyranny were at the same time hated and despised.

Charles had assembled immense forces to invade Greece and place his son-in-law Philip on the throne of Michael Palæologus whose subjects had revolted because he enforced too strict a conformance with the rites of the Roman church to which he had become a political convert; on the other hand he had been excommunicated by Martin IV., nominally for his slackness in performing those religious duties, but really to assist Charles's enterprise, and a crusade against him was accordingly proclaimed†. The costly preparations for this expedition fell heavily on Sicily, and the eloquence of Procida kindled the latent spirit of revenge: from Sicily he repaired to Constantinople and convinced the Emperor of the necessity of fighting the imperial battle in his enemy's dominions and

* Giannone, Stor. Civile, Lib. xx., cap. v.

† The Queen of Jerusalem had bestowed her rights over that city on him. Vide Costanzo, Stor. di Napoli, Lib. ix°, p. 79.

not on the plains of Greece. Receiving secret assurances of support and a considerable sum of money, Procida returned by Malta where he had an interview with some Sicilian nobles; they confirmed his previous statements in presence of the imperial commissioners who accompanied him, and from Malta he proceeded to Rome, had a secret conference with Nicholas III. who after much discussion and as it has been supposed, with the assistance of the Emperor's byzants, was finally persuaded to give his written consent that Constance should attempt the vindication of her claims to the throne of Sicily*. Armed with this formidable sanction he returned to Spain but the death of Nicholas almost immediately after his arrival at Barcelona threw a damp on the expectations of the king while it seemed only to redouble John of Procida's energy: preparations continued under the pretext of an expedition against the African Moors and Pedro did in fact make some descents on the Barbary coast while awaiting the commencement of a Sicilian insurrection.

Although widely spread the secret was preserved inviolate for more than two years; so deep was the suffering, so determined the revenge! John of Procida visited Constantinople a second time in 1281 bringing back with him twenty-five thousand ounces of gold for the use of the expedition, and the promise of more; but without any delay he again passed into Sicily and under various disguises, by means of this gold, a good cause, and an eloquent tongue, soon raised the enthusiasm of the people to the same level as his own. Without organising any specific plot he left the passions of the whole nation ready for the first spark that the breath of fortune might blow into the excited mass, and amidst the universal tyranny this was not long in coming. On Easter-Monday the 30th or according to some, the last day of March 1282 the people of

* Dante probably alludes to this transaction in his Inferno, Canto xix., verse 98. (See Sismondi).

Palermo agreeable to their custom assembled for vespers at the church of Montreale three miles from the town: a young Sicilian lady was there insulted by a French officer who instantly fell before the ready weapons of the multitude. "*Death to the Frenchmen*" immediately resounded on every side, and not a single individual present of that nation escaped: the storm now drove on to the city; no age or sex were spared, all that was French or likely to be French, died under the poniards of an injured people; even native women pregnant by French husbands shared their fate lest any of that detested blood should be warmed by a Sicilian sun. Four thousand victims fell that night in Palermo alone, and the flame spread wildly over all the island, Bicaro, Corileoni, and Calatafimo took up the bloody work and eight thousand of Charles's followers paid the forfeit of their tyranny.

A.D. 1282.

One bright gleam of benevolence plays across this storm of human passions and exhibits man in the position for which no doubt he was intended by the Creator: William of Porcelets a nobleman of Provence, had alone amongst his countrymen governed justly and humanely; and he with all his family were, in the midst of the tumult, sent honourably across the straits and safely landed in Calabria. The insurrection extended over every province; the banner of the church was everywhere displayed; the spirit of Procida pervaded all, and the arrival of the Aragonese monarch was hailed as the consummation of Sicilian liberty. Messina, where the royal vicar lived and the greatest force was concentrated, remained quiet for a month; then burst with an explosion that shook the French power to atoms and soon became the first object of royal vengeance. Charles, astonished at the first news of this insurrection, was utterly confounded at the loss of Messina; he implored Heaven for a gradual fall, if he were doomed to fall, from his high estate, and instantly turned the strong current of his Grecian armament on the rebellious island: the

shock was tremendous; but the soul of an injured people was still opposed to the tyrant; yet the French were scarcely repulsed, and only compelled to retire by the timely aid of Spanish auxiliaries. Roger de Loria destroyed their fleet; the two kingdoms were separated, and the Island of Sicily fell to the house of Aragon *.

Such were the famous "*Sicilian Vespers*" which finished the prosperity of Charles: Italy from the first became agitated; the Lambertazzi and Ghibelines of Romagna who had been expelled from Bologna and fled to Forlì; after making the most humble submissions to Martin were repelled with insult: they were afterwards attacked by Jean d' Appia with all the bitterness of the tyrant whom he served; but in a treacherous attempt to get possession of Forlì he was completely baffled and his troops nearly annihilated by Guido di Montefeltro the Ghibeline chief of that city †.

These and other events excited uneasy feelings in the minds of the Florentine Guelphs, who notwithstanding a nominal impartiality in the distribution of offices, really governed the republic: bound therefore both by treaty and inclination they had exerted themselves to assist the Neapolitan monarch in his present need and reinforced his army at Messina with a company of knights and gentlemen, more remarkable for its

* We here take leave of Ricordano Malespini, of whose simple chronicle we have used Giunti's Florentine edition of the year 1568. His nephew Giachetto continued it until the year 1286.—Giachetto Malespini, cap. ccix.—R. Malespini, cap. ccvi., ccvii., ccviii.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. lxi., &c. —Muratori, Annali, 1282. —Giannone, Stor. Civ., vol. ix., Lib. xx., cap. v.—Gibbon, vol. vii., chap. lxii.—Sismondi, vol. iii., chap. xxii.—Mariana, Historia de Espagña, vol. i°, Lib. xiv., cap. vi.—Leon° Aretino, Volgarizza da Donato Acciaioli, Lib. iii°, fol. 72.—Costanzo, Lib. ii°, p. 79 *et seq.*

† Dante alludes to this defeat in the xxviith canto of his Inferno as well as to the crime of advising Boniface VIII. how to get the city of Prenstina from the Colonna ("*Lunga promessa con l' attender corto*") which placed him in the flames of hell with other deceivers.—

"La terra che fe' già la lunga prova,
E dei franceschi sanguinoso mucchio
Sotto le branche verdi si ritrova."

quality than numbers, under the command of Count Guido de Battifolle to whom with six hundred companions was intrusted the grand pavilion of the republic as a peculiar mark of respect to the royal idol of their faction *.

Still however being uneasy at the increasing confidence of the adverse party, and the continued success of Guido di Montefeltro in Romagna, two hundred men-at-arms were dispatched to assist the church in that province under Sinibaldo de' Pulci and Gherardo de' Tornaquinci, and then a rigid inquiry was ordered about the social condition of the state, where murders, oppression, and every sort of injustice were common, and increasing with alarming rapidity. To restore order, the Podestà Maffeo di Maggi was invested with more extensive authority, not only over civil offenders but those against the church and religion, and the captain of the people was admonished to maintain the peace of the city as settled by cardinal Latino in 1279. In addition to this it was enacted that all the idle and indigent who were generally parties to every outrage; unless they could exhibit some means of honest living, should, as formerly in Athens, be expelled from the city and dominions of Florence.

The members of noble families were at the same time compelled to find security for their general conduct as well as for the cessation of their private wars which filled the town with tumult: but as it was necessary to give force and action to these laws, the fourteen Buonoimini with certain other reputable citizens were authorised to select one thousand men of good repute, friends of public peace and order and taken unequally from the six divisions of the town, as a civic guard, each company having its peculiar banner and Gonfalonier.

* This pavilion, which was only given on great expeditions to the commander-in-chief of the republican armies, fell into the hands of the Messinians at the repulse and hasty retreat of Charles into Calabria and was long exhibited as a trophy by the inhabitants of Messina.—(Vide Leonardo Aretino, Tradotta da Acciaioli, Lib. iii°.)

That of the Sesto beyond the Arno with the bands of San Pancrazio and Borgo S. Apostolo which bordered the river on the hither side, in all about five hundred men, were commanded by the captain of the people, but the rest obeyed the Podestà: they were annually renewed in great form, and while under arms it was declared unlawful for any of the inhabitants of Florence to assemble in a body or even quit the street they inhabited.

The establishment of this strong police left the government more leisure to strengthen their external relations; and under the Podestà Jacopino da Rodelia; Niccoluccio degli Uguccioni being captain of the people; an offensive and defensive league was concluded for ten years with Prato Pistoia, Lucca, Volterra, and Siena; with room for San Gimignano, Poggibonzi and Colle, if they pleased to join: by this a confederate force of five hundred men-at-arms was to be in constant readiness under the command of Count Guido Salvatico of the Guidi family. None of the allies could legally begin hostilities without the concurrence of two-thirds of the league, and all were bound to assist a state once at war whether foreign or domestic: tolls and duties of every sort either on goods or person were abolished between the confederates and neither truce nor peace could be concluded except by common consent. Thus externally fortified but still tremblingly alive to every Ghibeline movement, the Guelphs applied themselves with new vigour to the reorganisation of the Florentine constitution, and established a form of government which with some alteration continued until the dissolution of the republic in 1532.

Much confusion and inconvenience were experienced from the necessity of assembling fourteen citizens daily to discuss the slightest or the gravest matters of general government; where conflicting ranks and factions lengthened debate and obstructed the public service: a more decided form of civic

democracy was therefore resolved on, by which none were to have a place in the commonwealth that did not really or nominally belong to one of the incorporated trades of Florence. It was impossible that the grating enmity of two such factions as Guelph and Ghibeline could ever allow of any concurrent and harmonious movement, and the jealousy which all parties entertained of the aspiring nobles, several of whom were in the council of fourteen, gave an additional check to the operations of government. Although the citizens were not as yet prepared to deprive the great families of political power, they still hoped by compelling them to assume the homely appellation of tradesmen, to tame that pride which had been generated by the vain title of nobility, so that any future distinction arising amongst the citizens from riches or worth should now be reduced to a nominal equality under the general title of *Trades* which would be common alike to patrician and plebeian. This says Scipione Ammirato "has been well preserved to the present time in the word "*Citizen;*" so that the title of gentleman is assumed now more as a foreign than a native distinction." Instead therefore of the fourteen Buonomini, three citizens of known wisdom and moderation were appointed to form the *Seigniory* or supreme government of the republic under the title of "*Priors of the Arts,*" a name given to them because they were chosen before their companions for the political mission, as Christ selected his apostles for the sacred mission with the words "*vos estis priores*"*. The design of this new constitution came from the council of the trade of "*Calimala*" or foreign cloth merchants, who at this period were considered the wisest and most powerful of the Florentine citizens, and whose extensive connexion with foreign countries had probably enlarged and liberalised their ideas beyond the common standard.

* Giac. Malespini, cap. ccxxvi. and ccxxxi.—Giov. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. lxiv. and lxxix.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 160.

The first Priors were Bartolo de' Bardi, Bosso Bacherelli, and Salvo Girolami, for the respective trades of Calimala, Bankers and Woolmerchants: they remained in office two months and were entitled the "*Seignory:*" at the second election they were increased to six, one for each sesto which also gave the medical, the silk, and the fur trade a representative prior, while the seventh "*Art*," that of the Law, had its peculiar and separate influence in the public councils. This Seignory, which with the captain of the people represented the majesty of the Florentine republic, was obliged to inhabit the chambers appointed for its residence, at first in the Badia of Florence, then in the Palace afterwards built for the especial seat of government: they lived in great state at the public charge and had six bailiffs and six messengers at their orders besides superior officers and domestic servants: they were not allowed by day ever to leave their residence except on public service, rarely at night, and then only with the express permission of their president.

Thus were they magnificently imprisoned for two months, with great power but no pay, solely intent on the public service; and ineligible for two years; a period which was called the "*Divieto*" or prohibition: the government was in this way renewed six times a year from the middle of June 1282; and for a long time no great inconvenience seems to have resulted from the frequent changes; but when their wars became more extensive and complicated, alterations suited to the emergencies were found necessary and adopted. The priors were eligible from all classes gentle or simple provided they were registered on the books of some trade; and thus the constitution of the executive government continued until the formation of what was called the "*Secondo Popolo*" hereafter to be spoken of when the nobles were entirely excluded from power and a Gonfalonier of Justice created.

The Seignory chose its successors by ballot and at first did

well; but soon changed and became partial in its administration; attended more to the corruption than the observation of the laws, screened kinsmen, peculated, neglected the helpless, overlooked the crimes of nobles, and committed other misdemeanors, to the great scandal of all good citizens who soon began to find fault with a government where the Guelphic aristocracy had supreme power.

Yet this institution proved the ruin of the Florentine nobles, because they were under various pretences at different times entirely excluded from office, which from jealousy of each other they suffered, and by grasping at too much lost all: it also opened the way to an ambitious crowd of rising families who with increasing riches and influence overshadowed the ancient races and gave a new complexion to the city. Old and noble names, and even arms were changed when pride once ceded to ambition and a strong desire for republican honours; as if ashamed of mixing their time-honoured titles with a body of simple tradesmen. This also assisted in reducing every class to equality, so that which in other states was counted an honourable distinction, in Florence was considered, for the most part, vain useless and even hurtful. But many still preserved, in pride and poverty, their ancient names and customs sooner than mix in the society or be dependent for public honours on a community of merchants *.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—England: Henry III., Edward I., 1272.—Scotland: Alexander III., 1249.—France: Louis IX., Philip III., 1270.—

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* Thus the family of Tornaquinci, divided into the Popoleschi, Tornabuoni, Giachinotti, Cardinali and Marabottini; the Cavalcanti into Malatesti and Clampoli; the Imortuni changed to Cambi, &c. The principal families now rising into political importance were the Strozzi, Acciajuoli, Albizzi, Bucelli, Mancini, Rinaldi, Guicciardini, Soderini, Pitti, Ricci, and Altuiti.—Dino Compagni, Storia Fiorent., Lib. i°, p. 5.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 162.—Cantini Saggi d'Antichità Toscane, vol. iv., p. 1.—Macchiavelli, Stor. Fior., Lib. ii°.

Castile and Leon: Alphonso X., 1252.—Aragon: James I. (the Conqueror), Pedro III. (the Great), 1276.—Portugal: Alphonso III., Denis, 1279.—Germany, Interregnum.—Rodolph of Hapsburg, 1273. Popes: Alexander IV., Urban IV., 1261.—Clement IV., 1265.—Gregory X., 1271.—Innocent V., 1276.—Adrian V., 1276.—John XXI., 1276.—Nicholas III., 1277.—Martin IV., 1281.—Latin Emperor Baldwin II., 1237 to 1261.—Greek emperors restored: Michael Palæologus, 1261.—Andronicus, 1281.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM A.D. 1282 TO A.D. 1292.

THE year 1283 commenced at Florence with unusual tranquillity; the new constitution was popular and respected, and the sweets of equality and freedom were tasted by the great mass of citizens: but like other precious things their preservation was coupled with great anxiety, and the course of political events was scanned with a degree of piercing jealousy that left nothing unexamined or indifferent. For this reason the now declining fortune of the Ghibelines and consequent peace of Romagna, as well as some recent hostilities between Pisa and Genoa were events that gave as much undisguised satisfaction as the Sicilian Vespers did, in secret, to the Florentine nation: not that Charles had lost their affections or that they desired to see any new potentate commanding in Italy, but his military talent, his fortune, and his extreme ambition alarmed them for their own independence. In his rage against Peter of Aragon he had defied him to stake the fate of Sicily on single combat at Bordeaux before Edward Plantagenet, and the crafty Spaniard immediately accepted this challenge too happy at having such an opportunity of withdrawing his adversary from the immediate direction of a war in which he was so much superior in resources; but predetermined never to bring the duel to an issue. Charles visited Florence on his way to France and was

A.D. 1283.

received with high honour by a people who besides being personally attached to him were in full enjoyment of a prosperity to which he had mainly contributed. The town abounded in festivities, and Anjou promoted them by knighting several of the most distinguished inhabitants, the honour of knighthood being then considered the greatest dignity that could be conferred and scarcely less prized by the city than the individual citizen.

Native industry and the last few years of peace had done much for Florence, riches were abundant and extensively disseminated, families were thriving and hearts were gay and contented; conviviality of all kinds enlivened the town "*Corti Bandite*," or open houses, were common to the age and nowhere more frequent or splendid than in Florence. The extent of these entertainments was sometimes excessive; amongst others the Rossi with their friends and companions amounting to one thousand persons dressed in white under one chief called the "*Lord of Love*," gave a constant succession of festivities for two months; every stranger of any note that visited the city was received like a prince, feasted and attended upon with marked courtesy during his sojourn amongst them and made a distinguished guest at all their convivial meetings. Balls, suppers, dinners, music, a parading of the town in bands with flags and trumpets, military exercises and every species of amusement formed the occupation of this joyous company. Amongst the military exercises was that of the "*Armeggiatori*" so prevalent about this period, and borrowed probably from the Saracens; "a number of young nobles assembled on horseback in a species of uniform with light-coloured floating mantles and very short stirrups in the Moorish fashion, and when wishing to break a lance they stood upright in these stirrups, showing off their fine figures and activity to the greatest advantage *."

* Giac. Malespini, c. ccxix.—Giov. —Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii., pp. 153, Villani, Lib. vii., c. lxxxii. and lxxxvi. 162.

Such festivities, the most splendid ever seen until then in Florence, were but brief, a mere pause in the storm of discord which ended the following year by the returning blast of strife.

Hostilities as above mentioned had recently broken out between Genoa and Pisa; the latter although nearly alone in the late Guelphic war had displayed great courage and resources; her riches were on the waters, her dominions on the coast and bosom of the Mediterranean: from Corvo to Civita Vecchia she ruled the Italian shore; Corsica, Sardinia, Elba, and other islets in the adjacent sea for the most part obeyed her, and in the Levant and Euxine she had her commercial establishments *. She could arm from one to two hundred gallies and other vessels of war, and rivalled Genoa and Venice as one of the three great maritime powers of Italy; this embroiled her with the former but need not have raised any jealousy of Florence, which not being a naval but an inland manufacturing state was almost dependent upon Pisa for the principal transit of her merchandise. It was therefore the interest of both republics to be on friendly terms, and this seemed well understood as long as Florence was decidedly inferior; but when the latter began to unfold her growing powers, the countenance of Pisa changed, and being of opposite factions they became the most deadly enemies. The interests of Venice and Pisa clashed but faintly and common hatred to Genoa prevented greater collision: they had fought together severely and successfully against her in the Levant, and Pisa had succeeded in impressing such a salutary respect on the mind of the Genoese as served to maintain a sort of shadowy peace until the year 1282 when the restless temper of Sinoncello judge of Cinarca in Corsica, a traitor to both nations, first roused them from this state of dormant hostility. Sinoncello had been justly driven from Corsica by the Genoese and implored the

* Flam. dal Borgo, Diss. iv., p. 201.—Giac. Malespini, c. ccxvi.

protection of Pisa, which in spite of his former treachery, through mere hatred to Genoa embraced his cause, and derided her ambassadors who were sent to remonstrate: insult was returned with insult and a war was the consequence, which ruined Pisa as a naval power, destroyed her commerce, and finally subverted her liberty.

Porto Venere was sacked by the Pisan squadron, seventeen of which were immediately afterwards lost in a gale; the malcontents in Sardinia, who had shown symptoms of revolt were awed by a fleet of fifty-four gallies which on its return was blockaded and partly destroyed by the Genoese; another squadron was defeated in 1285, and then assistance was asked of the Venetians, but refused.

The energy of rage and disappointment animated Pisa, a fleet of seventy-two galleys was rapidly equipped and manned with her bravest and noblest citizens, every family was afloat under the command of Count Ugolino della Gherardesca; but all they did was to threaten Genoa with idle boasting and shoot silver arrows into the town as a token of contemptuous superiority. The Genoese galleys were dismantled; but stung with the insult they soon armed a fleet of eighty-eight sail under Uberto Doria, appearing off the Porto Pisano with but fifty-eight, the rest being kept out of sight to deceive the Pisans and induce them to give battle: the device succeeded and both fleets were engaged on the 6th of August 1284 off the island of Meloria in one of the most famous and sanguinary conflicts recorded in the annals of Italy.

The Pisans were inferior in force but strong in valour, and the battle was long doubtful when the captain-galley surrendered after a desperate struggle hand to hand; for the vessels were closely grappled and the fight was less like a naval than a land action. At a critical moment the detached squadron dashed into the fight, Count Ugolino with three galleys fled, the rest were disheartened and the glory of Pisa

set for ever in the bloody waters of Meloria. From four to five thousand are said to have been killed, from ten to fifteen thousand were made prisoners; an immense number of galleys surrendered, and the bravest of Pisan chivalry perished in this sanguinary conflict. Pisa never rose from the blow; for Genoa with a cruel but certain policy refused all ransom, and the few captives that remained after fifteen years' imprisonment, returned a broken and dejected remnant to their country *.

This disaster which left Pisa in mourning and desolation was considered as a judgment of heaven for the sacrilegious capture of the prelates at the first battle of Meloria in 1241: but to Ugolino, who aspired to the lordship of the republic, it is supposed not only to have been welcome but he is accused of having fled from the combat on purpose to produce such a result; a fact which it would be difficult to substantiate †.

The helpless state of this unhappy people was taken direct advantage of by Florence and Lucca who backed by all the antagonist force of Tuscany made common cause with Genoa for their destruction: a treaty was therefore concluded by Brunetto Latini and Manetti di Benecasa on the part of Florence, which was to continue for twenty-five years after the conclusion of peace. In this her mercantile interests were not forgotten either with Genoa or Lucca, or even with the Bishop of Volterra who ceded several places under his jurisdiction to the Florentines, which had been recaptured from Pisa ‡. The result of all this was an immediate invasion of the Pisan territory by the allied Tuscan

A.D. 1284.

* After this battle it became a common saying that if any one wished to see Pisa they must go to Genoa. The accounts vary as to the number of galleys on either side in this battle but all agree in the inferiority of the Pisans in physical force; a minute and interesting account of it may be seen in Giustiniani, Lib. iii°, Carta cvii.—Tronci. Annali Pisani.—Giustiniani, Ann. di Genoa.—Dal Borgo, Dissert. xi.—Interiano, Istoria di Genoa, Lib. iii°, p. 82.

† Muratori, Annali, 1284.

‡ Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 164.

forces while the Genoese attacked the coast and especially Porto Pisano with success. Pisa now reduced to the last leaf looked to Count Ugolino della Gherardesca as the citizen of most ability in this exigence. He strongly advised immediate peace with Florence which never could rival Pisa as a naval power, but had need of her for commerce, and which really sought no increase of territory but made war from mere party hatred, whereas Genoa had ever been a rival and impediment to their greatness. Others were of a contrary opinion and prevailed; terms were offered to and rejected by Genoa; conditions were then granted by the Florentines, but of extreme rigour and not without bribery: Count Ugolino being podestà of Pisa and captain of the people, also a Guelph and friend of Florence, was considered most fit to conduct this negotiation and readily undertook the task as seconding his endeavours to become ruler of his country. He without hesitation surrendered Santa Maria a Monte, Fucecchio, Santa Croce, and Monte Calvole to Florence; exiled the most zealous Ghibelines from Pisa and reduced it to a purely Guelphic republic: he was accused of treachery, and certainly his own objects were admirably forwarded by the continued captivity of so many of his countrymen, by the banishment of the adverse faction, and by the friendship and support of Florence. But whatever might have been his ruling motive he acted wisely for Pisa which must have immediately fallen under the united force of three such antagonists: Genoa was not consulted, Lucca would not be a party to this peace, and Florence was blamed by both for saving Pisa and breaking her solemn engagement. She was in fact becoming jealous of the Ligurian republic and felt the want of Porto Pisano as a commercial outlet: yet there was much difficulty in the work of peace, and it is even asserted that the Florentine commissioners were bribed with wine-flasks full of golden florins sent with other refreshments by Ugolino during the

A.D. 1285.

negotiations. The conduct of this ambitious chief seems however to have been correct and politic; he certainly saved Pisa from destruction, and if by a lucky accident his own private views and the safety of his country were identified it makes no difference in the immediate policy of the act and an able man would naturally take the best means of preserving that which he intended for his own subsequent aggrandisement *.

During Charles's romantic expedition to Bordeaux Roger di Loria had been active on the Calabrian shore, and afterwards by repeated insults succeeded in drawing the Prince of Salerno from his anchorage at Castel-a-Mare to give him battle in the open sea where on the fifth of June 1284 the latter was defeated and made prisoner with nearly all his squadron. As the victors afterwards passed by the promontory of Sorrento a deputation from the inhabitants came on board with an offering of money and fruit; but seeing the Prince of Salerno on deck in splendid armour surrounded by his barons they mistook him for Loria and kneeling presented their gift, saying, "*My* "*Lord Admiral deign to receive this little present from the* "*people of Sorrento and may it please God that as you have* "*taken the son so may you also take the father: and remember* "*that we were the first to come over to you.*" The Prince, unhappy as he was could not forbear laughing, and turning to the Admiral said, "*These people are wonderfully faithful to my lord* "*the king.*" Charles returned to Naples a few days after with a reinforcement, and finding both in that town and other parts of the kingdom a strong disposition to revolt, became so exasperated by these repeated misfortunes that in his fury he was with great difficulty prevented from setting fire to

* Giac. Malespini, c. ccxvi., ccxx., ccxxi., ccxxv.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. lxxx., xc., xci., xcii., xcviii.—Muratori, Annali, 1285.—Dal. Borgo, Dissᵉ. xi.—Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 165. — Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii. — Dante, Inf., Canto xxxiii.

the former city: he indignantly hurried on to Brindisi and collecting all his army sailed to Reggio which with other places had fallen into the hands of his enemy: but too much time had been lost in the wild chase of Don Pedro; the town resisted, the siege was soon raised, and the baffled monarch returned to Brindisi and dismantled his armament for the winter. On his return to the capital he heard of more disasters in Calabria, but still unconquered although oppressed by misfortune, he died at Foggia in January 1285 just as he was making a final effort for the recovery of his lost dominions.

Pope Martin IV. who had been the humblest of his slaves in this world soon followed him to the next, and in the following April was succeeded by Jacopo Savelli a noble Roman, under the name of Honorius IV. Charles was a bold determined and aspiring prince, of that high-reaching and vindictive spirit that relentlessly trampled down every form of humanity whenever it moved between him and the strong excitement of his ambition.: He was sincerely regretted by the Guelphs of Florence who although they began to feel some apprehension of his increasing power were always attached to his person, for Charles was wise in council, firm in promise, grave and decent in his habits, generous to his followers, and zealous in everything that he once undertook to accomplish. He was a favourite because they had all the benefit of his good qualities without his tyranny, and his great personal strength and courage were no small recommendations in an age of chivalry like the thirteenth century *.

The unusual tranquillity of this and the following year at Florence induced the government to attend to domestic improvements and one of the most urgent of them was to restrain the worldly habits of the clergy within such decent bounds as might at least insure some quiet to the community; for

* G. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. xciii.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°.—Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 165.

whether arising from the extreme power of the church and the consequent insolence of its minions, or from the continual feuds of a pugnacious age, it was not only the clergy themselves that habitually carried offensive and defensive arms beneath their frocks, but their dress served to screen less sacred ruffians from the visitation of justice. A decree was therefore made which, as the priests were inviolable, condemned their nearest male relation by the father's side to bear the punishment awarded for such crimes as having arms concealed under the clerical habit. Continued peace now afforded leisure for inquiry and several other grievances pressing in divers ways on various parts of the community were removed; amongst other things was the appointment of six commissioners to inquire into the double payment of a property-tax under the name of "*Allirazione*" to which many had become illegally subject from having possessions both in the Contado and metropolis, the taxes levied in the latter under the above denomination freeing all rural possessions within the former, so that the infringement of this regulation had been attended with considerable hardship. Some harder restrictions were placed on debtors who were now deprived of the freedom from arrest which they enjoyed at fairs and under other peculiar circumstances, besides being denied the liberty of defence in courts of justice unless sufficient security were offered for their appearance. The selling price of bread was also meddled with in this year of peculiar scarcity, and seems to be one of the earliest notices of that direct official interference which afterwards became so frequent and mischievous. Nor did the spirit of regulation thus confine itself; the aristocracy was always an object of jealous vigilance, and its continual and overbearing insolence was too sensibly felt to leave it long untouched by some biting legislation. The better to protect the people all nobles were now compelled to find security for their conduct towards artisans; and if the property of the latter were damaged the offender was

bound to purchase it at the requisition and probably at the price of the owner. That these pinching laws were necessary to check the oppressive conduct of a fierce nobility there can be little doubt, but that the latter had abundance of provocation from the gross manners and truculent insolence of a body of untutored artisans who mistook brutality for independence seems equally probable.

The population of Florence had now so much increased that the ancient town formed only the centre of a larger city embracing it on every side; so that a new circuit of walls became an object of positive necessity and were so designed as to inclose all the suburbs, leaving a considerable space for buildings which still have to be called into existence: Arnolpho the famous architect of the cathedral was intrusted with the work, and this year he first laid the foundation of the principal gates and existing walls of Florence.

The primitive edifices beyond Arno were scattered dwellings interspersed with gardens; afterwards three regular streets or suburbs rose gradually into notice, two of them lying along the river above and below the old bridge, and the other leading directly to it: these remained long without walls and therefore private towers were built for self-defence, but ultimately the whole suburb including the adjacent hill was protected by a wide sweeping rampart with three fine gates leading to Arezzo, Pisa, and Siena. Several other useful works were undertaken at the same time, such as the restoration of the Badia then crumbling from age, the erection of Orto-San-Michele and the fortification of several towns in the Florentine territory *.

During these domestic transactions some changes had occurred in the neighbouring states as well as the foreign kingdoms immediately connected with Italian politics: Peter of Aragon died from a wound received in an affair with a

* Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. xcix.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 165, et seq.

French detachment during the siege of Gerona, and Philip himself died soon after: Sicily was left to James, the second son of the Aragonese monarch; Guido di Montefeltro finally submitted to the pope leaving the church paramount in Romagna, and Count Ugolino continued his ambitious schemes at Pisa. Raised to the highest offices of the republic for ten years, he would soon have become absolute had not his own nephew Nino Visconte judge of Gallura contested this supremacy and forced himself into conjoint and equal authority: this could not continue and a sort of compromise was for the moment effected by which Visconte retired to the absolute government of Sardinia. But Ugolino still dissatisfied sent his son to disturb the island; a deadly feud was the consequence, Guelph against Guelph, while the latent spirit of Ghibelinism which filled the breasts of the citizens and was encouraged by priest and friar, felt its advantage: the Archbishop Ruggiero Rubaldino was its real head, but he worked with hidden caution as the apparent friend of either chieftain. In 1287 after some sharp contests both of them abdicated for the sake as it was alleged, of public tranquillity; but soon perceiving their error again united and scouring the streets with all their followers forcibly reëstablished their authority. Ruggieri seemed to assent quietly to this new outrage, even looked without emotion on the bloody corpse of his favourite nephew who had been stabbed by Ugolino; and so deep was his dissimulation that he not only refused to believe the murdered body to be his kinsman's, but zealously assisted the count to establish himself alone in the government and accomplish Visconte's ruin. The design was successful; Nino was overcome and driven from the town, and in 1288 Ugolino entered Pisa in triumph from his villa, where he had retired to await the catastrophe: the archbishop had neglected nothing and Ugolino found himself associated with this prelate in the public government; events now began to thicken, the

A.D. 1286.

count could not brook a competitor much less a Ghibeline priest: in the month of July both parties flew to arms and the archbishop was victorious. After a feeble attempt to rally in the public palace, Count Ugolino, his two sons Uguccione and Gaddo; and two young grandsons Anselmuccio and Brigata surrendered at discretion and were immediately imprisoned in a tower afterwards called the "*Torre della fame*"*, and there perished by starvation. Count Ugolino della Gherardesca whose tragic story after five hundred years still sounds in awful numbers from the lyre of Dante † was stained with the ambition and darker vices of the age; like other potent chiefs he sought to enslave his country and checked at nothing in his impetuous career: he was accused of many crimes; of poisoning his own nephew, of failing in war, making a disgraceful peace, of flying shamefully perhaps traitorously, at Meloria, and of obstructing all negotiations with Genoa for the return of his imprisoned countrymen. Like most others of his rank in those frenzied times he belonged more to faction than his country and made the former subservient to his own ambition; but all these accusations even if well-founded would not draw him from the general standard; they would only prove that he shared the ambition, the cruelty, the ferocity, the recklessness of human life and suffering, and the relentless pursuit of power in common with other chieftains of his age and country. Ugolino was overcome and suffered a cruel death; his family was dispersed and his memory has perhaps been blackened with a darker colouring to excuse the severity of his punishment; but his sons who naturally followed their parent's fortune were scarcely implicated in his crimes although they shared his fate, and his grandsons though not children were still less guilty; though one of these was not unstained with

* The remains of this tower still exist in the Piazza de' Cavalieri on the right of the archway as the spectator looks towards the clock. Its former name was "*La Torre delle Sette vie*," belonging to the Gualandi family. (Vide Tronci, Annali.)

† For a translation of this passage of the Inferno see Appendix.

blood*. The archbishop had public and private wrongs to revenge, and had he fallen his sacred character alone would probably have procured for him a milder destiny†.

A.D. 1287. While these transactions were going forward at Pisa an incident occurred in Florence which exemplifies both the manner and difficulty of executing justice against powerful citizens in those turbulent times of nominal liberty and real licence. Totto Mazzinghi of Campi chief of a ferocious race, was condemned for murder but on his way to the scaffold a rescue was attempted by Corso Donati at the head of a numerous following: before this could be accomplished the Campana sounded the citizens ran to their arms and horse and foot rallied round the Podestà crying aloud for justice; seeing himself so supported this magistrate immediately changed the nature of his sentence, such was their notion of liberty, and instead of the more dignified punishment of decapitation ordered Mazzinghi to be drawn ignominiously through the public streets and then hanged like a common malefactor. After imposing a fine on the ringleaders of this outrage the Podestà Matteo da Fogliano of Reggio dropped all further proceedings "*and was much commended by every body, as well for the spirit he displayed in*

* Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxxi.—Tronci Annali Pisani.—Dal Borgo, Dissert. ii°, p. 99, and xi., p. 373.—Dante Inferno, Can. xxxiii. Roncioni. Ist. Pisa. Lib. xi., pp. 632, et seq.—Sardo. Chron. Pisa., cap. xliv.—Guido di Corvaria, tom. xxiv., p. 694.—Scr. Rer. Ital.

† An unknown author (quoted by Muratori and Dal Borgo) asserts that Ugolino was fined 20,000 lire and food denied to him until the fine should be paid: but this is scarcely credible and if true does not diminish the atrocity of his punishment. Ugolino's grandson *Brigata* had however assassinated Giano Scornigiani one of Visconti's friends a short time before, which completed the rupture between the latter and Count Ugolino, so that Dante has used a poet's license in describing them as innocent children. —(Vide Dal Borgo, Dissert. xi., p. 403 dell' Istoria Pisana.) In "*Fragmenta Historiæ Pisanæ*" (tomo xxiv., "*Scrip. Rer. Ital.*") we learn "That the archbishop and the said Ghibeline chiefs &c. with battle and fire took the public palace, and took Count Ugolino and his sons and grandsons and kept them confined and prisoners, and put them in irons and guarded them in the public palace more than 20 days until the tower of the Gualandi of the seven streets was prepared; and then placed them in the said prison which was afterwards called '*of Famine.*'"—We here take leave of Giachetto Malespini's continuation of the Chronicle of Ricordo Malespini.

*carrying the sentence into execution as for his prudence in declining to brave the power of so great a citizen as Corso Donati by a criminal prosecution against his person**."

Another law of this period exhibits an example of the blind severity of punishment awarded to a crime which was becoming very prevalent throughout Italy in the thirteenth century, and which in Florence may perhaps have been encouraged by the increasing amount of marriage portions, a circumstance which rendered it difficult for any but the opulent to marry their daughters, as Dante makes Cacciaguida lament in the fifteenth canto of his Paradise †. The custom of concubinage though not strictly moral even in its most decent aspect and which is so subversive of all the generally received principles of civilised society, was not in that rough age visited with the same indulgence as at present; population in those times was esteemed the strength of a country, and as this pernicious habit diminished the number of marriages it was visited with the cruel punishment of the stake and the faggot. How much of this severity was due to pure morality and how much to the cupidity of the clergy whose fees were proportionally diminished, no documents inform us, but it may be fairly supposed that each had its peculiar influence ‡.

Towards the beginning of the preceding winter some warlike symptoms began to appear in and about Arezzo a city whose political movements were closely connected with the welfare of Florence in consequence of the numerous Ghibeline faction in that neighbourhood: the Ghibeline Bishop Guglielmino, a

* Gio. Villani, cap. cxiv., Lib. iii.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 167.

† Non faceva nascendo ancor paura
La figlia al Padre, chè il tempo e la dote
Non fuggian quinci e quindi la misura.

A daughter's birth as yet instill'd no fear
Into the father's heart, lest age and dow'r
Should pass just measure on the part of each.

‡ Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 168.

powerful and ambitious prelate more fitted for the sword than the Breviary, had surprised the strong-hold of Saint Cecilia in the contado of Siena as a step towards further operations against the Guelphic administration of that state, which in 1283 had imitated Florence in the formation of its executive government, under the name of the "*Nine Governors and Defenders of the community and people of Siena,*" or as they were commonly called "*The Nine*"*. Pope Honorius IV. who had followed the politics of his family rather than those of the church expired in April 1287 unregretted by the Florentines; but his vast power coupled with the Neapolitan monarch's captivity and the long vacancy of the holy see, had inspirited the Ghibelines, so that the warlike Bishop of Arezzo with great temporal dominion was eager for any movement, and Florence deemed it expedient to renew the Guelphic league and increase its force to fifteen hundred horsemen. Arezzo, whether less embittered by faction, or from having the two parties more equally balanced in public opinion, was about this epoch governed by an union of both and peace sworn to between them: the citizens however after the example of Florence and Siena were not disposed to sleep over their liberty but rising in a body elected a man of Lucca as Governor under the simple denomination of "*Prior.*"

This officer held the reins with a determined hand; he humbled the Pazzi of Val d'Arno, reduced the Ubertini, and besieged their castles: invested the Bishop himself in his stronghold of Civitella, and made the laws respected everywhere: but the capture of Civitella would have fallen too heavily on the whole aristocratic body; wherefore they suspended all private quarrels and excited a mutiny in the investing army which obliged the Prior to raise the siege and return to Arezzo; still following up their blow they suddenly entered that city, killed this worthy magistrate, and usurped

* Orl. Malvolti, Lib. iii°, Parte ii°, p. 50.

the supreme power, with the usual severities of death and banishment*.

Thus left to themselves their old quarrels revived, for the nobles agreed in nothing but their hatred to popular government; the Guelphs after the example of Florence, and perhaps stimulated by her secret councils, attempted to overpower the Ghibelines; but Guglielmino with the aid of his kinsmen the Pazzi, the Ubertini, and other adherents, drove their opponents from the town and remained its masters. Two parties were thus expelled, that of the murdered Prior, or of popular government, and that of the Guelphic nobles: both were powerful, a common interest united them, with combined forces they captured the towns of Rondine and Monte San Savino, and even menaced Arezzo itself. The aid of Florence was solicited on the strength of former friendship and a common hatred of Ghibelinism; they maintained that her true policy was to establish a Guelphic government in Arezzo, and more especially to prevent their constant enemies the Pazzi and Ubaldini from becoming paramount in that state which would inevitably happen if now allowed to consolidate their power. Although the Florentines ever alive to the dangers of a Ghibeline ascendancy were predisposed to the task, there is still reason to believe that both entreaties and menaces were first tried without effect in behalf of the exiles but the bishop exasperated at the recapture of Saint Cecilia to which Florence had mainly contributed rejected every proposal. Five hundred men-at-arms were therefore sent to their assistance and the whole strength of the League was promised, but coupled with a stipulation that no peace should be made without the consent of Florence and the Guelphic confederation †.

War, thus ready to break out between these two states,

* Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°, Dino Campagni, Lib. i°.
† Giov. Villani, cap. cxv., Lib. vii°.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°, p. 55.—Dino Compagni, Lib. i°, p. 6.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 167.

exhibited a more favourable aspect to the Ghibelines; the Imperial Vicar Prezzivalle dal Fiesco of Genoa, chaplain and favourite of Pope Honorius IV., was through his influence appointed to that office two years before and vainly endeavoured to reëstablish the emperor's ancient rights in Tuscany: at Florence his pretensions were haughtily repelled, nor did he then succeed better at Arezzo, where the Guelphs rejected him as an imperialist, and the Ghibelines from a particular dislike to his Guelphic family and nation. He was now however invited to Arezzo and soon joined the bishop with some troops and all the imperial influence: to this was added the implied favour of Pope Nicholas IV. whose opinions were generally supposed to be Ghibeline.

A.D. 1288.

In February 1287 Guglielmino opened the campaign by desultory inroads on the Senese and Florentine territories, strengthening himself by close alliances with all the Tuscan Ghibelines that ventured to declare themselves: he governed Arezzo despotically, drew succours from Romagna La Marca and Spoleto, drove the Guelphs from Chusi and triumphed over a great portion of Tuscany*. Florence perceived the coming storm and instantly prepared to meet it; feeling the need of a vigorous effort they assembled the finest army that had ever left their state since the return of the Guelphic faction and determined to make war in the enemy's country. The confederates had about three thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, all, according to some writers, under command of Rinuccio Farnese, general of the league; eight hundred men-at-arms led by the Podestà Foseracco of Lodi were composed of the "*Cavallate*," or train-bands of Florence, in which every opulent citizen enrolled himself, clothed, armed, and mounted at his own expense.

Towards the end of May 1288 war was formally declared

* Giov. Villani, Lib. iii°, cap. cxv.—Dino Campagni, Cronica,—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°,—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 169.

against Arezzo by displaying the republican standard on the abbey of Ripoli for eight days previous to taking the field; and this, says Villani, "was the custom of the Florentines in those days through a lordly pride and greatness of mind, for they wished that their issuing forth to war might be made known to their enemies and all the world."

In the beginning of June the confederates invaded Arezzo and being too strong for any opposition soon reduced about forty places in the Val d'Ambra with the usual devastations: Laterino alone withstood them for eight days but finally surrendered at discretion through the treachery of Lupo degli Uberti the governor while Guglielmino, a prince of the empire in his quality of bishop, and the most powerful prelate of Italy remained in Arezzo, not being strong enough to take the field against them. The allies soon appeared before that city and according to the prevalent manners insulted the Aretines by celebrating the usual Florentine game of the "*Palio*" on Saint John's day under their very gates; by cutting down their great elm tree which it was then the custom to preserve outside the walls of towns and cities as a spot of recreation for the inhabitants, and by amusing themselves in other peaceful diversions as if no enemy were at hand. Arezzo however was too strong for a sudden assault and after a while all the forces but those of Siena returned in triumph to Florence, the latter commanded by Rinuccio Farnese moving by Val-di-Chiana where two of the enemy's captains Buonconte da Montefelto and Guglielmo de' Pazzi, undertook with two hundred men-at-arms and two thousand infantry to discomfit them: this was accomplished by an ambuscade at the Pieve del Toppo when three hundred of the principal citizens of Siena were killed or taken; and the loss was more aggravated by the death of Farnese himself, one of the best commanders of the day although here out-generalled *.

* G. Villani says that Count *Alexander of Romena* was at this time Cap-

As an example of the public spirit in these wars it may be mentioned that a citizen of Siena named Lano, who had expended all his property in order to appear with some distinction in the confederate camp, having the power of saving himself in this encounter chose rather to die in the ranks than return poor and dishonoured to his native city and fell in a desperate attack which he made singly against the victors *.

This defeat, which was soon followed by the death of Ugolino and the destruction of the Pisan Guelphs, gave fresh spirit to their adversaries whose faction, identified with that of the emperors, by a curious anomaly now prospered under the auspices of two powerful bishops, while the pope himself was imagined to be secretly attached to it; so much had the original source of these party names ceased to influence them while the angry spirit still remained active and unmitigated.

Notwithstanding their powerful league the probable union of Pisa and Arezzo discomposed the Florentines, for young Charles of Naples still occupied the prisons of Aragon and both pope and emperor were supposed to be entirely against them: nevertheless they showed a bold countenance, and granted the ambassadors of Lucca and Nino, or Ugolino Visconti, a hundred men-at-arms, while they interdicted all communication with Pisa, commanding every Florentine subject to leave that city within eight days. Lucca lost no time about commencing operations and in August took Asciano only three miles from Pisa, the latter being too unsettled to prevent its surrender. The Florentines followed this up by defeating a reënforcement of two hundred horse coming from the Maremma under the Conticino d' Ilci of that country who with most of his people was

tain of the League and Malavolti, probably with truth, that Farnese was leader of the Senese and that the battle was lost by the treachery of Nello da Pietro of Siena who fled early with his men.

* Giov. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxx.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 170.—Pignotti, Stor. Tosc., vol. iii°, p. 169.—Orl. Malavolti, Lib. iii°, Parte ii^a, p. 54.

made prisoner after a bloody conflict, an exploit considered of such consequence that the captured banners were hung up in the principal churches and the constable Bernardo da Rieti who commanded the Florentines was dubbed a knight and otherwise distinguished. Nor was Arezzo inactive; for the Guelphs having incited the inhabitants of Corciano, a town in that contado to revolt in favour of Florence the former rapidly assembled an army for its récapture while the latter felt its own reputation equally involved in its preservation. This was an affair of time, wherefore only about a thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry assembled of which about two hundred and fifty were paid troops, the remainder being the regular battalions of independent citizens. In this expedition was first unfurled the royal banner bestowed on the Republic by Charles of Anjou, an honour which the Florentines prized so much that they gave it in charge to one of their most distinguished citizens Berto de' Frescobaldi, and it ever after was borne as a standard of supreme dignity. Corciano being now closely pressed the Florentines hurried on to its relief, and the Aretines unwilling to hazard a night assault in the neighbourhood of such an enemy retreated to Arezzo, but to save themselves from the imputation of a shameful flight defied their adversaries to a pitched battle: the Florentine general accepting this took up a position near Laterina on the left bank of the Arno about ten miles from Arezzo in expectation of their arrival: he did not wait long, for the enemy was soon observed to occupy a piece of rising ground on the opposite bank, the river being so dry that neither cavalry nor infantry could have found much difficulty in crossing, but as the Ghibeline force was composed of seven hundred men-at-arms and eight thousand foot, the Florentine spared his troops a double fatigue in passing the river, mounting the hill, and going breathless into action: wherefore challenging his antagonist to descend and fight on equal terms he was answered by the wary Ghibeline who had

been busily reconnoitreing, that it was not his custom to choose a position at the pleasure of an enemy, and the latter returned to Arezzo with what in those days was considered little honour. After remaining under arms until nightfall the Florentine army pursued its march, and with the capture of some towns and much additional injury to the country, finally arrived at Florence. But scarcely had they withdrawn when wild Ghibeline bands from Arezzo and the Casentino poured into the plains and ravaged all the country as far as Sieve within ten miles of the capital: thus went the war, the peasantry suffering equally from friend and foe; for the *Masnadieri* of either host maintained a tolerable impartiality in their inflictions, and neither mercy nor discipline were their peculiar attributes *.

The year 1288 finished by a tremendous flood which overflowed great part of Florence, demolished the palaces of the Spini and Gianfigliazzi with many other houses, and devastating much of the contado made a melancholy termination to the calamities of war: this was the fourth of such sweeping visitations in less than twenty years, alternating with conflagrations of a more destructive nature, which coupled with a new attempt to register property for increased taxation threw a general gloom over the community.

The new year began as the last had terminated with universal war, Florence being the great centre of hostile movement: in conjunction with Siena she opposed the Aretines in the south, and assisted by Lucca fought Pisa in the west: the new Podestà Ugolino de' Rossi of Parma had much upon his hands, for the whole country was in arms and the fortune of war various and fluctuating. There were many Ghibeline families at Florence, and it may be imagined that in the surrounding tumult and the prosperous state of

A.D. 1289.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxxii. cxxiii. cxxiv.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°.—Scip. Ammirato. Lib. iii°, p. 173. —Sim. della Tosa, Annali.—Muratori, Annali, 1288, 1289.

their faction beyond the walls they were not unconcerned spectators within; the Guelphs were so well aware of this, that when the Aretines at the beginning of March invaded them, carrying fire and sword almost to the gates, they did it with impunity; for the citizens were afraid of internal tumults if they issued out to chastise an enemy whom they suspected of having a secret correspondence within. A rigid investigation was consequently instituted into the conduct of all Ghibelines and the most suspicious banished: active preparations for a vigorous warfare were made by all parties, the Pisan army being commanded by Count Guido of Montefeltro a chief who after his gallant conduct in Romagna had been banished by the late pope, but now broke every restriction and with all his family was excommunicated; the anathema including even the city of Pisa itself.

In November 1288 Prince Charles of Anjou received his liberty, the conditions of which had been long under discussion but rejected as too severe by the late pontiff: the reigning pope Nicholas IV. who in conjunction with Edward I. interested himself like his predecessor about the prince's freedom had better success. The principal articles were that Charles of Anjou should move the French king's brother Charles of Valois to renounce all claims on the kingdom of Aragon, which had been given to him by Pope Martin IV. when he excommunicated Pedro: to leave James brother of Alphonso in quiet possession of Sicily, pay thirty thousand marks of silver, and deliver up his three sons with sixty Provençal nobles as hostages, and if he failed in the first condition he was to return in a year and be again a prisoner*.

His cousin of Valois would not consent to any such compro-

* Mariana, Hist. de Espagña, Lib. xiv., p. 514, and Giov. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxxv., say that three years was the time allowed for the performance of these conditions and the former asserts that the pope disapproved of the whole treaty as having been concluded without his sanction

mise of his rights, and Nicholas like Honorius was much too sagacious to allow the Sicilian article to remain; even James urged his brother of Aragon not to consider him as he could take good care of himself, wherefore that article was expunged from the treaty. Charles passed through Florence where he was received with marked distinction in May 1289 and after three days proceeded towards Rome with a weak escort; but the Florentines hearing that the people of Arezzo intended to waylay him, quickly assembled three thousand infantry and eight hundred men-at-arms, overtook him on his road and escorted him safely to Bricola on the confines of Orvieto and Siena. For this service permission was asked to carry his banner at the head of their armies as they had already done, and for one of his nobles as their general; both requests were granted and Americ de Narbonne a young man of distinguished rank was appointed to that office. Charles continued his journey to the papal court then held at Rieti where on the twenty-ninth of May he was crowned King of Sicily Puglia and Jerusalem, and reinstated in all his father's rights; for Nicholas although at heart a Ghibeline knew too well the value of a prince who acknowledged the pontiff as his liege lord and held his dominions only by permission of the church. By the same authority was he absolved from all his oaths to Alphonso, who with James of Sicily was excommunicated, and the ecclesiastical tenths granted to Charles for three years to recover that island. James in order to keep the war out of Sicily attacked Calabria but unsuccessfully, then besieged Gaeta where he was hemmed in by Charles, and so embarrassed that had not ambassadors from England and Aragon arrived on a mission of peace he could have scarcely escaped.

By the King of England's mediation a truce was concluded

and therefore annulled it altogether. I have followed Muratori and Giannone especially the latter, who gives a translation of the original articles from Rymer. (Acta. Publ. Angl., pp. 149, 150.)

for two years to the great discomposure of the Count of Artois who had governed Naples during Charles's captivity and now with several other French barons quitted him in disgust as a man who would never do anything worthy of record. Charles nevertheless governed his kingdom in comparative peace and wisdom; encouraged arts and learning, and gained more real glory than his stern and relentless sire with all his victories *.

After this monarch's departure Florence assembled all her legions; as the great Guelphic families whose influence had begun the war were still eager for its continuance; but many of the more peaceable citizens, being as doubtful of its justice as they were jealous of its authors, held contrary opinions: Guglielmino on the other hand foresaw that the ensuing campaign would endanger his own possessions and wished to negotiate; he was disposed to abandon Arezzo and give some of his principal towns in pledge to the Florentines on having an annuity secured to him of three thousand florins in lieu of their revenue. But we are informed by Dino Compagni that there was at this moment a good deal of dissension amongst the Florentine priors, of whom he was one; some wished to treat, some not; while others were anxious to avoid the certain misery of war: it was at last decided to accept the proffered garrisons but not dismantle them: Prior Dino di Giovanni a citizen of great influence was accordingly intrusted with full powers to treat and immediately dispatched Messer Durazzo, a lately dubbed knight; to secure the most favourable conditions from Guglielmino. This prelate now wavered, feeling that his negotiating alone might be considered as treachery; wherefore assembling his supporters of the Pazzi, Ubaldini, Tarlati, and

* Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxxiv., cxxv., and cxxx.—Simone della Tosa, Annali.—Muratori, Annali, 1288-9—Giannone, Stor. Civile di Napoli, vol. ix., cap. ii., Lib. xxi.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii°, p. 175.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii°.—Boninsegni, Storia Fiorentina, Lib. i°, p. 91.

other powerful families, with Bonconte di Montefeltro brother to the Pisan general, besides many barons of Spoleto and La Marca, he advised them to conclude a peace with Florence declaring that he could not risk Bibbiena, which if they did not reinforce he would make his own terms. These suspicious words filled them with doubt and anger both of which would however soon have been allayed by assassinating the bishop if his kinsman Guglielmo de' Pazzi had not opposed it: Pazzi ingenuously declared that he could have been well contented had the thing been done without his knowledge, but being once consulted he would never consent to the shedding of his own blood!

Intelligence of these events having reached Florence an immediate invasion was the result, but the precise point of attack remained undecided until put to the ballot, when an inroad on the province of Casentino carried the greater number of suffrages.

The new royal banner was now intrusted to Gherardo Ventraia de' Tornaquinci, and the republican standard hoisted as before upon the towers of Ripoli Abbey with the apparent intention of penetrating into the Aretine state by Incisa and the upper Valdarno. The army under Narbonne marched on the 2nd of June, but instead of following up the river-line suddenly crossed it, moving by Ponte a Sieve and the mountain roads, though with considerable danger, and after mustering on Monte a Prùno halted near Poppi on the high road to Bibbiena. The combined forces amounted to nineteen hundred men-at-arms and eight thousand infantry, all old soldiers and equal to any warlike enterprise: amongst them were a hundred Bolognese knights and the young Ghibeline chief Maghinardo da Susinana with all his followers, who notwithstanding his adverse faction had attached himself to the Florentines from gratitude, for their honest administration of his domains while a minor under their guardianship*.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxlix.

The possessions of their old enemy Count Guido Novello, now Podestà of Arezzo, were the first to feel the Florentine brand; all this green and beautiful district with its gushing streams and woods and breezy hills now lay at their mercy; and Bibbiena must soon have surrendered if the Aretine forces had not rapidly advanced to its relief. The relative strength of these armies is variously stated; the Ghibelines do not appear to have assembled more than nine hundred men-at-arms and eight thousand foot; but flushed with last year's victory and confident in the skill of their generals' and their soldiers' valour, they taunted the Florentines with paying a womanish regard to personal appearance rather than to the manly occupation of polishing their arms, and scoffingly dared them to the combat*.

The two armies met on the plain of Campaldino in the district of Certomondo just under the walled town or "*Castello*" of Poppi and not far from Bibbiena. The confederates were drawn up in four divisions of unequal strength; the front was composed of a hundred and fifty knights called "*Feditori*" who under Vèri de' Cerchi were destined either to give or receive the first assault; these were supported on each flank by cross-bowmen and heavy armed foot carrying long and slender lances, and marshalled in the form of a crescent, the centre of which was a compact body of chosen infantry and men-at-arms. The second line was called the "*Heavy Division*,"

* No mention is made in this war of the Carroccio which may have now begun to fall into disuse. I have followed Scip. Ammirato's statement of the confederate force in this campaign, as mustered on Monte a Prùno; but Dino Compagni one of the priors, who writes as if he were present in the battle, and Giov. Villani another contemporary author make the cavalry amount only to 1300 and the latter says there were 10,000 infantry. All authors agree in the inferior numbers of the Aretine army; but Leonardo Aretino makes their cavalry 900, other authors 800 men. Marchionne di Coppo Stefano magnifies the force of both hosts, the Florentines to 2500 horse and 9500 foot; the Aretines to 1700 horse and 9900 foot. (Vide Rubric lxxxi., Lib. iii°., p. 47.)

and arrayed at a short distance in rear of the Feditori to support their advance or cover their retreat; and behind all stood a third line where the baggage under a sufficient guard was so arranged as to constitute a sort of defensive work behind which the front divisions might retreat and reform their line. Apart from these three divisions was a reserve of two hundred men-at-arms and a strong body of Lucchese and Pistoian infantry under the famous Corso Donati, then Podestà of Pistoia, who had orders not to stir from his post without orders from the general on pain of death.

The Aretines made a similar disposition of their troops, but put three hundred horsemen in their line of skirmishers and amongst them twelve knights of great prowess whom they called their *Paladins*. Thus marshalled, both armies awaited the signal of battle, "*Narbonne*," "*Cavaliers*," being the Guelphic cry and "*San Donato*" the rallying word of their enemies. Almeric used few expressions of encouragement further than reminding his men that in front were the same Ghibelines whom they had so often overcome; but Messer Barone de' Mangiadori of Samminiato, a veteran soldier, thus addressed the men-at-arms. "Gentlemen, in our Tuscan battles it was once "the custom to seize on victory by an impetuous onset, they "lasted but a brief space and few were killed, for it was "not then usual to shed much blood: now these things are "changed and victory is secured by remaining steady in our "ranks; wherefore I advise you to stand firm and let your "adversaries begin this day's attack." On the other side the bishop, who commanded in person and was probably forced into the field by the suspicions of his colleagues, made a long encouraging harangue, urging the Aretines to remember their ancient greatness and fight gallantly for their own glory and the imperial cause *. The Senese still burned with the shame

* The Bishop was so short sighted that he asked, "*What white wall is that before me?*" "*The Florentine bucklers,*" was the answer.

of their late discomfiture; Almeric de Narbonne was indignant at the recent insult to his king; and the bishop's life, honour, and estate; all depended on that day's combat. It was like most of these conflicts, a battle of individual courage and almost personal hatred, therefore the more deadly; the mere frenzy of internal war: the chiefs of either army were well known to eachother; many of the soldiers must have been intimate; theyspoke the same language, professed the same faith, were alike in manners customs and country; connected by ties of kindred and commerce; even choosing their governors from amongst each other, and only divided by a spirit of discord whose source had long vanished, whose existence was desolation, and whose object was incomprehensible.

Both armies now only awaited the signal, the trumpets blew a charge, and their brazen notes reverberated from rank to rank until the air was filled with the warlike clangour: the Aretines sprung boldly forward; the Guelphs stood firm fierce and resolute: the former charged so vigorously that the Guelphic Feditori were driven back and recoiled on their second line: knighthood was bestowed on both sides, the battle now became rough; the Guelphic Feditori rallied and the supporting wings closed round their antagonists; but the bishop and his chiefs pushed fiercely forward and the Ghibeline knights, flushed with success by a vigorous charge, broke boldly through the Guelphic infantry: the dust now rose in one dense mass dimming the light of day, and beneath this murky cloud, amidst the storm of battle many Ghibeline soldiers crawled under the horses' bellies and with long sharp knives ripped them asunder; divers knights were thus treacherously unhorsed, and the day for a while went hard with Florence: her second line was borne back on the third and the shouting Ghibelines were pressing on bravely though carelessly, as being assured of the victory. At this crisis Corso Donati who bound by the rigid

orders of his chief had remained an impatient spectator of the fight, could no longer contain himself. "What! Soldiers," he exclaimed, "are we to look thus tamely on in order to relate "the accidents of this day's battle to the Priors of Florence "after our comrades have perished, or must I risk my head "for the safety and honour of the army? Rather let us charge "bravely, and if we fail, why then let us die gloriously with "our companions like valiant men and in the thickest of the "fight: but if, as I hope, God gives us the victory, let who "will come to Pistoia for my head." So saying, with his two hundred knights he dashed deep into the enemy's flank and being rapidly followed by his own infantry ere that of the Ghibelines could support their horse, he checked the enemy's onset and rallied the Guelphic legions. The bishop ordered up his reserve under Count Guido Novello who first delayed, and afterwards fled when he saw the Ghibelines baffled and retreating. The gallant bishop tried hard to rally his followers but in vain, the day was lost: so seeing his men falling on every side he charged madly into the thickest of the fight when he could easily have escaped, and died like a soldier. Guglielmo fell nobly by his side; Buonconte and Lotto da Montefeltro were also slain with other chiefs of note; many Guelphs had not even come into action until the rout began, and the Ghibelines overcome by superior numbers lost the day through the cowardice of Guido Novello and the skill and courage of Corso Donati.

The carnage was great in battle, greater in the pursuit; the peasantry, plundered by both sides, had no pity on the losers, and seventeen hundred Ghibeline soldiers lay bleeding in the green woods and valleys of the Casentino. Many Guelphs were wounded, but few killed, and had they promptly marched on Arezzo the war might have been finished by its capture; but delay gave time for preparation, and the Aretines proved as they did after the battle of Monteaperto, that there was still

spirit enough left to defend their city when everything had perished in the field *.

The immediate effect of this victory was the surrender of Bibbiena Civitella, Rondine and many other strongholds, and a wider range for plunder devastation and bloodshed: eight days were thus wasted against the express orders of the Florentine government which directed an immediate march on Arezzo, and when that city was at last invested the army found an ill-fortified place, but brave defenders, all under the command of Tarlato a chief of spirit and ability who now governed the Aretines. Twenty days did they remain before Arezzo, wasting the country round and continually insulting the people; thirty dead asses with mitres on their heads were thrown in derision over the ramparts; games were celebrated and a *Palio* was run for under the walls; every means of conquest were tried, with but little impression on the place, and none on the hearts of the citizens. Some of the Florentine leaders appear to have been bribed, for when an opening was at last made in a weak point and the storming party already in the breach they suddenly

* This battle was fought on Sunday 11th June and, says Giov. Villani, "The news of the said victory arrived at Florence the same day and the self same hour that it was fought; for after dinner the Lords Priors having retired to sleep and to repose themselves after their anxiety and late consultation of the previous night; a knocking was suddenly heard at their chamber door with the cry of '*Rise up for the Aretines are defeated*:' and having arisen, and opened, they found nobody, and their servants outside heard nothing; hence there was great marvel, and it was held to be wonderful before any one had arrived from the army with the intelligence; it was at the hour of vespers. And this is the truth, for I heard it and saw it; and all the Florentines wondered whence this could have come, and they were in agitation. But when those arrived that came from the army and reported the news in Florence there were great rejoicings" &c. (Vide G. V. Lib. vii., cap. cxxxi.) Dino Campagni, *one of the Priors*, does not mention this curious tale; but both Leonardo Aretino and Scip. Ammirato relate it as an undoubted fact, and all well authenticated facts are worth relating if it were only for the chance of some future explanation. It was in this battle of Campaldino that the Poet Dante first used his sword and proved his courage. Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxxxi. Dino Campagni, Lib. i°, p. 8.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iv.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii. p. 176; Simone della Tosa, Annali.

turned and retreated, no man knew why, and the Aretines making a vigorous sally during the same night demolished engine, tower, and camp, and forced their enemy to raise the siege.

Leaving garrisons in all the captured towns the army returned to Florence with diminished triumph, but its recent failure covered by the splendour of previous exploits, and was received with great pomp in the capital: Almeric de Narbonne, with the Podestà Ugolino de' Rosso of Parma made their entry under rich canopies of cloth of gold held by the knights of Florence, and the gallant Bishop of Arezzo's helmet was suspended as a trophy in the church of San Giovanni where it remained until the reign of the Medici. The Guelphic influence rose high by this fortunate campaign; Chusi expelled the Ghibelines; Lucca attacked the Pisans with the aid of four hundred Florentine horse; a party in Arezzo became jealous of Tarlato; they offered to betray the city and the Florentine troops were already on their march when all was discovered by the dying confession of a conspirator, so they returned to Florence. But that republic being still bent on subjugating Arezzo, fresh armies were equipped without better success; fifteen hundred horse and six thousand infantry made no impression on anything except the defenceless inhabitants; they wreaked their vengeance on Guido Novello's town of Poppi, burned his palace and brought off his armoury in triumph, an armoury that had been furnished with cross-bows from the stores of Florence while he revelled there in all the enjoyment of supreme Ghibeline power. The Florentines now required their own with usury, as had been foretold him by Count Tegrino when he ostentatiously exhibited these stolen arms: some assistance was afterwards afforded to Nino Visconti, and a desultory warfare waged in the Pisan state: Leghorn and Porto Pisano were taken, four towers which stood in the sea at the latter place, and the lighthouse of Meloria, were demolished;

A.D. 1290.

and villas and palaces and even the port itself shared the same destiny, for vessels filled with stones were sunk at its mouth in order to render it impassable to ships of burden.

Similar scenes were acted during the next year when Almeric de Narbonne was chosen to command the League: in 1292 the Pope endeavoured to reëstablish tranquillity but died ere he could accomplish it, and under Gentile Orsino a Roman Guelph, an army of 2500 horse and 8000 foot was led against the Pisans. A.D. 1291. A.D. 1292.

In the last expedition to Arezzo the *Feditori* received a pennon from the state bearing the arms of Charles of Anjou quartered with the red lily of Florence; in the present, this pennon and the royal standard of Anjou were given in charge to Narini de' Mozzi and Geri de' Spini, both of them knights and of distinguished families: the army then invested Pisa but accomplished little although Guido was too weak to oppose it in the field, and after the usual round of insult and devastation for three-and-twenty days, returned to Florence which they found in all the ecstasy of religious excitement. A painting of the Virgin on one of the pilasters of Orto-san-Michele had performed miracles, and the whole population bowed in reverential awe; the domenican and minor orders had the honesty or jealousy to doubt the fact and oppose themselves to the universal delusion but only lost the good opinion of the Florentines for their pains*.

While rejoicings still ran high for the victory of Campaldino a deputation of two hundred inhabitants of the Mugello country made a complaint against the chapter of Florence cathedral to which they owed some suit and service: it appeared that the canons wanted to sell them to the Ubaldini family, much to the injury of themselves and the republic, and they prayed that two thousand five hundred lire might be

* Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cliv.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iii.—S. Ammirato, Lib. iii., pp. 180, 182, &c.

paid to the chapter in order to free them from such bondage: their request was granted and a law immediately passed prohibiting either Florentine or foreigner from presuming to purchase any such jurisdiction in the republican dominions under penalty of a hundred lire for every legal agent employed and the nullity of the purchase.

When enthusiasm had somewhat abated and the expenses of war began to sober public feeling, new cares, new fears, and old jealousies sprang up apace and shadowed for a while the general brightness: the whole war charge amounting to thirty-six thousand golden florins was to be defrayed by Florence, and a tax of six and a quarter per cent. on property was to be levied to meet it: but the people suspecting the nobles of a design to throw most of this burden on the shoulders of merchants and artisans lost no time in preparing new measures of defence against this expected aggression: the result was that five more trades, called "*Arti minori*" or inferior arts, with arms and shields and banners, were added to the original seven and formed a body of twelve powerful corporations united and equipped for mutual support and protection*.

Florence was now in a more flourishing condition than it had ever before attained; wealth had augmented, population increased, every class of the people could easily live and thrive by their own industry, and this growing prosperity lasted for some years: in consequence of such joy, says Villani, "Every year at the beginning of May parties of young gentlemen freshly attired and holding temporary courts in-

* The seven superior trades, called "*Arti maggiori*," were the Law; the "*Calimala*" or foreign cloth merchants; the Bankers; the Wool trade; the Physicians; the Silk trade; the Furriers; the five inferior arts now added, called "*Arti minori*," were the Retailers of Cloth; the Butchers; the Shoemakers; the Masons and Carpenters and the Farriers and Locksmiths.—G. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxxxii. — Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iii., p. 182.

closed with boards and covered with drapery, were to be seen in various quarters of the city; and others of dames and damsels dancing through the streets with comely youths in graceful order with instruments, and garlands of flowers upon their head, and in a continual round of enjoyment of dinners, and suppers, and games, and other diversions *." This prosperity had however been considerably affected by two events which occurred the preceding year in the East and West; one was the storming of Acre by the Sultan of Egypt, in consequence of an infamous breach of peace by the Christians, and the consequent destruction of that great commercial centre of the two extremities of the civilised world. The other was the seizure of every Italian in his kingdom by Philip-le-Bel of France, on pretence of usury, but really to extract enormous ransoms for their release; now the Florentine merchants were exceedingly numerous in that country and the commonwealth almost entirely depended on its foreign trade, wherefore this act of tyranny was sensibly felt throughout the whole state, and by such slender threads is the welfare of a purely commercial nation bound together! How precarious such prosperity, how unstable, how fleeting such national power! †

Cotemporary Monarchs.—England: Edward I.—Scotland: Alexander III., Margaret, John Baliol (1292).—France: Philip III., Philip IV. (1285).—Castile and Leon: Alphonso X., Sancho IV. (1284).—Aragon: Pedro III., Alphonso III. (1286), James II. (1291).—Portugal: Dennis (1279).—Germany: Rodolph, Adolphus (1292).—Popes: Martin IV. (1281), Honorius IV. (1285), Nicholas IV. (1287).—Greek Emperors: Andronicus (1281).

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* Gio. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxxxii. † G. Villani, Lib. vii., cap. cxlvii.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM A.D. 1293 TO A.D. 1306.

CONTINUAL wars had in some measure repressed the spirit of civil discord in Florence; but as outward enemies became weaker and the republic stronger; as trade augmented the general wealth, and plunder enriched individuals; the same weapons which had been blunted in external conflict were soon readjusted for internal quarrels. The mass of people wishing as was their interest to live under the law, while the great struggled to get above it, long-continued harmony was impossible: hitherto the fear of Ghibeline government had partially stifled all other disorders, but the moment that party ceased to be formidable bad blood broke loose and scarcely a week passed without some insolence or injury to a weaker neighbour.

A.D. 1293.

Proud from their wealth, fierce from their warlike habits; sudden and quick with their weapon, and careless of blood; wounds and death were common incidents amongst nobles whose power defied the law and insulted its ministers: there was no individuality in crime when a whole family, its friends and kinsmen, espoused the cause of a culprit; not in the tribunals, but armed cap-a-pie, with lance in hand and helmet on the head. The penalty of crime was exacted, severely exacted, by the private vengeance of noble families, but the hand of law was a mere shadow, and public example worse

than a nullity. While respect for each other produced some show of order amongst themselves it imposed no restraint on their insolence or violence to weaker and less opulent citizens; so that contumely, outrage, spoliation, and even personal chastisement were common occurrences amongst these lordly republicans. The people had frequently tried to abate this, and bit by bit some little was accomplished, but more in form than substance; for while their political privileges were nominally diminished by creating Priors as well as by the recent incorporation of minor trades; the anger and insolence of great families were proportionably augmented. Something more became necessary to curb the power of clanship and overcome an habitual respect for ancient blood, heightened as it was by military services, an audacious spirit, and the power of wealth and numbers: few therefore were bold enough to accuse a noble, still fewer dared to bear witness against one; and even when condemned by the tribunals the judges would rarely venture to execute a sentence. Thus while the people cried aloud against this grievance and demanded redress, not one was found hardy enough to lead the cause of justice against aristocratic tyranny; and even when the question was discussed in popular assemblies, the mode of relief was not so easily discovered. The nobility ridiculing such scenes of impotent declamation continued to domineer over the many; that many dreading aristocratic resentment even more than the loss of their own individual property; and abject slavery would probably have succeeded if dissensions amongst the nobles themselves had not saved the country *. Yet that

* The principal families at private war with each other at this period were the Adimari and Tosinghi; the Rossi and Tornaquinci; the Bardi and Mozzi; the Gherardini and Manieri; the Cavalcanti and Buondelmonti; part of the Buondelmonti and Giandonati; the Bisdomini and Falconieri; the Bostichi and Foraboschi; the Foraboschi and Malespini; the Frescobaldi between themselves; the Donati the same; besides many others. Vide Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. i°.

country was called a republic, and was a republic as far as this; that the power of choosing the *form* of government and making their own laws was in the hands of the people: but the enacting of good laws, and the power of executing them afterwards, are wide asunder; and it was in the latter that Florence failed and suffered. She was compelled to be unjust to secure justice; cruel to insure humanity; and tyrannical for the enjoyment of liberty. The crisis required this, for when men place themselves above the law a power beyond the law becomes necessary to restrain them, and the severe but honest spirit of the Florentine reformer can scarcely be questioned: extreme cases need extreme remedies, and generally produce those who have the head to conceive and the hand to administer them. Such was Giano della Bella a patrician of ancient race, of some opulence, and a respectable following; but enrolled amongst the citizens and devoted to popular government: a gross personal insult from Berto Frescobaldi first kindled the spirit of this patriot into action, and his sense of human dignity revolted from the imperious domination of the nobles, whose pride he resolved to humble while he raised the people's authority to its legitimate standard *.

For the sake of perspicuity it may be now mentioned that the whole population of Florence was at this time separated into two great classes, the "*Grandi*" and the "*Popolo:*" or the Nobles and People: but as the latter was itself subdivided into "*Popolani*" and "*Plebei*" three distinct classes really existed, namely "*Grandi*," "*Popolani*," and "*Plebei*" or Nobles, People, and Plebeians, by which names they will for the present be distinguished. The first were denominated "*Grandi*" from a feeling of reproachful envy: the second were rich merchants, traders, and other professional men who usually shared in the government: the third was the mere

* Dino Compagni, Lib. i°, p. 10.— Leon. Aretino, Lib. iv°, p. 62.— Gio. Villani, Lib. viii°, cap. i°.— Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv°, p. 187.

"*Plebs*" for whom every access to public honours was virtually closed. These last naturally sided with their immediate superiors, more perhaps from common hatred to the nobles than any peculiar attachment or cordiality of feeling, as they afterwards proved when disappointed in their more sanguine expectations *.

In this state of things Giano della Bella, who is described by his friend Dino Compagni as a "*wise, valiant, and good man*," began to accomplish his work: privately reasoning with every individual of spirit or influence he dwelt painfully on the increasing arrogance of the nobles and corresponding apathy of the people; he endeavoured to convince each auditor that tamely bearing such wrongs in his own person was a virtual aid to the aristocracy in abasing the whole nation, which was rapidly sinking into servitude by the action of this most poisonous influence. The evil though augmented had not yet become too inveterate for cure, but if one stood idly waiting for another they would all be overtaken by irreparable ruin. These words worked silently through different ranks until the whole popular mass fermented and a common spirit of resistance agitated the commonwealth. Public feeling being thus prepared, Giano, then one of the Priors, in conjunction with many powerful citizens assembled the people and harangued them on the general ineptitude of Florentine government for repressing aristocratic licentiousness which intimidated judges, despised rule, scared witnesses, dragged plaintiff and defendant by armed force from the tribunals, and with an inflated spirit soared proudly above every law of the commonwealth †. "If

* Mich. Bruto, Stor. Fior., Lib. i°, p. 77.

† The principal persons that united with Giano della Bella were Duccio and Lione Magalotti—Toso Mancini—Lapo Talenti—Donáto Alberti—Albizzo Corbinelli—Buoninsegna Beccanughi—Baldo Ruffoli—Giovanni Aglioni and Rosso Bucherelli. Giano entered office as one of the Priors on 15th February, 1292, (1293) according to an old MS. "*Priorista*," agreeing with Dino Compagni's statement.

"I were not," said he, "to judge of your condition by my own, "which notwithstanding my rank, my power, and my following, "has not escaped the insolence of the great, I certainly would "never have meddled with this enterprise, because I should "have found a fitting opportunity to revenge my private "injuries; but well knowing your helplessness and unable "any longer to look calmly on the destruction of our state, "which preserving delusive forms, has lost all the substance "of freedom, and is in a worse condition than those miserable "cities that are ruled by the caprice of a single tyrant: for "instead of one, we tremble at the nod of many; and where "they have hope that the death of a monster may one day "end their sufferings, we on the contrary have no such con- "solation, for our tyrants hydra-like are continually sprouting "and thus rendering our pains immortal. Let us then in- "stantly quit all womanish complaining and scotch this serpent "ere it gather strength enough to strangle us. As all our "wo proceeds from evil government, from a combination of "weakness in the judges and strength in the culprits, we "must reinforce the one while we diminish the power of the "other, for not until we do this will our sufferings terminate. "I know well the danger of my words, but a citizen's duty is "to speak boldly, ay and act so too when the good of his "country demands it: Public liberty is composed of two "ingredients; of good laws and their just administration; "when these are stronger than individuals then is liberty "maintained; but when there are citizens powerful enough to "defy both, then is it abandoned. Such truths will be best "appreciated by those who have the great for their neighbours "either in town or country, for what things have we that they "have not coveted? And once longed for by what law have "they ever been restrained from robbing us? Nor are our "persons less in danger: have we not seen the citizens "scourged, and driven barbarously from their homes; have

" we not beheld rapine, fire, wounds, and even death itself
" inflicted with perfect impunity by this dangerous nobility?
" the culprits are known! Reckless, insolent, contemptuous,
" they ride through our streets dreaded even by the chief
" magistrates of the republic; and this is what some of us call
" liberty! You have numerous laws existing against violence,
" murder, robbery, and other outrages, let these be called into
" immediate action and let more be added if requisite. They
" *will* be requisite; for you cannot bind a giant with pack-
" thread: cords therefore for the little, but chains and cables
" for the great, as our present ties are too feeble to restrain them.
" Be neither cold nor negligent, neither make complaints of
" your legitimate rulers if you will not step forward to support
" us. Let us bestir ourselves, the government requires a
" head; let us create one to whom the standard of justice shall
" be intrusted as well as the power to make it respected. Let
" a thousand citizens be enrolled as his guard, taken in succes-
" sion from every sesto, who will compel the great to obey those
" long-neglected laws which from time to time have been
" promulgated to curb their insolence and repel their audacity.
" Let them be deprived of every public honour and office, that
" to their private prepotency may not be added the weight of
" public authority: let public fame be sufficient to condemn
" them who by terror drive every accuser and witness from
" the courts, and let each individual be responsible for the
" crimes of his kinsman, since all unite in opposition to the
" laws. Such laws would be cruel in any well-ordered society
" but in extreme evils pity is more dangerous than rigour.
" Would to heaven that we could all live amicably; but this
" proud aristocracy not only scorns our society and tramples
" on our laws, but like some wild ferocious animal lashes its
" own sides and roars with ungovernable fury: look at its own
" fierce conflicts and deadly feuds, struggles for power led on
" by private hate: look at the broils, the wounds, the murders

" in our streets and then tell me if we can safely delay our " remedy. The state is now at peace; no foreign enemy " hangs on our frontier to divert attention from domestic " good, let us therefore improve an occasion the neglect of " which may doom us to everlasting sorrow*."

This address was heard with that deep interest which a common sentiment of danger instils into the multitude, filling each individual heart with a general spirit of resistance to the oppressors; a commission was immediately appointed to revise the statutes and report on the efficiency of existing laws for the maintenance of order and prompt execution of justice. Such commissions were not new; by an ancient custom of Florence these courts, then called " *Ordini d'Arbitrato*" or " courts of arbitration," were periodically formed with complete legislative authority for such a revisal and alteration of the laws as the progress of society or other change of circumstances rendered necessary. The Podestà Taddeo de' Bruxati of Brescia and Currado da Soncino of Milan, captain of the people, were joined to the Priors in this office and the result of their labour was a code of regulations called the " Ordinances of Justice" (" *Ordinamenti della Giustizia*") by which the aristocracy was at once reduced from its palmy state of insolence to complete subjection. It was decreed that none but real merchants or tradesmen should thenceforth be elected priors, and that every nobleman, even every family, if any of its members enjoyed the dignity of knighthood, should be excluded from the government: the office of prior could not be refused, and an oath faithfully to execute its duties was ordered to be taken before the Captain of the People who with the old priors, the consuls of the superior trades, and the assistance of such respectable citizens as they pleased to call in, was to elect a prior from each sesto every two months as usual. Two mem-

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii°, cap. i°.—Dino Compagni, Lib. i°, p. 10.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iv.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv., p. 136.

bers of the higher trades were joined with the above from every sesto and from amongst them was elected the gonfalonier of justice, but by secret vote, which became null if any of his family were amongst the seignory. Thirty-three of the noblest families of Florence were permanently excluded from the office of prior without even the power of recovering their civic rights by the exercise of a trade; and the government was authorised to add the names of any others who by their conduct should render themselves subject to the action of the new law, so that the list soon augmented to seventy-two families*. This exclusion from political power was founded not only on their lawless insolence and contempt for every social obligation, but also on their partiality as ministers of the country wherever their own order was in question; and it became a common subject of complaint with the people that no energy was ever displayed by the priors while a nobleman was amongst them.

When a crime was committed by one of the aristocracy public fame alone, as Macchiavelli seems to assert, or the notoriety of the fact supported by two witnesses as we learn from every other writer, were sufficient to condemn him, and his relations became answerable for his crime†: if fined they were forbidden to aid him in discharging the penalty, and a subsequent peace with the offended party did not save the culprit. If the punishment were pecuniary five years' prohibition from office was added; but if a citizen were killed or badly wounded the gonfalonier and podestà with all the civic guard were ordered to proceed to the offender's house and destroy it without mercy.

Finally to secure the liberty of accusation without fear of personal consequences, two boxes called "*Tamburi*," were

* The catalogue is to be found in the "*Istorie di Giovanni Cambi.*" In vol. xx. of "*Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*" dal Fra Ildefonso da San Luigi, p. 14.

† Macchiavelli evidently means the same as other writers, but is often loose in his expressions.

placed at the residences of the podestà and captain of the people respectively for the reception of secret charges against the great; and the latter in consequence of their own quarrels were unable to oppose such injustice*.

These laws were unjust because they entailed the offences of criminal fathers upon unoffending children, and they were impolitic in leaving no room for repentance, but on the contrary they exasperated even to desperation a high-spirited and powerful body whose faculties might have been employed to the public advantage; still they show how sharply the community had been goaded into this course of vengeance when a man of Giano's character became the author of so rigorous a decree.

A sheet of parchment filled with even the most admirable regulations is still mere parchment unless supported by an armed force, or else by public opinion, of which it is or ought to be the concentrated expression; but in this instance both were necessary, and one produced the other. The citizens were divided into twenty companies of fifty men each, afterwards increased to a hundred, and ultimately to two hundred; making a national guard of four thousand men under the *Gonfalonier* of Justice, so called from the "*gonfalon*" or standard of justice by which he was always preceded. This banner was marked with a red cross in a white field and was substituted for the two ancient "*Vexilli*" or flags of justice, as the present guard was for the two thousand infantry previously attached to them: each company had smaller flags with a similar device, and at the sound of the Campana all were bound to assemble in arms (provided at the public charge) under the window of the Gonfalonier where the great banner of justice floated.

This magistrate was essentially civil, not military, though encompassed by all the circumstance of war: his force was the embodied will of the community arrayed against the enemies of

* This act of accusation was called "*Tamburàgione*," and the accused was said to be "*Tamburato*."

justice and the disturbers of public tranquillity. It was necessary to have attained the age of forty-five before a citizen could be elected to the office of gonfalonier of Florence, the highest dignity of the republic: he was obliged to live with the priors but had no power beyond them in debate; his great authority being at the head of armed citizens in execution of the laws. Thus aristocratic vice not only strengthened the freedom it was endeavouring to destroy but laid the foundation of its own ruin, for the rank of noble now became a positive detriment and almost a mark of infamy: it is possible that even the most guilty amongst them may not have deserved such treatment, (yet there is an old prejudice in favour of ancient lineage and illustrious birth that tells strongly for the people) but it shows how solicitous any privileged order should be to conceal those offensive powers which an intelligent public only suffers while unmolested by their exercise; when made more prominent by a contemptuous demeanour, without any peculiar excellence in parties, they will undermine what they are meant to support and ultimately ruin the edifice *.

The first decided act of the new government was against the powerful family of *Galigaj* one of whom in France had killed a member of the ignoble house of *Benivieni*: on the news of this Dino Compagni the historian, who was the third gonfalonier, immediately proceeded to the dwellings of that family and destroyed them †. This was a sharp beginning and not universally approved of by the capricious spirit of the time, so that it became difficult to act; for when property was totally demolished according to law, it was exclaimed against as cruelty, and if partially spared the gonfalonier was a coward: justice was therefore frequently sacrificed to personal fear.

Although the great were so reprehensible the people them-

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. i°.—Dino Compagni, Lib. i°, p. 11.—Leon. Aretini, Lib. iv.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv., p. 186.—Giov. Cambi, Istorie, p. 9.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii°.

† Ancient Priorista MS.

selves were far from immaculate; the former were bold, insolent, tyrannical, but open; many of the latter unjust, cunning, selfish and dishonest; as well as turbulent proud and ambitious: the legal profession in every department was especially noted for its misdeeds, and the judges interpreted the laws as suited their own convenience; the whole fraternity of butchers was particularly notorious for its insolence, brutality, dishonesty and turbulence. To such people the conscientious and impartial, but searching reforms of Giano della Bella were anything but welcome after the great aristocratic enemy had once been humbled: many therefore who had joined him against the nobles began to tremble when the course of his public measures was likely to impinge upon their own peculations; jealous adversaries started up on every side and the aristocracy was much too sagacious not to take advantage of the occasion. The nobles hated him as a deserter from his order and the destroyer of their power, and this hate was augmented by his increasing severity; for the people exulted in their humiliation and the biting character of the laws against them, the effects of which became so powerful and indiscriminate that no accused person could now escape punishment without the government being abused for its partiality; thus the simple act of accusation was virtually sufficient to condemn a noble.

Indignant at this injustice the aristocracy complained that "*if a nobleman's horse happened to whisk its tail in the face of* "*a citizen; or if one pushed another by accident in a crowd, or* "*even if children of different ranks quarrelled at their amuse-* "*ments, accusations were instantly preferred: and were their* "*houses to be demolished for such trifles?*" But hate had destroyed justice, humanity, and sound policy, and their grievances were utterly disregarded: Giano seems to have pushed rigour to excess, and it is even asserted that in one instance his public authority was made subservient to private and personal revenge: whether this charge be just or not is now diffi-

cult to prove; he probably was not perfect; but he belonged to the unhappy race of reformers and fell a victim to the malice of implacable enemies and the treachery of pretended friends: he fearlessly attacked abuses that others shrunk from, and defended measures that others cowardly abandoned, but all in the cause of justice; wherefore being as much feared by his political enemies as he was honoured by the people he pushed boldly forward in the cause of freedom and reform.

Thus tormented, the great were deep in their threats of vengeance, and these being reported, both fear and anger united in giving a keener edge to the sword of retributive justice. The Magalotti, a powerful race and kinsmen of Giano, were at the head of the Popolani, many of whom although unadorned with the title of nobles were ranked amongst the great in consequence of their wealth and influence; and some of them as forward as the genuine nobility themselves, to ruin Giano and trample on their humbler countrymen. These faithless citizens and indignant nobles held separate councils for a common object: the first idea of both was to kill the reformer; but as his works were more formidable than his person and their fear of the plebeians great, a more effective and subtle course was resolved on in both conclaves.

It so happened that the principal conspirators amongst the Popolani were united with Giano della Bella in the commission, then sitting in the church of Ognissanti, for the revisal and reform of the laws; and there, while absent, it was resolved to make use of his public virtue for his own destruction. "*He* "*is a just man,*" they cunningly exclaimed, "*let us explain to* "*him the wicked actions of the butchers, an evil-disposed race and* "*fruitful in villany.*" At the head of this trade was a rich butcher or cattle-dealer, called *Pecora*, who supported by the Tosinghi family displayed infinite arrogance, menaced the priors and openly practised every sort of deceit, to the great detriment of the community. These things being brought

under the peculiar notice of Giano he impatiently exclaimed "*Perish the city sooner than tolerate such villany,*" and immediately devised new laws to restrain them. A similar appeal was then made to his sense of justice against judges, notaries, and all the legal profession, who intimidated the syndics that periodically investigated their official conduct, and menaced those that would expose their peculation and punish their misdeeds; who procured new and unnecessary appointments, and maintained causes in court for three and four years without giving judgment; so that even if wishing to relinquish a suit, parties could not do it in consequence of the dexterity with which they entangled the proceedings and drew their profits from delay. "*Let new laws be made to bridle so much iniquity,*" replied Giano indignantly; whereupon information was instantly given to the lawyers and butchers of Florence that he was preparing for their destruction. Thus the train was laid.

This eagerness of lawyers to reform the very abuses by which they throve, probably excited suspicion in their colleague Dino Compagni who quickly detected the conspiracy and informed della Bella; at the same time advising him not to play their game by pushing these laws further for the moment, but attend to his personal safety; "*Rather let* "*the city perish than suffer such iniquity to continue*" was still the fearless answer of Giano.

Those of the commission who were not in the plot wished to examine further ere they legislated; but "with more boldness than wisdom," says Dino Compagni, Giano threatened them even with death and imprudently hurried the affair. Meanwhile the nobles were discussing this same subject in the church of Saint James beyond Arno, Messer Berto Frescobaldi, who had formerly insulted della Bella, giving his voice for death. "*These dogs of the people,*" said he, "have deprived us of "honours and office, and not daring to enter the palace we "cannot plead our own cause; nay if we even venture to

" chastise a servant our houses are instantly demolished"! " Wherefore I advise that we should break away at once from " such disgraceful bondage: let us arm for the attack and " slaughter friend and foe amongst the people, nor hold our " hand as long as we can find any to slay, so that neither our- " selves nor our children may be overcome by them." This advice although approved and applauded was thought too hazardous and they resolved to try and disunite the community by propagating the factious cry of "*The state being in danger from the Ghibelines*" and the establishment of secret agents to corrupt the people and set them against Giano della Bella.

These machinations continued working until the beginning of 1295 when a sudden movement of the populace brought everything to a crisis: Corso Donati in a private feud had killed and wounded some of the followers of Simone Galastrone, and complaints were made to the Podestà by both parties; but either from the corruption of that officer or his judge, Corso was acquitted and Galastrone whose servant had been killed, was condemned. The citizens saw this injustice, attributed it to bribery, denounced the Podestà as their enemy, ran to the palace with fire in their hands, and cries of "*Death, death to the Podestà!*" and soon destroyed everything within the building. Corso Donati and the magistrate escaped by the roof but the whole tumult is said to have been more the effect of hatred to the former than any regard for justice.

Giano della Bella who was with the priors when this riot began instantly mounted his horse and attempted to save the Podestà, confident that the people would listen to him; but on the contrary he too was threatened and compelled to retire: the confusion lasted until next day, while nobles, judges, and notaries, with many of the more powerful citizens, all detesting Giano, were industriously laying the blame entirely to him. New priors were suddenly elected, even before the old had finished

A.D. 1295.

office, and all enemies of the reformer. No sooner were they installed than an accusation was preferred against Giano for insurrection, for attacking the Podestà, and other infractions of his own ordinances of justice: the populace armed to protect him, and his brother had already put himself at their head when Giano perceiving that he was betrayed by those he most trusted, urged by his kinsman Magalotti who was secretly jealous of his power, and being moreover averse to commence a civil war, retired on the fifth of March 1295 not without expectations of being recalled by a people for whom he had thus sacrificed himself*. He was condemned with all his family, and died in exile! His houses were ruined and several other citizens shared his fate; whence, says Villani, "Much mischief accrued to our city; and especially to the people, because he was a more loyal and straightforward 'Popolano' and lover of the public good than any man in Florence, and one who added to the common prosperity without subtracting anything from it. He was presumptuous, and vindictive, and revenged himself on the Abati his neighbours with the power of the community: and it may be that for these transgressions he was, by his own laws, unfairly and without a crime condemned by the unjust†. And this is a striking example for those citizens who are to come, to beware of attempting to make themselves masters over their fellow citizens and of being too presumptuous; let them be content with an equality of citizenship. For the same people who assisted them to ascend will certainly betray them and try

* Dino Compagni, Cron.—Giov. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. i. and viii.

† I have followed Dino Compagni almost entirely in what relates to his friend Giano della Bella: he only differs from Villani (who in this speaks doubtingly and from hearsay) in placing Giano with the priors when the tumult began, instead of at his own house, a circumstance which would however go far to clear him of having had any share in the tumult, even that of only advising the people to assemble round the gonfalonier of justice (instead of taking the law into their own hands) and sending his brother with them for that purpose.

to pull them down: and in ancient and modern times it has ever happened at Florence that whosoever made himself head of the people has always been humbled by the same people, who are never inclined to give due praise or acknowledge merit."

Many of Giano's friends were fined, others banished like himself for contumacy: he was praised and blamed by the citizens as suited their faction or character, but sincerely lamented by the poor who in his fall saw the ruin of their own influence and the loss of their only disinterested advocate.

From that time all the authority of government remained in the hands of the powerful and wealthy burgesses or "*Popolani Grassi*," as they now began to be called, and so bitter was the feeling of the leaders of this faction against their exiled countryman that not being content with setting a price on the head of him and his adherents, they even included his daughter Caterina, wife of Galassino de' Castellani, in her father's condemnation *.

During these important transactions the substance of Florentine peace and prosperity seems to have been scarcely affected; a few prominent actors opposed by a distinct faction, although unsteady in their several parts performed a drama of deep and agitating interest; but except at intervals, the great body of the people were off the stage, as mere spectators, or following their own private occupations. Peace was concluded on favourable terms with Pisa, the war of Arezzo had virtually

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. viii.—Dino Compagni, Lib. i.—S. Ammirato, Lib. iv. By a MS. Priorista of an ancient date now in the author's possession it appears that the names of the Gonfaloniere and Priors who condemned Giano della Bella were Gherardo Lupicini—G°. Lippo del Velluto—Banchino di Giovanni Taverniere—Gheri Paganetti—Bartolo Orlandini—Andrea da Cerreto—Sotto del Miglore Guadagni who entered office on 15th February 1294 of the Florence Calendar and 1295 of ours, and this agrees with Dino Compagni's statement except in Banchino di Giovanni being called a *Taverniere* instead of *Beccaio*, names used indiscriminately by the ancient Florentines.

ceased, and Tuscany was once more in profound tranquillity: the Guelphs and Count Ugolino's family were restored, Guido of Montefeltro was ungratefully dismissed by the Pisans, and a Podestà or captain of the people placed by the members of the Guelphic league for four years over that republic. A reciprocal exemption from all tolls and duties whether on goods or person (a remarkable feature in all Florentine treaties) was agreed to by Pisa and the cities of this confederacy. Thus peace and commerce were reëstablished, and so little interrupted by the internal broils of Florence that its gates were thrown open by day and by night; no tolls were demanded; and the government in order to avoid new taxes sold the ancient walls and certain lands within and round the town to those whose possessions were contiguous. Besides this the republican dominions were increased by the submission of Poggibonzi, Certaldo, Gambassi, and Catignano; by the capture of seven towns with their respective territories from the Counts Guido, and many more in the Mugello unjustly retained by that family, as well as the Ubaldini and other rural chieftains. New hospitals were founded, new gates opened, new churches erected, aqueducts constructed, the Baptistry repaired and beautified, and the convenience of the city improved; all signs of a strong current of national prosperity beneath the troubled surface, for the new walls alone were a work of exceeding cost and labour, and the enormous fabric of Santa Croce was a monument only surpassed by the more splendid cathedral. Powerful, energetic, and feared by the neighbouring states Florence led the Tuscan chivalry and submitted to no appearance of indignity. A criminal had absconded and taken refuge at Prato; upon this a single messenger was sent to demand the culprit under the penalty of 10,000 lire for any unnecessary delay: the people of Prato, to assert their independence, and probably under some secret influence from Florentine faction, showed no sign of obedience, upon which the republican troops were rapidly

armed and ready to enforce submission when the malefactor was delivered up and the fine immediately paid.

Amongst other regulations of this period the year 1294 was remarkable for the promulgation of a law which forbade women to appear personally in any court of justice, and the Podestà, Captain of the People, or any other functionary were prohibited under a severe penalty from listening to them, because they were "*a sex esteemed to be very dangerous in disturbing the course of justice.*" But there were other impediments besides women; the statutes of the city courts had become so numerous and contradictory that under the eleventh Gonfalonier Buonaccino Ottabuoni a committee of fourteen citizens was appointed to reduce them to order and perspicuity by diminishing their number and reconciling discrepancies *.

In July 1291 the empire became vacant by the death of Rodolph of Hapsburgh and considerable dissension arose between the supporters of his son Albert Duke of Austria and those of Winceslaus King of Bohemia; but the dispute was settled by the Archbishop of Metz through whose influence Adolphus Count of Nassau was raised to the dignity of King of the Romans in May 1292.

In the month of April 1292 while indulging in thoughts of eastern wars and sacred conquests like many of his predecessors, Pope Nicholas IV. was surprised by death: he is represented as attached to the Ghibelines, perhaps because he was less of a partisan than other pontiffs, but his actions do not support this assertion. The Holy See remained unoccupied until July 1294 when Pietro Moroni a poor hermit of the Abruzzi mountains, a man of great sanctity, was chosen and assumed the tiara under the name of Celestine V. but from his extreme age and inexperience, his habits of solitude, and contempt of worldly grandeur; he renounced the papacy in the following December and returned

* Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv.

to his cell *. Celestine was succeeded by Benedetto Gaetano a man of learning and sagacity who took the name of Boniface VIII. played a conspicuous part in Italian story and was damned, while yet living, by the bitter pen of Dante †.

After the fall of Giano della Bella the seignory renewed the Guelphic League ‡ principally through fear of a French knight of bold and enterprising character called Jean de Chalon who being sent with the Pope's approval as imperial vicar in Tuscany had joined the Ghibelines of Arezzo: he was originally introduced by the nobles with five hundred followers into Florence to assist them against Giano; but this aid proving unnecessary they attempted to defraud him of his reward; he then joined the Aretines and with the Pope's interference ultimately succeeded in gaining the above post: in return he agreed to betray the Aretines, but on being discovered retired with all the wealth he had amassed into Burgundy.

The nobles were now fully convinced of the pernicious effects of disunion and hastened a general reconciliation, being determined to vindicate the rights of their order: wherefore assembling their retainers, or "*Fedeli*" as they were then called, and adorned in all that pomp and magnificence of arms then so prevalent, they demanded as a matter of form some mitigation of the ordinance of justice; but having already alienated the plebeians from the "Popolani Grassi" on account of the latter's desertion and betrayal of Giano, they hoped to have the sup-

* Celestine V. is supposed to be meant by Dante in "*l'ombra di Colui che fece per viltate il gran rifuto.*" (Inferno, Canto iii.) The poet assuredly would not have acted so.

† Muratori, Annali, 1293. — Dante, Inferno, Canto xix.

‡ The confederate force was 500 horse as before, but it was recommended to the different cities to send as many "*Cavalieri di Corrado*" as possible and that each should have his "*Cavallo Armigero*" or war-horse, and ronzino or hack. The former to be harnessed in iron, cotton, or other material fit for defence. Of these cavaliers Florence was to supply 166—Lucca 114—Siena 104—Pistoia 47—Città di Castello 20—Volterra 18—Prato 15—Colle 5—San Gimignano 7—and Poggibonzi 4. No Aretine was admitted.

port of the former against a government which had so deceived them, and moreover kept all the power to themselves. The nobles were too sagacious to believe that the popolani were really inclined without compulsion to relax these laws, merely because they had found it convenient to unite with them in ruining Giano della Bella; but they entirely mistook the temper of the plebeians who though more easily led astray by appearances are yet generally correct in their object, and now suspected a coalition of both parties against themselves; wherefore having previously sent six trusty men to join in and watch the deliberations of the priors, one from each sesto, and resolving to withstand the nobles, immediately took to their arms.

The nobles also assembled in three divisions: at the Mercato-Nuovo under Geri Spini; at the church of San Giovanni under Forese degli Adimari; and under Vanni de' Mozzi at the piazza of that family beyond Arno which commanded the bridge of Rubaconte. The citizens drew up at the palace of the Podestà opposite to the Abbey, and at that of the priors who then occupied the houses of the Cerchi behind San Brocolo: the nobles were superior in cavalry, arms, and military skill; the people in numbers and determination, yet both were doubtful of the event. At this crisis some friars and other moderate men came forward as the friends of either side and effected a reconciliation: the nobles were reminded that they had lost their power; not from the presumption of the people but their own crimes which had driven the latter to extremities; that the attempt to recover by violence what had been forfeited by misconduct was an error worse than the first and would only ruin the city without gaining their object; but on the contrary tend to render their condition worse: for as nobility was only a name;—a mere opinion,—sustained by reputation, not force; the very moment that a people suffering from its misused power lose their habitual reverence for its antiquity, it becomes a gaudy bubble and breaks with the breath of an infant. The

plebeians on the other hand were advised to consider the claims of the nobles; to reject any that threatened their own liberty, but not to shut their ears to the rights of justice and lenity which was all that their adversaries now demanded: the former however were not so easily convinced, they had been oppressed by one and deceived by the other party, and it was only the authority of the Priors and Gonfalonier Veri Baldonini that finally succeeded in restoring peace with this slender concession; namely, that for the future three witnesses should be necessary to prove the notoriety of aristocratic crime; even this was too much for the plebeians and shortly after annulled, yet it completely unveiled aristocratic weakness and the growing strength of the people. Both parties thenceforward only sought the means of overcoming each other, the people being ever uppermost, and for further security partly disarmed the nobles by compelling them to sell their large cross-bows, (a very expensive and much prized weapon) to the republic.

All this induced many of the quieter and less powerful aristocrats to demand admittance into the class of popolani, a favour willingly granted to those who could be trusted, because it thinned the opposite ranks and increased general security*. The plebeians, angry and disappointed at any compromise having been made with the great, insulted the seignory when they retired from office and called aloud for the return of Giano della Bella: this alarmed the Popolani so much that the Pope's interference was implored, and Boniface who hated Giano for some bold proceedings against the church when Podestà of Pistoia, threatened every body with excommunication who presumed to advocate his cause.

Things however generally remained tranquil and the country improved in commerce and prosperity until the year 1300 when the spirit of civil discord again spread its sable pinions: taking

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., c. xii.—Dino Compagni, Lib. i.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv.

advantage of this calm, and fearful of an alliance between the nobles and the potent families of Pazzi and Uberti in the Upper Val d'Arno, the government resolved A. D. 1296. to hold them in check by the erection of two strong towns on their frontier; the first between Figgine and Monte Varchi which after the tutelar saint was called San Giovanni; the other on the Arno over against the states of the Uberti, named Castlefranco: to the inhabitants of both was granted an exemption from all public contributions for ten years which soon nursed them up into places of considerable size and importance.

Troops were sent in 1296 to the defence of Bologna which had been for some time in hostility with the Marquis of Ferrara, but being fearful of new troubles, with the express condition of not being employed in offensive warfare. The next year A.D. 1297. a treaty of alliance was concluded with Perugia; the Guelphic League was renewed, and the strong castle called the *Palazzo Publico* (now Palazzo Vecchio) was commenced A.D. 1298. in 1298 for the residence and security of the seignory, which in the late disturbances had been exposed to the attacks of the nobles. By demolishing the houses of the Uberti and other Ghibelines, and purchasing the dwellings of the Foraboschi, space was gained for the present palace and the square before it: the resources of Florence must have been at this time immense, when notwithstanding wars and domestic broils she was able to carry on nearly at the same time the building of Santa Croce, the cathedral, the church of Ortosanmichele, the Palazzo Vecchio and the vast circuit of ramparts A.D. 1299. with all their numerous and lofty towers, besides several other minor improvements. These walls had been discontinued after 1285 but were now resumed with fresh ardour in conjunction with the other great works which still remain, to excite our admiration of their grandeur solidity and beauty.

The city, says Macchiavelli, was never in a more flourishing

state than at this epoch; full of people, riches, and reputation; all Tuscany, as friends or subjects, obeyed her; thirty thousand citizens able to carry arms in the capital with seventy thousand more in the rural districts were ready to take the field at the slightest signal from the government: and although anger and suspicion separated the nobles and the people, their effects were slight, scarcely even perceptible, and the great body of inhabitants lived in peace and unity.

The result of this tranquillity was, that literature flourished, men of talent appeared, painting revived, the arts were cultivated, the citizens vied with each other in the splendour of their domestic architecture, and the name of a Florentine merchant became respected throughout the world: Florence feared neither her own exiles nor the imperial power, nor any single state in Italy; but strong in her democratic rule and free institutions, would have rolled smoothly forward if her path had not been once more broken up by the violence of domestic faction *.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—England: Edward I.—Scotland: John Baliol, (1292).—Interregnum to 1306.—France: Philip IV., (1225).—Castile and Leon: Sancho IV. Ferdinand IV., (1295).—Aragon: James II., (1291).—Portugal: Dennis, (1279).—Germany: Adolphus, (1292). Albert I., (1298). Popes: Nicholas IV., (1287). Celestine V., (1294). Boniface VIII., (1294). Greek Emperor: Andronicus, (1281).

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xii.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iv.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM A.D. 1300 TO A.D. 1308.

THE year 1300 commenced with great rejoicing throughout Christendom; it was that of the first jubilee. By a natural and sagacious union of religion and finance Pope Boniface the Eighth granted complete absolution to all who passed a given number of days in visiting the several Roman shrines and confessionals with sincere and humble repentance; and as the existence of this virtue was believed on the sinner's affirmation, it is probable that none were disappointed; wherefore two millions of fortunate souls were saved from perdition during that happy year, and with marvellous gain to the treasury. Indeed so serious and universal was this new devotion that for twelve months together Rome had never less than two hundred thousand pilgrims within her walls independent of the native population, while multitudes of every rank age and sex thronged the Italian roads. And in this well-imagined pilgrimage all the great thoroughfares of Italy are described as presenting the appearance of a continual procession, or rather an army in full march; peace was universal, and perfect security, with abundance of everything for everybody who had the means of payment: Rome was plentifully supplied and enriched; its inhabitants made fortunes by the vast concourse of visitors that crowded their streets, where however numbers of both sexes were A.D. 1300:

trampled to death in the midst of their sacred occupation *. Continual streams of gold and silver kept pouring into the church-coffers, the spontaneous overflowings of religious love; and two priests were stationed night and day at the shrine of St. Paul with purse in hand to receive these incessant offerings for eternal salvation.

To this singular display of festive piety repaired also the annalist Giovanni Villani; and there like his prototype Malespini, did the contemplation of ancient Rome inspire him with the idea of writing a history of his own country, which he commenced at his return to Florence †.

Peace still reigned in this capital, but a rich ambitious and high-spirited nobility were unwilling to succumb, and the source of civil dissension was still unexhausted: the fire though buried was not extinct; deep and still burning, but scarcely visible, it threw out occasional warnings that were only lost upon the young the gay and the thoughtless. Superstition also lent its aid: the old wasted statue of Mars, at the base of which Buondelmonte was murdered, had been dismounted the year before to complete some new buildings, but by mistake instead of looking east as formerly, it was replaced with the face northwards, and this was received as a sinister augury although no symptoms of misfortune then appeared. According to Dino Compagni Florence was at this time ruled with little justice; some powerful and dishonest men had contrived to raise an indigent gentleman of Padua to the dignity of Podestà, a man

* Dante alludes to this great concourse of people in the 18th Canto of his *Inferno* as an illustration of what he describes.

" Come i Roman per lo esercito molto,
L'anno del Giubbileo, su per lo Ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto: "

" Che da un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso 'l Castello e vanno a San Pietro:
Dall' altra sponda vanno in verso 'l monte."

† G. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xxxvi.—Muratori, Annali 1300.

willing to be the tool of private vengeance and cupidity; justice was therefore openly sold, the innocent oppressed and the guilty absolved at the will of these rulers which always was law to their creature. But public spirit ran too high to bear this, the citizens soon rose, and putting him and his minions to the torture detected his iniquity: Monfiorito of Padua was therefore imprisoned and although he finally escaped, the republic twice refused to deliver him over to the Paduans who had sent successive embassies to demand the release of their countryman.

The general calm of Florence was first disturbed by a private quarrel between two neighbouring families. Vieri de' Cerchi chief of a race, ignobly descended, but wealthy merchants, with a princely establishment and numerous clients, was in common with the rest of his family, a man of general popularity and of an easy disposition not unmixed with talent: they were all liked by the Popolani for their amiable and unambitious temper; by every class of Ghibeline because they were not persecutors when in power; by the poor nobility for the convenience of their wealth; and by the plebeians for their decided disapproval of Giano della Bella's banishment: so that without much trouble, it was thought they might have mastered the republic if talents and ambition had seconded the opportunity. The Donati and Pazzi, near whom they had houses in town and country, were of ancient and illustrious families but not near so rich, and felt mortified by the overshadowing pomp of their upstart neighbours, whom they despised for their vulgarity and hated for their ostentation. At the head of these was Corso Donati the same who had fought at Campaldino, a man, according to Compagni, resembling but more cruel than the Roman Catiline: "gentle of blood, beautiful in person, polished in manners, of pleasing conversation, a subtle intellect and a mind ever intent on evil. By habit and genius a soldier, he carried his warlike propensities into civil life and assembled a crowd of followers, all obedient to the nod of this popular chieftain. He

performed great services, did much mischief, caused numerous burnings and robberies, amassed considerable spoil, and raised himself to high authority: vain-glory was his idol, and from his excessive pride he was surnamed "*The Baron*" so that when he rode through Florence he was frequently saluted with cries of "*Long live the Baron**."

The enmity between these potent families was augmented by Corso's recent marriage with an heiress of the Gaville race, against the wishes of her own relations as well as her kinsmen the Cerchi; also by a subsequent suspicion of his having been accessory to the death of two young men of the latter house who were poisoned in the prisons of the Podestà while in confinement for a private affray. This mutual ill-will continued long without any overt act that disturbed the public peace, while both parties were assiduously strengthening their alliances. Pope Boniface who, as was said, "*got into the pontificate like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog*," was closely connected with his bankers the Spini, and other monied men of Florence friends of Donati, therefore endeavoured to reconcile the families, and sent for Vieri to Rome; but the Cerchi was intractable, assured the pontiff that he had no quarrel with anybody and therefore needed no reconciliation: this nettled the pride of Boniface, who was accustomed to prompt obedience, and estranged him from that party. Matters continued getting worse: the Cerchi although Guelphs and Popolani had all the old Ghibeline families on their side, some from hatred of Donati and others from private feuds or personal injury; amongst the last was Guido Cavalcanti, the celebrated friend of Dante, a bold melancholy man who loved solitude and literature; but generous brave and courteous, a poet and philosopher and one that seems to have had the respect and admiration of his age. Corso Donati by whom he was feared and hated, would have had him murdered while on a pilgrimage

* Dino Compagni, Lib. ii., p. 43.

to Saint James of Galicia; on his return this became known and gained him many supporters amongst the Cerchi and other youth of Florence: he took no regular measures of vengeance but accidentally meeting Corso in the street rode violently towards him casting his javelin at the same time: it missed by the tripping of his horse and he escaped with a slight wound from one of Donati's attendants. Cavalcanti was son-in-law to Farinata degli Uberti and therefore perhaps not altogether indisposed to the Ghibelines, but the Cerchi were his intimate friends and accompanied him in the assault on Donati: all this embittered the feud* and Corso's continual sarcasms on Vieri which were duly reported by the buffoons, (the gossips of that age), were not calculated to soften their mutual asperity. Thus was the storm fast gathering when, like two angry clouds, the stubborn factions of the *Bianchi* and *Neri* poured in their influence and brought it down in blood.

"Arise ye wicked citizens filled as ye are with infamy: take "the sword and the torch in your hands and spread wide your "malevolence. Proclaim aloud your iniquitous desires, your "infernal purposes. Delay no longer; go, and destroy the "beauty of your city; shed the blood of your brethren; divest "yourselves of faith and of love; deny aid and service to each "other; sow all your falsehoods, they will fill the granaries of "your children; do even as Sylla once did in Rome: for all "the crimes he committed in ten long years Marius revenged "in a single day. Think ye that almighty justice hath fainted? "Even that of the world will render one for one. Look at "your ancestors; see if they gained by contention! Delay no "longer miserable men, for one day of war consumes more than "is regained in many years of peace, and small is that spark "that brings a mighty empire to destruction†". Such is the

* M. di Coppo Stefani attributes this quarrel to some words spoken in jest by Vieri de' Cerchi to the wife of Bernardo Donati while dining at his house with another lady the wife of Filippo de' Bianchi.

† Dino Compagni, Lib. i° and ii°.—Giov. Villani, Lib. viii°, cap. xxxix.

impassioned burst of indignation with which Dino Compagni reproaches his countrymen, and it was no imaginary picture! Very soon there was neither male nor female, great or small, noble, poplano, or plebeian; priest or friar; that were not divided on one side or the other of this unhappy quarrel, the connexion of which with Pistoia now demands our attention*.

Twenty miles north-west of Florence under the mountains that divide Tuscany from Modena lies the city of Pistoia on a spot traditionally mentioned as the scene of Catiline's defeat and death by Petreius, and the ferocious disposition of her earlier inhabitants might encourage a superstitious belief in the assertion; for she is better known in history by the virulence of her factions and the peculiar malignity of her private feuds than by any act of virtue or magnanimity in her citizens†. One of these petty dissensions not only destroyed her own peace, such as it was, but in kindling the inflammability of Florence spread over Tuscany and even contaminated a great part of Romagna‡.

The noble houses of Cancellieri and Panciatiche had early assumed the leading of the Guelph and Ghibeline factions of Pistoia, and during the whole of the thirteenth century had continued fighting with such bitterness that even these party names, the cause of their original enmity, were lost in the fury of private war the two factions becoming distinguished by family appellations alone. The chiefs of these parties were formidable even to the republic itself, whose wars crimes and misfortunes were all laid by the people to their charge: the democratic government of Pistoia therefore naturally detested the nobles,

* Istorie Pistolesi, p. 1.—Leon Aretino, Lib. iv., fol. 67.

† "Ah Pistoia, Pistoia, che non stanzi
D'incenerarti, sì che più non duri,
Poi che'n mal far lo seme tuo avanzi!"
(Dante, *Inferno*, Canto xxv).

And Petrarca in his beautiful sonnet on Cino's death,

"Pianga Pistoia, e i cittadin perversi."

For more minute details of these disastrous times in Pistoia see the cotemporary "*Istorie Pistolese*," Anno 1300.

‡ O. Malavolti, Lib. iii°, Parte ii°, p. 61.

and in 1285 declared them ineligible to public office, published a particular code of regulations affecting them alone, and decreed that when any commoner disturbed the public peace he should immediately be ennobled as the severest chastisement for his turbulence. In the general revolution of parties after Manfred's death, the Cancellieri had chased their Ghibeline adversaries from the town and a cruel war was waged in the beautiful and romantic mountain of Pistoia, where the possessions of both were situated. The Cancellieri although excluded from government were rich and numerous and the exile of their rivals gave them a complete ascendancy: eighteen knights of the golden spur, and a hundred men-at-arms, all bearing the name, and none beyond the fourth degree of blood, besides numerous allies and dependants, rendered this family one of the most powerful of the Italian nobility. They domineered over the city and contado, outraged everybody, committed many cruel actions, put numbers to death, were tyrants everywhere, yet none dared even to accuse them; so great was their power of vengeance! *

It happened, about the year 1295, that several young kinsmen of the Cancellieri race were carousing in a wine-house, and when heated by drink Carlino son of Gualfredi maltreated his cousin Amadore or Dore son of Guglielmo: they belonged to different branches of the same family long distinguished by the surnames of Bianchi and Neri in consequence of an ancestor having married two wives one of whom called Bianca gave the appellation to her descendants while the collateral race was contradistinguished by the opposite colour. Saint Peter in his definition of thankworthiness asks "What glory is it if when "ye be buffeted for your faults ye shall take it patiently? But

* G. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xxxviii.—Istorie Pistolesi dall' Anno 1300, al 1348.—M. Angelo Salvi, Historie di Pistoia, Parte i^a, p. 262.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital., vol. iii., cap. xxiv., p. 117.—Flam. dal Borgo, Diss. i. sopra la Storia Pisana, p. 4, note.

"if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this "*is* acceptable with God." And something of this sort the ancient Pistoians appear to have taken inversely as their standard of revenge: it was no satisfaction to wreak their malice on him who did the injury; that was but simple retaliation, an unoffending victim was in their code indispensable to perfect vengeance. They argued that as an innocent person had first suffered there could not be complete reciprocity unless avengement also struck the guiltless head; the offender's death was the simple vindication of justice, and expected; therefore could not inflict so sharp a pang on his kindred as the sudden murder of an unoffending man, more especially if he were peculiarly amiable and well-beloved. To carry out this principle Amadore who was of the Black faction retired from the company and hid himself armed in a convenient place, where the same evening seeing Carlino's brother Vanni passing, immediately called him, and ignorant of the quarrel the latter approached without hesitation; Dore then suddenly fell upon him, gashed his face, and nearly succeeded in cutting off a hand: thus mangled he escaped and his relations prepared for revenge. Guglielmo apprehensive of family strife at once delivered his son into Gualfredo's power to receive any punishment that pleased him to inflict; the latter insensible to the spirit of this conduct coolly led the offender into a stable and chopped off his right hand upon the edge of the manger; but revenge was not considered perfect until he had also gashed his face. "*Now*," said he, "*go and inform thy father that with deeds, not words, such injuries are revenged* *".

This was considered too cruel even for Pistoian ferocity; Bianchi and Neri flew to arms intent on vengeance for the double outrage; and as the Cancellieri were connected with

* M. A. Salvi, Hist. di Pistoia, Parte ii^a, Lib. v^o, p. 263.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii^o.

almost all the noblesse of Pistoia the city was soon in a general tumult: the spirit spread like a conflagration, their vassals caught the flame, all the country armed, and from that time forth civil war in various forms incessantly filled the Pistoian territory until stopped by the iron hand of Cosimo de' Medici in the middle of the sixteenth century. If one man were more particularly respected for his virtues and peaceable habits, or in any way distinguished beyond his associates, he was sure to be marked as the peculiar victim of adverse vengeance: thus the judge Pero de' Pecoroni was murdered on the bench while in the act of administering justice; Bertino de' Virgiolese an adherent of the "Whites," the most noble and virtuous knight of Pistoia, was afterwards stabbed by the same parties; Benedetto, or Detto, de' Cancellieri was in his turn sacrificed for this, because he was the most beloved, the wisest, and the ablest of the Neri; Braccino de' Fortebracci fell in a similar manner; houses and towers were armed and attacked with fire and sword, darts, cross-bows, stones, and mangonels showered death into the streets; frequent sallies brought the factions hand to hand, and then the lance the sword and the poniard decided the day's encounter. Such was the habitual state of this distracted town until 1299, when even the Podestà's guard was resisted, beaten, and one of his principal officers and companions killed, by Chello de' Cancellieri and Vanni Fucci; upon this he instantly broke his official wand in presence of the seignory, renounced his high office and retired to his native town of Bergamo. The city thus left without a governor remained in complete anarchy; a new Podestà arrived but accomplished little; the "Whites" gained ground and completely ruled Pistoia; the Contado was equally distracted and the whole frame of society had nearly given way when the leading popular citizens determined to call in the aid of Florence.

It cannot be supposed that such violent contentions could

continue, without affecting opinions in a city so closely connected by neighbourhood, politics, and family alliances, as the latter was with Pistoia: exiles from either faction had already been received by their friends, and the relationship of the Donati with the Neri, of the Circhi with the Bianchi, prepared the way for a similar division of Florentine parties *. The wise and prudent of either city at length assembled to devise some cure for this increasing madness, and it being of great importance to Florence that Pistoia should remain tranquil, she gladly accepted the seignory or Balia of that republic for three years as offered by its ambassadors. The lordship of a state in those days was an extrajudicial and legislative power conferred for a given time and a particular object; a dictatorship which concentrated within itself the whole power of the republic without being supposed to infringe its liberty or political rights: it was an unsafe proceeding, yet often resorted to in perilous times, as if to show more conspicuously the imperfection of pure republican government. The Priors immediately nominated a new Podestà and Captain of the People; new Anziani were chosen in equal numbers from each faction, elected monthly, and presided by a Gonfalonier of Justice; the chiefs on both sides were banished to Florence, where it was vainly hoped a reconciliation might in time be effected by the authority of that powerful government †. But men are more prone to absorb the vicious passions than the better qualities of their neighbours; the latter are troublesome and involve some acknowledgment of inferiority; the former are insensibly imbibed, more congenial, alas, to man; and Florence was not in that temperate state that might receive with impunity an importation of such firebrands as the Cancellieri of Pistoia. Discontent was still deep, and a powerful

* M. A. Salvi, Ist. di Pistoia, Parte iia., Lib. v., p. 265.—Istorie Pistolesi, p. 17.

† Hist. Pistolesi, pp. 1 to 19.—Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xxviii. and xxix.—Dino Compagni, Lib. iº, p. 18, &c.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iv., fol. 67.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv., p. 204.—Sismondi, Rep. Italiennes, vol. iii., cap. xxiv.

aristocracy deprived of its just share of public honours could not long run smoothly with a stern determined democracy, unless accompanied by some great external object of common and absorbing interest. In Florence there *was* an absorbing interest, but it was the struggle for power; and begat turbulence. Della Bella was in exile, but discontent had not been banished with him: the discontent of a nation is never the work of an individual; a single hand may collect and concentrate the ill humours of a state and adapt them to its own purposes good or bad; but their root must have previously existed and an individual's destruction or banishment will leave the evil unabated *.

The Frescobaldi, friends of Corso Donati, were appointed to receive the Neri while the Bianchi became inmates with Vieri de' Cerchi and his kinsmen: twelve of the principal families supported Corso Donati besides many others of inferior note, and a multitude of the rich popolani divided on both sides; about eighteen great houses followed the Cerchi, including most of the old Ghibelines, because this family having arisen since the great struggle between the factions, its members although Guelphs had no enmity against them and had spent much in conciliating an impoverished nobility. Thus the city was once more divided; the Guelphic party was itself divided; nay each house was divided; and Guelph and Ghibeline again frowned in open hostility: from the nobles the poison dropt among the people; and here also were families divided against themselves, father against son, brother against brother; but as yet no blood was spilt†.

* It is to this struggle of the Bianchi and Neri that Dante, who was a principal actor, makes Ciacco allude in the sixth canto of his Inferno :—

"Depoi lunga tencione
Veranno al sangue, e la parte selvaggia
Caccerà l'altra con molta offensione, &c."—(Bargigi's Text.)

† Leon. Aretino, Lib. iv., fol. 67.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv., p. 205.

It was then the custom at the beginning of May to indulge in universal festivity; young men and maidens uniting in gay and festive companies sung and danced in the open places of the city for many days together: amongst others there was one in the Piazza of Santa Trinità on the 1st of May where all the most beautiful women of Florence were to be assembled to dance, and in consequence a great concourse of people had crowded the street; amongst them were the Cerchi and Donati on horseback in complete armour, on account of their mutual and increasing enmity. There were about thirty mounted gentlemen on each side besides servants and followers, and whether from unavoidable pressure or their prompt intemperance, disdainful glances were reciprocally exchanged, swords followed, and after a sharp skirmish in which many were hurt, the combatants parted with increased bitterness of feeling. This was the first blood drawn, and both parties bent on revenge were soon employed in gaining friends and increasing their forces: they now first assumed the distinctive names of "*Bianchi*" and "*Neri*" which without affecting their political principles as Guelph or Ghibeline sufficiently marked their party.

The captains of the party Guelph and other citizens seeing the whole population engaged on either side and the great power of the Bianchi and Ghibelines in the state councils, became fearful of altogether losing their old Guelphic character, and had already sent an embassy to beg the Pontiff's interference. The Cardinal of Acquasparta was accordingly dispatched with full authority to accommodate all differences: he demanded equal powers from the Florentines and they were granted; he was received with every mark of honour and respect due to his high dignity as Pope's Legate; but when he asked for authority to reform the state it was plumply refused. The Cerchi were predominant; the Legate wished to distribute honour and office equally amongst all parties,

and failing in this he departed, leaving the city under an interdict*.

The Bianchi were well aware that their adversaries possessed the Papal countenance, and became still more convinced of this when on Saint John's Eve they saw the Consuls of the Arts, as they walked in procession with their annual offerings, insulted and beaten by a party of nobles who exclaimed, "*We are the men that gained the victory of Campaldino and you have ousted us from office and honour in our native city.*" Such an outrage coupled with a secret meeting of Donati's faction, (who resolved to ask the Pope's assistance in sending for one of the French princes to assume the lordship of Florence and reduce the Bianchi), roused the general anger†. The Priors; and Dante amongst the number; called a meeting of the government and many citizens, in which the historian Dino Compagni was included, and there determined to banish several chiefs of both factions; the Neri to Castel della Pieve on the Roman frontier, the Bianchi to Sarezzano: amongst those so exiled were Corso and Sinibaldo Donati with some of the della Tosa, Pazzi, Spini, and Manieri families: and of their rivals, Gentile, Torrigiano and Carbone de' Cerchi with Guido Cavalcanti and others. The latter immediately obeyed, but the Neri were more obstinate and had even organised a conspiracy with the knowledge of Acquasparta who had engaged a Lucchese army to coöperate; but they were finally induced to yield, and the Lucchese being intimidated by the vigour of government Florence was saved from a bloody revolution.

Some time before this however, in the month of December, many families had assembled to celebrate the obsequies of a lady in the Piazza de' Frescobaldi: it was the custom at such meetings for the citizens to sit in the lowest place on rush-mats, and the cavaliers and doctors higher up on the surround-

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., c. xl.—Dino Compagni, Lib. i°.—S. Ammirato Lib. iv., p. 206.—Dante, Parad., Cant. vii.
† Antica Priorista, MS.

ing benches, so that the Cerchi and Donati who did not enjoy this dignity were opposite to each other on the ground: it so happened that one of them either to arrange his dress or for some other purpose stood suddenly upright; full of suspicion the adverse party instantly started to their feet and laid hands on their swords; their rivals did the same and an affray began, but was soon arrested by the interference of other citizens *.

Florence nevertheless became more and more tumultuous, for the poison had spread even to the country districts: the Bianchi assembled and attacked the Donati, but were repulsed with loss from Porta San Piero: soon after a band of the Cerchi were intercepted on their return from the country by a strong body of the Donati and many wounded on both sides: for these tumults several of each faction were heavily fined; the Donati went to prison sooner than pay, and some of their antagonists followed this example against the advice of Vieri: the whole population even to the priesthood was now divided between the two factions; nobles, middle classes, poorer citizens, all partook of the general frenzy: the Ghibelines in expectation of better treatment held to the White Faction; the friends of Giano della Bella did the same from indignation at his fate; Guido Cavalcanti embraced this cause from hatred to Corso Donati; Naldo Gherardini from a private feud with the Manieri, kinsmen of Donati; the Scali and Lapo Salterelli because they were related to the Cerchi; Berto Frescobaldi being in debt to the Cerchi, broke from his family and attached himself to his creditors; Goccia Adimari did the same from a quarrel with his kinsmen; Bernardo Adimari because he was their companion; and three of the della Tosa family from hatred to Rosso their chief, who had deprived them of certain honours: besides these there were the Mozzi, the greater part of the Cavalcanti, and several other noble families who followed their standard.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xli.—Dino Compagni, Lib. i., p. 19.

The Donati's adherents were attached by similar ties, and in this as in most political and religious factions, where public good or the love of morality rarely enter, the Cerchi having most wealth and most power had consequently most followers; but Corso Donati was far beyond Vieri Cerchi as the leader of a party, although Macchiavelli asserts that the latter was equal to him in every quality.

As the Bianchi were only banished to maintain an appearance of impartiality their recall was soon procured on pretence of the unwholesome air of Sarezzano, where Guido Cavalcante had already fallen sick, and died soon after his return. "It was a great misfortune," says Villani, "because he was a philosopher and a virtuous man in many things, but a little too sensitive and passionate*". In the meantime Corso Donati and his friends took advantage of their place of exile, and knowing Pope Boniface's strong leaning towards the Neri, repaired to Rome where they insisted on the necessity of immediate support by the presence of a French prince. A.D. 1301.

At Pistoia whose citizens, says Dino Compagni, "are naturally cruel, wild, and quarrelsome," the Neri were completely discomfited and driven from the town: Siena escaped these factions altogether, but at Lucca the Whites in attempting to expel their antagonists were themselves overcome and banished; amongst them the Interminelli to which family belonged the celebrated Castruccio Castracani then about twenty years of age: they retired to Ancona; there he lost both parents and proceeded the same year to England, where under the auspices of Edward the First he is supposed principally to have learned the art of war and laid the foundation of his future greatness.

The intrigues of Corso Donati had filled the mind of Boniface with apprehension for the fate of the Guelphic rule in Florence, and Charles of Valois who happened to be then at

* G. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xlii.—Dante, Inferno, Canto x.

Rome on his way to Sicily, was easily persuaded to employ a vacant interval in governing, no matter how, a city so wealthy as Florence. A popular and well-intentioned seignory had been elected in October 1301, and the citizens indulged in hopes of peace: the captains of the Party Guelph also supported them and they tried hard but without success to restore tranquillity: every overture was suspected by the Neri; no tranquillity they said could be permanent until the Cerchi were destroyed; and this could not be without the ruin of the city itself, so extensive was their influence.

In this state of parties Charles of Valois arrived at Siena and immediately dispatched an embassy to Florence, nominally to announce him as a peace-maker but really to sound the public mind about his reception: they were very soon satisfied, for the Bianchi had already become unpopular from the arrogance of power, and a thousand tongues were ready to welcome the royal governor. The seignory determined to reply by their own envoys and immediately ordered the council-general of the party Guelph and the several trades that were governed by consuls to state in writing whether it was their pleasure that Charles of Valois should be admitted into Florence. All answered in the affirmative both by acclamation and in writing except the Bakers who boldly insisted that he neither should be admitted nor honoured, for he only came to ruin the city. Messer Donato d' Alberto Restori was then dispatched to announce his free admission, but only, after having executed a formal instrument in writing pledging himself neither to interfere with their laws nor liberties; at the same time advising the prince not to make his entry on All-Saints-day, a festival at which the populace were usually excited with new wine whence disagreeable consequences might ensue.

Dino Compagni made one more attempt to reconcile parties, and for this purpose assembled all the chief citizens in the Baptistry, where with a short impressive speech he induced them to

an apparent reconciliation which they confirmed with solemn oaths at the very fount where they had all been baptized: amongst these Rosso dello Strozza was the first to weep and take the proffered oath, as he was soon the first that with cruel acts and furious aspect led on his frantic followers to the destruction of their country.

Charles of Valois entered Florence on the fourth of November 1301 with eight hundred horse of his own immediate retainers; but on various pretences, from Lucca, Siena, Perugia and other places, in sixes and tens and twenties he mustered four hundred more; so that with the support of a reckless faction and twelve hundred men-at-arms he was perfect master of the city. He was received with great honour, and dismounting at the houses of the Frescobaldi in the place of the same name occupied that post along with the Spini Palace at the opposite end of the bridge of La Trinità; thus with the possession of all the left bank of the river he commanded one of the principal communications with the right.

So posted and prepared he negotiated with and deceived the Priors; at his desire the Florentine guard of the Oltr' Arno gates was withdrawn and replaced by Frenchmen: the people were confounded and alarmed; the Bianchi prepared but not vigorously for defence; the government was weak and vacillating; fearful suspicious and aware of danger, they yet trusted to royal protestations and were overreached by royal villany *. The rich fortified their towers and houses; the Scali in whom great confidence was placed by the Whites, lived opposite to the Spini and both houses were strong and important: the Spini tried to soften their neighbours by false declarations of their own real object; they called it the old cause of nobles against the people, not Neri against Bianchi; the Buondelmonti did the same to the Gherardini, the Bardi to the Mozzi; and thus with many others. These arts succeeded in softening several

* Dante, Purg., Canto xx.

adverse chiefs, and their followers began to lose courage; the Ghibelines seeing this apprehended treachery to themselves by the very men in whom they had most confided, and a fearful suspicion pervaded all that faction.

The gate of San Brancazio was seized by the Tornaquinci in despite of the government, which soon saw itself abandoned and powerless; the baser-minded citizens made a merit of protecting the Neri who now no longer wanted their aid; or compared with great complacency the late tumults with the tranquillity they were now about to enjoy under the wing of a foreigner: the republican standard was displayed at the palace windows, but none came to defend it; the rural forces were ordered to arm; but they hid their ensigns and dispersed; even the exiled Bianchi of Lucca in consequence of ill-usage departed full of suspicion, and many other adherents went over to the opposite party.

Such was the state of Florence when Corso Donati returned from exile and by the connivance of Charles passed the Arno from Ognano, but the gates of the old walls being shut he went round to the postern of Pinti near San Piero Maggiore, situated between his own houses and those of the Uccellini: by the aid of his friends inside he soon forced this barrier and with only twelve companions entered the city. "*Long live Corso, long live the Baron*" was echoed everywhere, and with a rapidly-collected but numerous following he instantly proceeded to the prisons and Podestà's residence both of which he forced open; and finally mastering the Prior's palace dismissed those magistrates to their homes.

On the first news of his coming Schiatta de' Cancellieri who commanded three hundred men for the city wanted to oppose him and might easily have prevailed; but Vieri de' Cerchi trusting to public feeling, which however was no longer with the Bianchi, would by no means suffer it and thus put the finishing hand to his own destruction. The Priors had complained of Charles's

connivance at this outrage as an infraction of the treaty, but he disclaimed any knowledge of Corso's proceeding, spoke high and loudly of taking vengeance on the culprit, and aided by the Podesta deceived so skilfully as to induce Schiatta Cancellieri and Lapo Salterelli, two of the principal Bianchi, to propose that hostages from the chiefs of both factions should be delivered over to him in order that he might have a clear field for justice and put an end to the existing disorders.

The suggestion was adopted and the Neri submitted cheerfully, conscious that they were going to a friend, but the Bianchi with fear: Charles instantly dismissed the former, the latter he "kept that night without straw or mattress like condemned criminals." This was the climax of public consternation; the Campana tolled and tolled but no citizen answered; no horseman was seen; no armed footman; two of the Adimari alone came with their retainers to the palace and hastily retired at sight of its desolation: the people were amazed and confounded, for "that very evening appeared in the heavens over the public palace a vermilion cross a palm and a half in breadth and twenty braccia long in appearance, with the arms something shorter; it remained about as long as a horse would take to run two courses in the lists; whence those who saw it, and I that clearly saw it, could easily comprehend that God's anger was kindled against our city*".

The priors at length resigned, and the Neri rode triumphant over the whole city; prisoners and vagabonds of every description were let loose and in full activity; there was no government; man was left to himself and his passions, his own prowess saved or his weakness lost him; the timid hid from their enemies, the brave fought, the innocent bled; there was no redress: the hand of murder was abroad and red; the torch flew wildly and rapidly on the storm; plunder heaped up its

* No other author but Dino Compagni mentions this appearance. (Lib. i°, p. 42.)

bloody hoard; the Bianchi were despoiled, their daughters married by force for their inheritance; their sons slaughtered; and this continued six long days and nights without a pause; and ever and anon as the blaze of some fired palace suddenly flared up against the sky, Charles would ask in mockery "*What bright light is that?*" and smiled when told it was a common hut or poor man's cabin, while screams and yells and lamentations filled the heated air.

Throughout this infernal drama the armed form of Donati was seen like a fiend at every turn, seeking in vain for the Cerchi with furious aspect, and voice calling on them in loud and passionate defiance. He was disappointed. The Cerchi amazed at this bloody crisis and fearing the frenzy of the populace more than the fury of the great, were for the most part in safety; but Donati had revenge, for much and noble blood then flowed to drown his hatred.

When food for murder, flames and plunder was exhausted in Florence, this still insatiate maniac sallied into the country and for eight days longer performed the second act of the eventful tragedy; robbing burning and murders, rooting up vines and olives, ravaging a whole district without cessation or remorse, were the dismal changes of the drama*.

Charles who during the above transactions had failed in a plot to assassinate the Priors, thus completed his first step towards the pacification of Florence; a new set of priors were appointed by the Neri, "infamous citizens, but powerful in their faction," and to perfect the transaction Canti de' Gabrielli d'Agobbio was made Podestà; a man who with much evil performed some good; and Tedici Manovelli became Gonfalonier of Justice.

With these tools Charles of Valois, a prince of inordinate expense and rapacity, began his work of cruelty and extortion,

* Dino Compagni, Lib. ii.—Giov. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xlix.—Leon Aretino, Lib. iv.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv., p. 214.

and at the very "*fountain-head of gold*" as Pope Boniface designated Florence he asked the pontiff for a subsidy*!

But the dreadful scenes in that unhappy town outstripped even the pontiff's anger and at the prayer of Vieri and the exiled Bianchi he again despatched Cardinal Acquasparta to restore tranquillity: a formal but hollow reconciliation took place cemented as usual by intermarriages between the rival families; but when the legate again began to talk of office and public honours, Donati and his party like their opponents refused any compromise and the cardinal was once more compelled to quit the anathematized city.

Parties thus nominally but not really at peace and money being Valois' object, no means were spared, no nice scruples prevented its accomplishment: death, exile, torture, fines, imprisonment; all were put in activity under legal forms and official authority, prince and podestà dividing the spoil between them, while inferior chiefs were allowed to attend to their own individual interest. Thus the Donati, Rossi,

* It is these melancholy transactions that Dante in the xxth Canto of his Purgatory makes Hugh Capet foretel with such bitterness

"Tempo vegg' io, non molto dopo ancoi,
Che tragge un altro Carlo fuor di Francia
Per far conoscer meglio e se e i suoi.
Senz 'arme n' esce, e solo con la lancia,
Con la qual giostrò Giuda, e quella ponta
Sì ch' a Fiorenza far scoppiar la pancia.
Quindi non terra, ma peccata ed onta
Guadagnerà per se tanto più grave,
Quanto più lieve simil danno conta."

"I see the time at hand,
That forth from France invites another Charles
To make himself and kindred better known.
Unarmed he issues, saving with that lance
Which the arch-traitor tilted with; and that
He carries with so home a thrust, as rives
The bowels of poor Florence. No increase
Of territory hence, but sin and shame
Shall be his guerdon; and so much the more
As he more lightly deems of such foul wrong." (*Cary's Dante.*)

Tornaquinci and Bostichi were everywhere tyrants extortioners and oppressors; the last not even scrupling to apply the torture at mid-day within their own palace in the Mercato Nuovo.

They undertook to protect the dwelling of a friend for a hundred florins, received the money and plundered it themselves; then offering to exchange this property for a certain farm of superior value, they took possession and refused with a sarcastic answer to pay the difference. This was friendship! what then was their enmity? False accusations, perjury, rape, torture, robbery, threats, and incarceration; every evil that springs from avarice, hatred, revenge, anarchy, and boundless power: many in this way acquired state and riches while their victims were pining in exile and poverty; none escaped from private or public rapacity; no tie however sacred diminished it; friendship, kindred, marriage; nothing could turn men from their insatiate avarice and inextinguishable hate: friends became enemies, brother abandoned brother, the son his father, all affection, all humanity was spent, and neither mercy nor pity remained in the breast of any*.

On Christmas-day according to ancient custom, a sermon was preached in the great square of Santa Croce to which Simone Donato the favourite son of Corso was listening with his armed attendants, when Niccola de' Cerchi, his mother's brother, passed with some followers on his way to a villa at Rovezzano: but scarcely had the latter reached Ponte ad Affrico when he was unexpectedly overtaken and attacked by Simone who without any quarrel, excited alone by fiery blood and party spirit, without preconceived plan or provocation, in the middle of a discourse from the pulpit on Christ's nativity, and its blessings of peace and goodwill to man, suddenly determined to murder his own maternal uncle! He succeeded, but received a mortal stab from the expiring victim, of which he died the following evening; and thus sowed new seed for next year's harvest.

* Dino Compagni, Lib. ii°.

Although the Cerchi were entirely innocent of this affray their rivals found many defenders in an administration directed, though unofficially, almost entirely by themselves; and while the affair was pending a real or false conspiracy became public the object of which was to reinstate the Bianchi by means of Pierre Ferrant one of Valois' officers: certain letters were produced; but supposed to have been forged by the Donati to screen Simone's guilt; which inculpated the Cerchi, Adimari, Tosinghi, Gherardini and all their white adherents: they were cited to appear, condemned for contumacy, banished, their houses ruined and their estates confiscated. About six hundred citizens of distinction were by this and other decrees dispersed over the world on various charges: amongst them *Dante Alighieri*, who was condemned by a retrospective law which empowered the Podestà to take cognizance of crimes *supposed* to have been committed by any of the Priors during their official capacity, notwithstanding the customary legal absolution given at the expiration of office*. A.D. 1302.

The revolutionary judge of a successful faction could never be at a loss for a crime wherewith to charge an absent enemy; and as Dante appears to have opposed a grant of public money to that judge's rapacious master Charles of Valois, and also leaned strongly to the white faction; there is abundant reason for this iniquitous punishment†; but if any credit be due to the novelist Sacchetti his misfortunes were remotely occasioned by a piece of double-dealing with one of the Adimari whose part he promised to take before the Executor of Justice, and yet not only deceived him by a malicious trick but suggested a fresh

* Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani, vol. xii.—Monumenti, p. 250.—Vita di Dante da Filippo di Cino.

† In a volume of records in the Archives of the Reformations at Florence containing the minutes of Council which debated on the expedience of subsidising Charles of Valois, there is written, in nearly the same hand, in the margin these words "*Because Dante opposed this provision, was the true secret cause of his exile.*" (Vide Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani, vol. xii., p. 259.)

accusation by which the penalty was doubled; an offence which the Adimari never forgave *. Dante's first condemnation was on the twenty-seventh of January 1302 his second on the tenth of March following by which he and fourteen more are faithfully promised to be burned alive if ever they should fall into the hands of the Florentine government: there is a strange mixture of Latin and Italian in the first decree as if they had purposely chosen, says Sismondi, the most barbarous combination of language to condemn the poet and founder of Italian literature †.

This great poet's name is placed by Dino Compagni in the same list of proscription with Petracco the son of Parenzo dall' Ancisa and father of Petrarca; but as the stream of banishment was kept continually flowing under the malign influence of Valois, the exiles of many days are probably there included, and at no time can the chronological order of this historian's facts be entirely depended on ‡.

The Bianchi being thus in a manner destroyed as a faction Florence remained in the power of their rivals Corso Donati, Rosso della Tosa, Pazzino de' Pazzi, Geri Spini, Betto Brunelleschi, the Buondelmonte, Tornaquinci Frescobaldi, Nerli, Rossi, Pulci, Bostici, Agli, Bardi, Bisdomini Rucellai and many others in town and country, all stained by their participation

* This account is improbable, 1st, because it is not in keeping with the bold and liberal character of Dante, and 2nd because the "*Executore di Giustizia*" was not then in existence but created five or six years later. Anything is however possible to the spirit of political faction, so the fact might be true and the anachronism have slipped Sacchetti's recollection. (*Novello*, 114.)

† Dante (*Infer.*, Canto xxiv.) makes Vanni Fucci predict these misfortunes in the verse beginning

"Apri gli orecchi al mio annunzio, et odi:
Pistoia in pria di Negri si dimagra;
Poi Firenze rinnova genti e modi."—

Also Deliz. Erud. Toscani, vol. xii., p. 258.—Sismondi, vol. iii., p. 199.

‡ Gio. Villani, *Lib.* viii., c. xlix. and l.—S. Ammirato, Lib. iv., p. 214, &c.—M. di Coppo Stefani, Rub. 218, &c.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii°.

in the recent outrages. Schiatta de' Cancellieri retired to Pistoia which with several other places he put into a state of defence; Charles and the Neri attacked it and were repulsed; Montale was occupied, Serravalle taken by the Lucchese and Florentines, the Pazzi and Ubaldini of Val d'Arno were chastised, and the Bianchi everywhere beaten; after which the army, seven thousand strong, returned to Florence. The arch-fiend of Valois with teeming coffers and gratified passions finally left that devoted city on the fourth of April 1302 followed by one deep and universal curse: he had been sent there to make peace and kindled a blaze of domestic war; he went to Sicily to make war, and concluded an ignominious peace; then slunk back to France with eternal disgrace to himself and his country *.

The remainder of this year was spent in detecting real or fancied conspiracies between the exiles and their friends in Florence, and under the Podestà Folcieri da Calvoli di Romagna a fierce and cruel instrument of the black faction many were tortured and executed without mercy and even a poor idiot of the Galegai family was inhumanly beheaded: Tignoso de' Macci expired under the tormentor's hands; and when the frantic mother of two young Donati (who had been condemned) with dishevelled hair, and arms crossed upon her breast, kneeled in the street, and in the name of God implored Messer Andrea da Cerreto to save her innocent children. "*I "am on my way to the Palace for that purpose,*" replied the inexorable judge and instantly led them forward to execution †.

In the month of March the exiles with an auxiliary force from Bologna, the Ghibelines of Romagna, and the Ubaldini clans, entered the province of Mugello with eight hundred men-at-arms and six thousand infantry, and led by Scarpetta degli Ordilaffi da Forlì, took Pulicciano along with another fortress and endeavoured to reduce the whole province: the Florentines quickly mustered their forces, and joined by the

* G. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. l. † Dino Compagni, Lib. ii., p. 51.

Lucchese, marched against them, but the Bolognese, who had been deceived about the internal condition of Florence, on seeing so vigorous a demonstration retreated in alarm, and the remainder of this formidable army retired as they best could with the loss of their baggage, many killed, and some of the principal leaders of the white Guelphs made prisoners. Amongst these was the judge Donato Alberti a zealous Guelph: he was led into the town tied on the back of an ass and cruelly tormented; then, while still hanging in agony to the instrument of torture, was exposed for the derision of the citizens and afterwards beheaded by virtue of a law of which he himself was the author *. All the prisoners were put to death and unjustly, even according to the prevailing customs, which allowed refugees to make such attempts for their own reëstablishment without being more liable to the extreme penalty than prisoners of war who break from confinement. Guelph and Ghibeline captives were nevertheless indiscriminately executed, and the consequence was a closer union of the survivors of both factions under the common name of Bianchi; for until then there never had been perfect cordiality between these two branches of the white faction, and this made Corazza Ubaldini of Signa observe, "*There were so many Ghibelines, and so many more who wished "to be, that the making them by force was a foolish action.*"

The confidence of the Neri now was so much increased that in concert with the Marquis of Ferrara they secretly attempted to get possession of Bologna trusting to the coöperation of their friends within that town: the white refugees however discovered the plot and baffled them, so that the only result was an accession of influence to this faction in Bologna and a league with Forlì Faenza, Pisa, Pistoia, Count Frederic of Montefeltro, Bernardino da Polenta and the Bianchi of Florence †.

These plots, persecutions, and destruction of banished men scarcely affected the general tranquillity; Corso Donati alone

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii°, c. lxi. † Dino Compagni, Lib. ii., p. 83.

was discontented at not occupying that place in the state government which he felt both his talents and rank deserved; for in despite of revolution the government was still democratic, and Corso with all his influence, though he might have made the priors his tools, could never change its character nor materially alter the ordinances of justice. Rosso della Tosa, Pazzino Pazzi and Geri Spini with a powerful train of rich citizens or "*Popolo grasso*," completely directed the seignory, and it was this party that Corso Donati attempted to pull down: complaining that the people were oppressed with taxes and other vexations, and despoiled of their substance, while the great were enriched, he demanded an investigation of the public accounts in order to see where such enormous sums had been expended. There was some foundation for the charge; great scarcity of food had reduced the city almost to famine, and increased discontent was produced by general suffering, while every one knew that large sums had been levied which were never expended on war: the government however had only been able to avert starvation by an enormous outlay on corn, and this was the principal source of the expense and accusation, which was pressed in the various councils and warmly applauded by the people. Donati now joined the Cavalcanti and Lottieri della Tosa Bishop of Florence, both of the white faction, besides several other nobles; many remained neutral while some few joined the priors and popolani who between pride and anger were determined not to yield, so that after satisfying the people by an inquiry into each oppressive and violent act that was alleged to have occurred, they prepared to repel both Donati's accusation and ambition by force of arms. A.D. 1303.

Towers and houses were instantly fortified, the bishop's palace was turned into a stronghold, streets were barricaded, and every thing prepared for civil war: many of the middle classes joined Donati from a belief in his honest intentions and the necessity

of controlling public expenditure, others because they had the same views as himself; but the general government was far from being unpopular. The Gherardini reënforced it with a powerful following of their country retainers; the Spini, Pazzi, and Frescobaldi lent their aid; Florence was filled with rural forces, returned exiles, and foreigners; every house mustered its vassals and clients, and terror was again busy in the town. Battle, robbery, murder, and conflagration again roared triumphant; law, order, government, were again trampled in the dirt; and another struggle of evil passions, of unmitigated crime, and universal wickedness began; the flame once more spread into the country where similar scenes were repeated, and the whole frame of society seemed rent asunder when at the request of the seignory a strong body of Lucchese troops appeared and reduced everything to order.

The "*Balìa*" or Dictatorship of the republic was immediately decreed to them, and although with considerable jealousy on the part of many Florentines, they by a firm determined conduct, without any bloodshed, succeeded in restoring tranquillity. New priors were appointed, both parties were disarmed, the people were left in full possession of their liberties, and then the pacificators returned with distinguished honour to Lucca *.

Corso Donati's attempt at supremacy was thus checked; but it cost nearly two months of civil war and sixteen days' sacrifice of national independence to a powerful neighbour who might have taken advantage of it to the detriment of the republic. The priors and their party were indignant that any single citizen should at his own caprice be able to plunge the whole commonwealth into anarchy! now for the sake of a minion, again for his own misdeeds; sometimes for a faction, sometimes for the disputes of nobles and people; and above

* Dino Compagni, Lib. ii°.—Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. lxviii.—N. Machiavelli, Lib. ii°.

all for questioning their honest administration of the public money, in which according to Villani, they were perfectly blameless.

Boniface VIII. was dead; a life of pride ambition and intrigue was closed in misfortune madness and suicide, but his successor Benedict IX. a pontiff of mild and indulgent character and free from party spirit, sent the Ghibeline cardinal of Prato invested with full powers by the government to accommodate matters at Florence, and for a while his exertions were successful: he soon perceived that amongst nobles only was the return of the Bianchi positively displeasing, while to the popolani it was not only indifferent but in a manner desired as a counterpoise to the aristocracy of the black faction. Every effort of banished men they argued, was directed against the whole city, but if restored, their exertions would be exclusively opposed to the nobility which would weaken both, and leave the government still with the people.

The cardinal therefore cautiously introduced this subject, and favoured by the popolani made some progress in settling the conditions of restoration; even Ghibeline deputies from Arezzo; where Dante, Petracco, and the Cerchi had assembled; were introduced, and the treaty drew towards a conclusion when the black nobles fearful of consequences forged letters, as if from the legate to the Bianchi; which they pretended to have intercepted, inviting them to profit by actual circumstances and surprise the town. This set the whole people in a tumult, no explanation was suffered for an instant; the cardinal retired to Prato where he was equally unsuccessful and even in personal danger; no better fortune awaited him at Pistoia, so that angry and mortified he laid the first city under an interdict and returned to Florence where he was once more baffled by the Neri. He nevertheless had strengthened the people by reviving the old gonfaloniers of companies, and reëstablished concord between many families; but tumults hourly augmented and the cardinal seeing the impossibility of restoring order

quitted Florence in despair exclaiming in an indignant tone to the assembled people, "*Since you will have war and anathemas* "*and will neither hear nor obey the messenger of Christ's vicar,* "*nor have peace or repose amongst yourselves, remain as you list,* "*with the malediction of Heaven and the Holy Church upon your* "*heads.*" So saying he pronounced the sentence of excommunication, and joined the pope at Perugia who confirmed the curse and sanctioned all his proceedings *.

Scarcely had the cardinal departed when civil war resumed its terrors; the party which had acted with him including all the "Whites" and Ghibelines in Florence both nobles and popolani united against the Neri, the Bianchi from hatred and the rich popolani from a jealousy of aristocratic power which was again fast increasing. The principal chiefs of the white faction were the Cavalcanti, the Gherardini, the Pulci and Cerchi, with the popular houses of the Magalotti, Peruzzi, Antellesi, Albizzi, Strozzi, Ricci, Alberti, Acciaioli, Mancini, Baroncelli and many others, all strong in arms and followers. On the other side were Rosso della Tosa, Pazzino Pazzi, Geri Spini, Betto Brunelleschi and the Cavicciuoli branch of the Adimari: Corso Donati was ill of the gout, and remained neuter from anger against these chiefs as well as from a desire of weakening both parties by mutual struggles while he prepared to take advantage of their lassitude. Battles first began between the Cerchi and Giugni at their houses in the Via del Garbo; they fought day and night and with the aid of the Cavalcanti and Antellesi the former subdued all that quarter: a thousand

* It is to this that Dante alludes in that fine burst of indignation against Florence which opens the 26th Canto of the *Inferno*.

"Godi, Fiorenza, poiche se' sì grande,
Che per mare e per terra batti l' ali,
E per lo Inferno il nome tuo si spande."

Rejoice O Florence, since thou art so great
That both by sea and land you flap your wings,
And even in hell thy name is widely spread.

Also Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. lxix.—Dino Compagni, Lib. iii., p. 62.

rural adherents strengthened their bands, and that day might have seen the Neri's destruction if an unforeseen disaster had not turned the scale. A certain dissolute priest called Neri Abati prior of San Piero Scheraggio, false to his family and in concert with the Black chiefs; consented to set fire to the dwellings of his own kinsmen in Orto-san-Michele; the flames, assisted by faction spread rapidly over the richest and most crowded part of Florence: shops, warehouses, towers, private dwellings and palaces, from the old to the new market-place, from *Vaccherecia* to *Porta Santa Maria* and the *Ponte Vecchio;* all was one broad sheet of fire: more than nineteen hundred houses were consumed; plunder and devastation revelled unchecked amongst the flames, whole races were reduced in one moment to beggary, and vast magazines of the richest merchandise were destroyed: the Cavalcanti one of the most opulent families in Florence beheld their whole property consumed and lost all courage; they made no attempt to save it, and after almost gaining possession of the city were finally overcome by the opposite faction. The artificial fire used by Neri Abati on this occasion was a peculiar composition which left a blue mark on the earth where it fell; it could be carried in a pipkin into which arrows were dipped and shot off to any distance so that no house was safe; and with this did Rosso della Tosa from the *Mercato Vecchio* set all *Via Calimala* in a flame; it was also used as a torch or ball, and in such form Sinibaldo Donati wrapped the Cavalcanti property in one wide sheet of inextinguishable fire. The Podestà appeared during this conflagration with a strong guard, but government was also a faction, or rather for the moment annihilated: Maruccio Cavalcanti and others proposed to fire the Neri's houses and as the former were still strong in arms though homeless, this would have probably secured the victory, but being utterly cast down they slunk away and concealed themselves among the dwellings of their friends, but found no shelter; so that again attacked and driven from

the city they fled to Siena, or took refuge in their own castle of the "*Stinche*" and other places.

Meanwhile the citizens remained terror-struck and astounded at the extent of their calamity yet fearful of complaining, because those who did it; many of whom having alike suffered: tyrannised at the head of the government: there was a general apprehension too that the nobles would attempt to annul the ordinances of justice and resume all their ancient power as they had already their wonted insolence; and this would certainly have been accomplished if jealousy and quarrels amongst themselves had not compelled the whole to court the people *.

This catastrophe, which occurred on the tenth of June, confirmed and justified the legate's judgment and so discomposed the pontiff that he summoned twelve of the principal chiefs to answer for their conduct. Amongst these were Corso Donati, Pazzino de' Pazzi, Geri Spini and Rosso della Tosa, who being the great leaders in every revolution the legate advised should be with all their friends and followers, (a hundred and fifty men-at-arms besides retainers) detained at court in order to leave a clear field for the operations of the Ghibelines whom he was so anxious to reinstate in their honours and possessions. For this purpose letters were clandestinely despatched to Pisa, Bologna, Arezzo, Pistoia, and even Romagna to all the Ghibelines and white faction urging them to assemble promptly and secretly on a given day near Florence and make themselves masters of the town. As there was a hint that the pontiff had sanctioned this proceeding every exile rose with fresh courage, and most of them, with more zeal than wisdom, arrived two days before the time at Lastra, a small village about two miles from Florence on the Bologna road, yet with such conduct and secrecy that except by their friends nothing was known in that city about their coming or

* Dino Compagni, Lib. iii°.—Gio. Villani, Lib. viii°, cap. lxxi.

numbers, which amounted to sixteen hundred men-at-arms and nine thousand infantry.

Tolosato degli Uberti with a considerable force from Pistoia was to have taken the chief command but as this officer being more true to his time, had not yet arrived, Il Baschiera de' Tosinghi, a young nobleman of no experience, pushed rashly on next morning with all but the Bolognese contingent and entering by the Porta san Gallo, for the walls were as yet unfinished, carried a strong barricade across the street of that name and established himself on the twentieth of July in the heat of a burning sun, at the present Piazza di San Marco without any means of procuring water. Here the troops remained under arms with white banners, olive garlands, and naked swords, shouting nothing but "*Peace Peace*," and using no violence: they expected to be welcomed by a large body of citizens and would have been so but for the number of Tuscan Ghibelines in their ranks, all enemies to Florence, wherefore every citizen held to the ruling party and determined to resist.

A detachment of Ghibelines pushed on and carried the Porta degli Spadaj, then entering the Place of San Giovanni they found scarcely seven hundred men of all arms to oppose them: had they been supported complete success must have followed, but being promptly attacked and galled with large cross-bows they were forced to retire: the bad news soon reached Lastra with the usual exaggeration, whereupon the Bolognese took fright and retreated. Meeting Tolosato degli Uberti on their way they were detained by him for a moment but neither prayers, menaces, nor the truth of the fact would induce them to return, and their conduct being by this time known to the main body filled them with a similar panic, they fell back in confusion abandoning their arms without even being followed by the townsmen. Some few *masnadieri* pursued them, some prisoners were taken, many were killed, and several perished from excessive heat; the whole army finally dis-

persed, and thus ended this well-planned expedition by a too eager zeal and premature execution.

Just about this epoch Pope Benedict expired at Perugia and left the Neri of Florence more at liberty to carry on their wars against the Bianchi but without any cessation of disorder within the city: Talano degli Adimari was confined in the public palace and about to be condemned on some serious charge when the whole family suddenly rising attacked and wounded the Podestà and many of his attendants; forcibly entered the palace and rescued their kinsman without any opposition or subsequent punishment; wherefore that officer, by name Giliolo Puntagli da Parma, broke his wand of office and left the city in disdain. Twelve citizens were immediately elected to execute the duties under the name of the twelve "*Podestadi*" who ruled until a new magistrate was appointed. A desultory but active warfare still continued against the Ghibelines without; the town or *Castello delle Stinche* in the val-di-greve, which its lords the Cavalcanti had excited to revolt, was taken, and the captives confined in a prison just at that time erected on some ground formerly belonging to the Uberti which ever since has borne the name of the "*Stinche*:"* the Valdipesa was next invaded, Montecalvi taken, and a brisk war everywhere maintained against the exiles. The rest of this year was quiet, but measures were in progress to reduce Pistoia which under Tolosato degli Uberti, supported by Pisa Bologna and Arezzo, had hitherto been the great rallying point of the white faction†.

In 1305 negotiations were begun with Lucca and finally both republics agreed never to quit the siege of Pistoia until it surrendered. Charles the Second of Naples was requested to send his son Robert Duke of Calabria as

A.D. 1305.

* This ancient prison has since been demolished.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. viii°, cap. lxxiii., lxxiv., lxxv.—Dino Compagni, Lib. iii°.

commander of the allied armies, who arrived in April with three hundred Aragonese and Catalonian horse and a strong body of infantry: the Florentines marched on the 22nd of May 1305 and joined their allies under the walls of Pistoia which was closely invested at about nine hundred yards distance with compact lines of circumvallation connected by strong redoubts. The Duke then issued a proclamation that all who wished to leave the city might do so within three days, safe in goods and person, but those who remained should be held as rebels and traitors to the king of Naples, and men whom anybody might put to death. Such was the style and authority of generals in those heroic days! Many of both sexes took advantage of this, and then there began a cruel warfare of retaliation; of hanging, blinding, cutting off men and women's feet and noses, and driving them back to the city walls thus mutilated to wring the hearts of their families. Battles were fought and gallant deeds accomplished, the besiegers from their number having always the advantage, and war went briskly on until Clement V. who had succeeded Benedict; by the Cardinal of Prato's advice despatched two legates to the army as peacemakers; the Lucchese and Florentines refused any obedience and were excommunicated; but the Duke obeyed so far as to withdraw personally from the war, leaving his troops under Diego della Ratta to continue the siege. Distress amongst the inhabitants increased; provisions failed, and starvation drove away every finer feeling of humanity; the ties of affection were forgotten, men became savage, the father expelled his son and his daughter from his home, and the son his father; the once-loved wife was driven from her husband's arms, and the young girls thus cast upon the world were sold as slaves to the highest purchaser! Yet the Pistoians still held out, vainly expecting their deliverance from Pisa; Pisa indeed supplied them with money but dared not march or venture to offend the Florentines; and all hope of succour from

Bologna whence the Bianchi had been recently expelled, was also abandoned, wherefore on the tenth or eleventh
A.D. 1306. of April 1306 after eleven months' siege Pistoia capitulated. A Florentine and Lucchese assumed the offices of Podestà and Captain of the People; the contado was divided between the two allied states only a mile of territory being left to the citizens; the walls were razed, the ditches filled, the towers houses and palaces of the white faction demolished; contributions of the most grinding nature were levied; justice was sold by the two victor chiefs; the exiled Bianchi of Pi-teccio devastated the surrounding country and robbed the new open city with impunity, often hanging up the citizens in derision near the town! such was war in those dark days of personal enmity; and such it may be again, even in these enlightened times, if the patience of mankind be once exhausted by excessive suffering*.

A siege of such duration was felt severely both by the army and the two allied states; the Florentine troops were relieved every twenty days by the train-bands of each sesto, but great numbers of the peasantry were ruined by a forced service during the whole siege at their own expense: to Florence the cost was so great that a new and oppressive mode of taxation emphatically called the "*Saw*" was adopted; it was a diurnal poll-tax of one, two, or three lire according to circumstances, on all the Ghibelines and Bianchi whether present or absent, even though in exile: besides this every father of a family who had sons able to serve was compelled to pay a certain tax if within twenty days the latter were not seen in arms before Pistoia.

The Cardinal Napoleone Orsini, who had just excommuni-
A.D. 1307. cated the Bolognese and deprived them of their university for banishing the Ghibelines, a consequence of Florentine intrigue, having also failed to succour

* Istorie Pistolesi, p. 77.—Dino Compagni, Lib. iii°.—Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. lxxxii.

Pistoia and seeing the articles of capitulation shamefully broken, retired in anger to Arezzo and in 1307 by the pope's command assembled a formidable army to chastise the Florentines. The latter nothing daunted mustered a force of three thousand men-at-arms and fifteen thousand foot with which they took the field in May and marched straight into the enemy's territory by the Val d' Ambra, ravaging the country and reducing many towns, until they at last sat down before Gargonza a place about thirty miles south-east of Arezzo leaving Florence completely exposed. The prelate was too well advised not to perceive their error, and wishing to rid the country of such intruders marched with his whole force due north by Bibbiena and Romena giving out that Florence itself was his object, where he was sure of a strong party: his advance was soon known at the capital and a messenger instantly dispatched to recall the troops; the latter were already in march, yet so hurried and disordered that a thousand soldiers from Arezzo might by a night attack have completely defeated them. The cardinal had been before urged to bring the Florentines to a decisive engagement, which they studiously avoided, and he constantly refused; being probably deceived by their artful promises of obedience; but the Ghibeline chiefs seeing the occasion neglected and having no confidence in their leader gradually fell off and never assembled more. The Neri then sent Betto Brunelleschi and Geri Spini as envoys rather to turn him into ridicule than really to treat of peace but at the same time performing the real object of their mission which was to sow the seeds of dissension amongst the people of Arezzo, in which they were for the moment successful. The cardinal was soon removed from his military post and retired with no credit and almost universal contempt to the easier duties of the capital *.

These wars and tumults had so much increased the nobles'

* Dino Compagni, Lib. iii°, p. 72.— Leon. Aretino, Lib. iv°.—S. Ammirato, Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. lxxxix.— Lib. iv., p. 234.

power and audacity that other citizens took the alarm and resolved on a revisal of the constitution: Niccolò di Prato had done something by reviving the long disused companies which were for some reason now unknown reduced to nineteen, but with great and important powers. This prelate whose great object was a restoration of the Bianchi, immediately perceived that his views were likely to meet with less opposition from the popolani than the nobles, for reasons already given; also that the latter were comparatively weak unless supported by their clients and adherents amongst the people themselves, and that union amongst the last was alone wanting to insure their safety. Wherefore to court their good will he commanded that every citizen should be enrolled in these companies, not according to his trade, but, for the sake of more rapid union, according to his street and parish; none of the nobles were permitted to belong to these corps nor even to quit their houses while the latter were under arms; and in case of outrage done by a noble to any inhabitant the Gonfalonier of his company was bound to give him immediate redress and defend him if necessary by force of arms. If a popolano happened to be killed instant vengeance was to be taken on the noble homicide by the whole company, and even public money supplied on occasion to the nearest kinsman: thus as regarded the aristocracy the humblest citizen in Florence on receiving an injury found himself instantly at the head of a greater following than the proudest noble, and with a certainty of additional support. The same regulation was extended to some parts of the Contado, not however so much for the sake of mutual aid as to prevent the inhabitants having recourse for protection to any of the rural nobility. "After this," said the cardinal, "let me hear no more complaints of the people against the nobles"*.

Such was the rigorous system that became now reorganised,

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii°., cap. lxxxvii.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. iv., fol. 72.

in which every company had its peculiar banner with some honorary distinction and privileges at public festivals; heavy fines were levied for being absent when the gonfalon was displayed; the Gonfaloniers were elected half-yearly, and during that time were liable to be called to the councils of the priors under the name of colleagues. Another important alteration was the institution of a new office under a magistrate of great authority called the "*Executor of the Ordinances of Justice*," whose especial duty was to prosecute the aristocracy for offences against the people and this was often performed with excessive rigour: the first executor of justice was Matteo Ternibili d'Amelia who coming in the month of March was knighted by a public decree and soon infused a salutary dread into the nobility amongst whom these reforms awakened a deeper feeling of discontent anger and mortification*. In order to distinguish themselves in a more decided manner from the new and unnatural mixture of Guelph and Ghibeline which had been formed under the aristocratic names of Bianchi and Neri, the citizens on the present occasion determined to assume the more homely denomination of "*The Good Guelphic People*," while at the same time they charged all their standards of companies as well as the red-cross banner with the arms of their ancient hero Charles of Anjou †.

The city still remaining under an interdict, (for Cardinal Orsini had for the third time cursed it on leaving Arezzo,) and the people becoming heedless of papal indignation as well as hopeless of pardon, bethought themselves of making the most of their damnation as regarded finance by levying a heavy tax on the clergy to support the war; this was executed with such rigour that the monks of Florence Abbey rebelled, and shutting their gates against the tax-gatherers rang all their bells in defiance: the people became exasperated broke into the convent and robbed and outraged them; and as a punish-

* Sacchetti, Nov. 114.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. lxxxvii.

ment for having rung their bells pulled down the belfry-tower to nearly half its height by order of the government.

Notwithstanding all these troubles the city was embellished, the streets and squares improved and enlarged, and the common stream of business, except where interrupted by a positive misfortune like the late conflagration, ran smoothly. In August the seignory reconciled the two powerful families of Tosinghi and Cavalcanti which were both afterwards released from exile: sixteen citizens were elected to control the expenditure of public moneys and reduce surperfluous officers, who had multiplied so much as to impede business while the public treasure was wasted in unnecessary salaries: the holders of clipped money were fined if they were bankers or dealers in the precious metals; sumptuary laws against the vanity of women were renewed; no chaplets or crowns of gold or silver nor any jewels could be longer worn, and fathers, brothers, and husbands were made answerable for all female transgressions of this vain and venial nature. So ended the year 1307 *.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—England: Edward I., Edward II. (1307).—Scotland: Robert Bruce, (1306).—France: Philip IV. (the Fair).—Aragon: Jacob II.—Castile and Leon: Ferdinand IV.—Portugal: Denis.—Germany: Albert of Austria.—Naples: Charles II. (of Anjou).—Sicily: Frederic II. (of Aragon). Popes: Boniface VIII., Benedict IX. (1303), Clement V. (1305).—Greek Emperor: Andronicus Palæologus.—Ottoman Empire: Othman, 1306.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii°, cap. lxxxix.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv., p. 236.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM A.D. 1308 TO A.D. 1317.

THE calm but momentary satisfaction which follows political success is quickly disturbed by the uneasiness of those whose merit may be more highly appreciated by themselves than their countrymen, and the supposed ingratitude of the latter is therefore proportionably magnified. Thus it was with Corso Donati, who although decidedly the most able man of his party was also, if not the most ambitious, certainly the most vain, restless, and dissatisfied: those in power were ever the objects of his jealousy, and his halls as occasion suited offered defence and refuge to the discontented of all parties. His power talents and personal influence were still so formidable as to make him universally feared, and when his ruin was decreed the accomplishment was no easy matter until he had been first rendered an object of suspicion in the public mind: he had lately married the daughter of Uguccione della Faggiola chief of the Romagna Ghibelines and then paramount in Arezzo, and this alone was enough to awaken public jealousy and contaminate every action. Rosso della Tosa, Pazzino de' Pazzi, Geri Spini and Berto Brunelleschi formed a cabal which keeping strictly united absorbed all the power and honours of the state to the entire exclusion of Donati, and a private quarrel with Pazzini augmented their mutual hatred. They were far from blameless, and Corso with great plausibility

A.D. 1308.

and peculiar eloquence contrived to render them odious to many even of their former adherents; amongst these were the Bordoni and Medici, the latter now appearing for the first time to take a prominent part in public affairs. The Bordoni were very powerful in Pistoia Carmignano Prato and other places; the Medici had a considerable following, and Corso Donati himself was always surrounded by numerous retainers; so that with the aid of other chiefs and many rich popolani his party assumed a bold and serious character. But his enemies were not idle; reports were industriously circulated that he aspired to supreme authority, and supported by his ambitious father-in-law was plotting against public liberty. The accusation was probably false; but his late marriage with a Ghibeline, his numerous retainers, and his splendid establishment, which in luxury and magnificence surpassed every sober notion of civic grandeur and equality, all conspired to spread an uneasy distrustful feeling in the public mind which even his general popularity could not overcome. Yet he had many followers amongst the nobility; the Rossi, Bardi, Frescobaldi, Tornaquinci and Buondelmonti were ever ready to attack a popular government and the detested ordinances of justice, and a great body of the citizens totally disbelieved the stories that were circulated against him.

The lower classes are commonly accused of inconstancy, but it is generally to the man, not the cause: their chiefs betray them, or they are made to believe so, and at once cast them off with one of those violent bursts of feeling that belong to an undisciplined multitude thrown suddenly on its own resources by deceitful leaders: their object though indistinct remains unchanged and while withdrawing their confidence hold firm to their point, although like an unskilful disputant they may not clearly define the question; and thus did popular favour shrink from Corso Donati from the moment he was accused of plotting against the freedom of his country. With a large

body of adherents he advanced to the public palace and demanded a complete change in the administration; the other party also armed; and mutual reproaches succeeded, but the factions separated at this time without bloodshed. The popularity of Corso was now thoroughly undermined, and the priors after sounding the Campana for a general assembly of the armed citizens, laid a formal accusation before the Podestà Piero Branca d' Agobbio against him for conspiring to overthrow the liberties of his country and endeavouring to make himself Tyrant of Florence: he was immediately cited to appear, and not complying from a reasonable distrust of his judges, was within one hour, against all legal forms, condemned to lose his head as a rebel and traitor to the commonwealth.

Not willing to allow the culprit more time for an armed resistance than had been given for legal vindication, the Seignory, preceded by the Gonfalonier of justice, and followed by the Podestà the captain of the people and the executor; all attended by their guards and officers; issued from the palace, and with the whole civic force marshalled in companies with banners flying moved forward to execute an illegal sentence against a single citizen, who nevertheless stood undaunted on his defence.

Corso on first hearing of the prosecution had hastily barricaded all the approaches to his palace, but disabled by the gout could only direct the necessary operations from his bed; yet thus helpless, thus abandoned by all but his own immediate friends and vassals; suddenly condemned to death; encompassed by the bitterest foes, with the whole force of the republic banded against him, he never cowered for an instant but courageously determined to resist until succoured by Uguccione della Faggiola to whom he had sent for aid. This attack continued during the greater part of the day and generally with advantage to the Donati, for the people were not unanimous and many fought

unwillingly, so that if the Rossi, Bardi, and other friends had joined and Uguccioni's forces arrived, it would have gone hard with the citizens. The former were intimidated, the latter turned back on hearing how matters stood; and then only did Corso's adherents lose heart and slink from the barricades while the townsmen pursued their advantage by breaking down a garden wall opposite the Stinche prisons and taking their enemy in the rear. This completed the disaster, and Corso seeing no chance remaining fled towards the Casentino but being overtaken by some Catalonian troopers in the Florentine service he was led back a prisoner from Rovezzano. After vainly endeavouring to bribe them, unable to support the indignity of a public execution at the hands of his enemies, he let himself fall from his horse and receiving several stabs in the neck and flank from the Catalan lances his body was left bleeding on the road until the monks of San Salvi removed it to their convent where he was interred next morning with the greatest privacy*. Thus perished Corso Donati "the wisest and most worthy knight of his time; the best speaker, the most experienced statesman; the most renowned, the boldest, and most enterprising nobleman in Italy: he was handsome in person and of the most gracious manners but very worldly, and caused infinite disturbance in Florence on account of his am-

* It is of this death that Dante makes Forese, Corso Donati's brother, prophesy in the 24th Canto of his Purgatory. The poet had reason to say,

"Perocchè 'l luogo, u' fui a viver posto,
Di giorno in giorno più di ben si spolpa,
Ed a trista ruina par disposto.
Or va', diss' ei, chè quei che più n' ha colpa,
Vegg' io a coda d' una bestia tratto
Verso la valle, ove mai non si scolpa.
La bestia ad ogni passo va più ratto,
Crescendo sempre, infin ch' ella 'l percuote,
E lascia 'l corpo vilmente disfatto.
Non hanno molto a volger quelle rote,
(E drizzo gli ocche al ciel) ch' a te fia chiaro,
Ciò che 'l mio dir più dichiarar non puote."

For translation see Appendix.

bition"*. Yet says Macchiavelli "He deserves to be placed amongst the rarest citizens Florence ever produced, and if his party and country suffered great evil, they also received much good at his hands"†. "People now began to repose and his unhappy death was often and variously discussed according to the feelings of friendship or enmity that moved the speaker, but in truth his life was dangerous and his death reprehensible. He was a knight of great mind and name, gentle in manners as in blood; of a fine figure even in his old age, with a beautiful countenance, delicate features, and a fair complexion; pleasing, wise; and an eloquent speaker. His attention was ever fixed on important things, he was intimate with all the great and noble, had an extensive influence, and was famous throughout Italy. He was an enemy of the middle classes and their supporters, beloved by the troops, but full of malicious thoughts, wicked and artful. He was thus basely murdered by a foreign soldier and his fellow-citizens well knew the man, for he was instantly conveyed away: those who ordered his death were Rosso della Tosa and Pazzino de' Pazzi as is commonly said by all, and some bless him and some the contrary. Many believe that the two said knights killed him, and I wishing to ascertain the truth inquired diligently and found what I have said to be true"‡. Such is the character of Corso Donati which has come down to us from two authors who must have been personally acquainted with this distinguished chief but opposed to each other in the general politics of their country.

Gherardo Bordoni who had fought steadily for Corso to the last also shared his fate and fell by the spear of Boccaccio Cavicciuli degli Adimari as he was crossing the Affrico streamlet in the plain of San Salvi; and as a specimen of party feeling or private rancour, it may be added that the dead man's hand was cut off by the victor and carried in triumph like a trophy

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xcvi. † Macchiavelli, Lib. ii.
‡ Dino Compagni, Lib. iii., p. 76.

to Florence where it was nailed to the house door of Fedice Adimari his private enemy.

A domestic calm followed the close of Corso Donati's tempestuous career and for a while no symptoms of disturbance appeared; for with the aid of Uguccione della Faggiola, who aimed at the lordship of Arezzo, Tarlati of Pietramala was overcome and exiled by the Guelphs of that city. They immediately made peace with Florence and sinking all party differences amongst themselves endeavoured by a coalition with the Ghibelines to rule under the name of the "*Green Party.*" This however could not last, and in April; only four months after their expulsion; the Tarlati returned in force, drove the Guelphic and green party from Arezzo with considerable bloodshed and broke the peace with Florence. About the same period the Bianchi and Ghibelines of Prato overcame the Guelphic faction but with the aid of Florence and Pistoia it was quickly reinstated Florence remaining in possession of the town. An expedition was afterwards sent into the Aretine dominions which performed the usual round of insults and devastation up to the city walls; but the most interesting event of this period was the spontaneous, general and successful resistance of the Pistoians against a barbarous attempt of the Lucchese to destroy their half of the city, an attempt which even by Florence was stigmatised as infamous and finally defeated.

A.D. 1309.

Ever since its fall Pistoia had been governed with excessive rigour and even cruelty by both nations; the podestàs and captains from each republic practised one continued system of spoliation oppression and outrageous insult; every successive magistrate enriched himself at the expense of the community and even the very wives and daughters of the citizens were forcibly taken from their homes to satisfy the cupidity of their oppressors. By continuing this tyranny, with a civil war raging around; deprived of their territory; their

ramparts demolished; and their city open to every Ghibeline incursion, the inhabitants of Pistoia had been brought to such a state of misery and desperation that they were ready to rush into any action however desperate to break away from their tyrants. The Lucchese were even more hated and tyrannical than the Florentines and had so exasperated their victims that on the appearance of a new governor of no substance and low condition they plumply refused to receive him, certain that he was only sent to batten on public peculation and injustice. Instantly; as we are told by the anonymous cotemporary author of the "*Istorie Pistolesi;*" "As if by the will of God there arose a great rumour in the city which seemed like a divine voice from heaven, so that everybody cried out: '*Let the town be fortified.*' And without any deliberation, men, women, children, and nobles seized on planks, iron, and timber, and laying them all round the city began a wooden rampart on the site of its ruined walls. This was commenced about nine in the morning, and at evening prayer the whole town was palisaded; they then commenced the ditches on the side of Lucca."

The new governor, Tornuccio Sandoni, on seeing this burst of feeling hastily retired and fresh troops were soon in full march from Lucca to crush the revolt; but the citizens being resolved on a bloody resistance assembled all their rural adherents, sent away their children with every moveable of value declaring that it was better to die once than be murdered a thousand times.

It was at this crisis, when the Lucchese army had arrived at Pontelungo two miles from Pistoia, that Lippo Vergellesi the Florentine commander at Sambuca with the sanction of his government interfered, and by persuasion and threats succeeded in arresting their march: they accordingly retired to Serravalle and ambassadors from Siena arriving as peace-makers it was finally settled that the barricades should be instantly destroyed and remain so for eight days under the protection of

Siena to satisfy the honour of Lucca; after which the Pistoians were at liberty to reërect their walls, and although still bound to have a Lucchese podestà they themselves were permitted to choose him. The Senese ambassadors returned home but discord still continued in Pistoia between the peace and the war party; for scarcely had fear subsided when old contentions arose, and the everlasting contest once more convulsed that unfortunate community*.

The deaths of Albert of Austria, Charles of Naples, and Azzo of Este all occurred about this period and considerably affected the politics of Italy: from the house of Este sprung the first of those tyrants that afterwards became so notorious throughout the cities of Lombardy: Azzo VIII. made his natural son Fresco's child heir to his property in preference to his own brother Francesco, and a family struggle was the consequence: this suited the ambition of Venice which immediately sent assistance to Folco the grandchild, while the pope declared for Francesco from similar motives. The pontiff however soon claimed the city of Ferrara as a possession of the church by virtue of imperial diplomas, and the selfishness of Venice became soon apparent; Cardinal Arnaud de Pellagrue, Clement the Fifth's nephew, was invested with both temporal and spiritual power to prosecute the ecclesiastical claims, which he promptly exercised by preaching a crusade against the Venetians. The Florentines tired of their own excommunication, and superstitious about the success of an anathematised nation's affairs, seized this occasion to reconcile themselves with the church, and sending a considerable reinforcement to the papal army were, along with the Bolognese, principally instrumental in gaining a complete and bloody victory over the Venetians on the seventeenth of September 1309, with the destruction of six thousand men. The city, and all its allies for six years back, was of course immediately absolved and once more the Floren-

* Storie Pistolesi, Ed. di Prato, 1835, p. 82, &c.—G. Villani, Lib. viii, cap. cxi.

tines rejoiced to find themselves in their natural position as friends of the Holy See *.

Robert Duke of Calabria succeeded Charles II. of Naples and in June 1309 was crowned at Avignon by Clement V.; but the death of Albert King of the Romans was a more important event in Italian politics: Albert had been exclusively employed in extending his personal authority and aggrandising the house of Austria; his ambition was great and his injustice proportional: Vienna and Styria had revolted; he was at war with the Swiss republics of Berne, Zurich, and Friburg, and attempted the subjection of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, which driven to extremities expelled his ministers and founded the Swiss Confederation. Having also cheated his nephew John of Austria of his inheritance and insulted him by biting expressions, the young man with some other discontented gentlemen murdered him at the passage of the Reuss between Stein and Baden, almost under the walls of Habsbourg, and in sight of all his attendants, who had just crossed over to the opposite bank of the river.

Philip the Fair on hearing of this, instantly demanded the pope's aid in securing the empire for his brother Charles of Valois who had already made himself so notorious at Florence; but Clement hated and feared the destroyer of Boniface, and advised by the Cardinal of Prato gave an empty assent, while by a secret despatch he urged the electors to an immediate choice if they wished to escape French influence, indicating Henry of Luxembourg as the man in every respect best adapted to their interests. This election accordingly took place in November 1308, and Henry was crowned the following April at Aix-la-Chapelle with the pope's approbation †.

* Muratori, Annali, 1308-9.—G. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. ciii.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. v., p. 241.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital., v. iii., p. 242.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xciv., ci., cii.—Muratori, Annali, An. 1308.—Dino Compagni, Lib. iii°.

Henry VI. among the emperors and the seventh of that name amongst the kings of Germany, had little or no power but his connexions and personal character gave him considerable influence; not for the extension of his authority in Germany, for there was too much jealousy in that quarter, but for an entrance into the long-neglected field of Italy which since the death of Frederic II. had been utterly abandoned by the emperors and completely severed from the empire. Yet the magic of the imperial name, the title of the Roman Cæsar, still retained a strong hold on the obedience of Ausonia, and even adverse states opposed him with a consciousness of their own impropriety *.

During all this time hostilities continued between Florence and Arezzo and in the month of June when the former was preparing a formidable armament an imperial messenger arrived to forbid any further prosecution of the war, for Arezzo, as he asserted, belonged to the emperor who would restore tranquillity on his arrival in Italy. This startling announcement caused some alarm at first but it was finally disregarded; the army marched, and after insulting Arezzo and committing the accustomed outrages returned to the capital leaving however a strong redoubt well garrisoned within two miles of that city which would itself have fallen if some of the Florentine nobles had not found the war too lucrative to allow of its being promptly terminated †.

A. D. 1310.

Henry of Luxembourg advanced during the summer as far as Lausanne where he received ambassadors from most of the Italian states and factions; all parties hoped something from his coming; those in authority for its continuance through his favour, those in exile for a restoration to their home: the Guelphs from his alliance with the pope, and the Ghibelines from his imperial dignity. The cities of the Guelphic league had also prepared their embassies but becoming aware of his

* Sismondi, Rep. Ital., v. iii. † Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. cxix.

high pretensions and determination to restore the exiled faction they unwisely resolved to keep aloof for awhile and act as circumstances might dictate; this alienated the emperor who before was indisposed to disturb them, while the Pisans with better policy sent him sixty thousand florins and a warm invitation to cross the Alps *. He made this passage in the month of September, and in October was joyfully received at Asti although accompanied by a slender retinue: all the Lombard tyrants were soon in motion and eager to court him; Guidotto della Torre of Milan offered boastingly to lead him over Italy with his hawk on his glove and the rest sought him in a similar manner. Henry made no exclusive professions, or any distinction of party, but admitted chiefs of every faction into his council; promised his favour and protection to all, but distinctly announced that no authority was legitimate that did not emanate from the empire: wherefore every city was formally summoned to reënter under that dominion and all exiles were recalled. He knew this to be popular with the citizens generally, but the great rulers of Lombardy reluctantly saw themselves compelled to resign their dignities and receive them again as imperial fiefs: Guidotto della Torre alone demurred; he had formed an alliance with the Guelphic League of Tuscany, had as great an army and more money than the emperor, in whose court were his own nephew the Archbishop of Milan with whom he had quarrelled, and his arch-enemy Matteo Visconti. After two months spent in reforming Piedmont and everywhere substituting imperial Vicars for Podestàs, recalling exiles and assuming the supreme government of the cities, the emperor moved on towards Milan, haughtily commanding that his quarters should be prepared in the public palace then occupied by the Torriani, and that these chiefs should meet him unarmed at the head of the citizens outside of the town. Henry came with the most exalted notions of divine right, yet willing when

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., c. vii.

not opposed to govern as justly as any prince was expected to govern in those days.

"He came down" says Dino Compagni, "descending from city to city and bringing peace to each as if he were an angel of God, and receiving the faith of all until he arrived near Milan *." The people everywhere had hailed him as a benefactor, and Guidotto della Torre knowing that his townsmen also entertained similar opinions prudently determined to take the lead of all and obey the mandate. The example of Milan was followed by the rest of Lombardy; deputies poured in from every state to assist at the coronation and swear allegiance to the emperor: this ceremony took place on Christmas-day, Genoa and Venice alone refusing under various pretences to take the oath. To please the citizens Henry was crowned at Milan instead of Monza with the ancient iron crown, which was an imitation of "laurel leaves in thin steel, polished and shining as a sword, and with many large pearls and other stones" †.

A.D. 1311. Early in 1311 the Florentines foreseeing what a dangerous use might be made of their own exiles by a prince so bent on vindicating the imperial authority, issued a decree by which on payment of a trifling fine all, with certain exceptions, were restored; a selection was made of those who were thus allowed to return and another decree promulgated, by which the excepted families under the formal denomination of "*Escettati*" were declared for ever incapable of pardon, and even the sound of their names was forbidden in the public councils. Ever afterwards when a general indemnity was proclaimed for the "*Fuorusciti*" or exiles, the clause "*Salve le famiglie escettati*" was invariably introduced ‡.

Henry was indefatigable in business and made rapid progress in the work of pacification; the Guelphs and Ghibelines

* Dino Compagni, Lib. iii., p. 78.
† Dino Compagni, Lib. iii., p. 79.
‡ Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. xvi. and cccxx. (note.)

mutually complained of his partiality while calmer people gave him credit for his even justice; but the Guelphs in consequence held back and the emperor must have soon discovered that the opposite faction were his only real adherents as having everything to hope and nothing to fear from his protection. Verona would not listen to his proposal of recalling the Guelphs after a banishment of sixty years, and Can della Scala and his city were much too strong for any attempt to enforce it; this chief was one of Henry's earliest adherents, and the emperor however well disposed to neutrality must have felt internally pleased with the resolution: besides both himself and his followers were poor and supplies could be more easily procured by good-will than coercion.

Money was as a matter of course demanded freely of the different states, and the Visconti and Torriani of Milan each eager for the emperor's support, or his expulsion, vied with each other in augmenting the original demand which by their rivalry was doubled to the utter dismay of the citizens, who vainly implored some abatement from the emperor. Hostages were required from both parties as honourable attendants on the court, amongst which were included the rival chiefs, and the dissatisfaction arising from this act was used by Matteo Visconti, (a much abler as well as a more cunning man than his opponent) to excite an insurrection against the Germans by a pretended coalition with him: in the midst of the tumult however he suddenly quitted the Milanese side and joining the emperor's party defeated the credulous Torriani, burned all their houses and finally drove them from the town, of which the Visconti became from that moment masters.

This revolt although unsuccessful was followed, principally through Florentine influence, by similar insurrections in all the Guelphic cities; the lately restored exiles were again banished and the imperial vicars deposed; but being executed suddenly and without concert the risings were weak and unstable:

Crema, Cremona, Lodi, and Como all submitted and some were treated with great cruelty: Brescia alone stood firm, and under the unfortunate Teobaldo Brusati made a gallant resistance against all the efforts of Henry. Teobaldo was taken prisoner in a sally but like Regulus he scorned to save his own life by urging his countrymen to peace, and writing from his prison to inspire them with new courage was put to a scarcely less cruel death *. Immediately after, no less than sixty Germans were seen dangling in retaliation from the battlements of Brescia. The emperor's brother subsequently fell; the summer was now spent, Henry found himself baffled by a single city and his honour involved in its capture; yet impatient to get to Rome he wished to try the force of spiritual arms but the legates who accompanied him refused, because excommunication when men's passions were inflamed with civil war failed they said in its effect, but they tried the milder course of persuasion and succeeded. A capitulation was signed which saved the imperial reputation and put sixty or seventy thousand florins into his treasury while the Brescians after severe suffering preserved their lives and property †.

He then repaired to Genoa which was convulsed by quarrels between the Ghibeline house of Spinola and the Guelphic families of Doria, Fieschi, and Grimaldi. For the first time this proud republic submitted itself to a foreign master, not through fear or compulsion, but from a conviction of its utility in the suppression of domestic factions and as a public testimonial of gratitude for the impartial exertions of Henry to restore public tranquillity ‡. The Genoese sovereignty was given to him for twenty years and Uguc-

* Dino Compagni, Lib. iii., p. 82.—Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. xi.—Corio, Hist. Milano, Parte ii°, folio 174.—Sismondi, Rep. Ital., vol. iii°, p. 259.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. xx.

‡ Paulo Interiano, Ristretto delle Historie Genovese, Lib. iii°, fol. 90.—Agostino Giustiniano Vescovo di Nebio, Annali di Genova, Lib. iv., carta cxvi.

cione della Faggiola made his vicar; but money was again required and again by means of Florentine intrigue and subsidies new disorders broke out in Lombardy. A.D. 1312. Robert King of Naples also became alarmed and dispatched ambassadors to Henry at Genoa which in the beginning promised peace, but Rome being almost simultaneously occupied by Prince John of Naples with a strong force to oppose Henry and the Ghibelines, they prudently withdrew and both sovereigns prepared for hostilities *.

The Guelphic league of Tuscany of which King Robert was the acknowledged leader, had sent troops in the previous October to occupy the passes of the Bolognese Apennines; also to Sarzana and the Lucchese territory in order to stop the emperor's advance, and Henry had about the same time dispatched Pandolfo Savelli and Niccolò Bishop of Botronte as his harbingers into the states of Bologna and Florence; but their approach excited a tumult in the former city and they were repelled with some personal danger. Shaping their course for the latter they arrived at Lastra when the agitation became extreme and the presence of all the Florentine exiles in the imperial army set the current of public opinion strong against them †.

Their advent had been previously announced by a special messenger and a council was assembled which after long debate made proclamation that these were ambassadors from the tyrant king of Germany who had destroyed as many as he was able of the Lombard Guelphs, and was now on his way to ruin the Florentines and restore their enemies, while by an embassy of priests he wished to destroy Florence under shadow of the church; therefore full liberty was given to *any one to rob and outrage them with impunity*. Their envoy who had retired to his inn was afraid to move, and the ambassadors although warned of their danger by the exertions of a friend, foolishly

* Muratori, Annali.—Sismondi, Ital. Rep., vol. iii°, p. 261.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. xxi. and xxvii.

remained at Lastra for the night; a mob quickly assembled; and, as Villani asserts, with the secret not the open sanction of the priors; attacked, insulted, plundered, and would probably have murdered them if the Podestà, pressed by another tumult in their favour and at the intercession of the above-named friend, had not recovered their property; but refusing to hear their mission they were escorted beyond the frontier where Counts Guidi gave them honourable welcome in the name of both Guelph and Ghibeline. Safe in these lords' territory they made it a rallying point against Florence, established an imperial tribunal at Civitella, between Siena and Arezzo, before which these two republics as well as Florence and several other cities were summoned and the disobedient condemned for contumacy: except Florence Siena Chiusi and Borgo San Sepolcro, all acknowledged the imperial mandate so that the insulted deputies were enabled to rejoin the emperor at Pisa in the month of March with a respectable body of Tuscan auxiliaries *.

The empress died in the previous November at Genoa and about the same period the Florentines, a detachment of whose troops had joined King Robert at Rome, were cited to appear at the imperial court within forty days, under pain of condemnation in goods and person wherever they should be found †. The mandate remained unheeded but an order was immediately dispatched to warn the merchants of their danger, and soon after a reinforcement of two hundred Neapolitan men-at-arms joined them.

In this state of things Henry of Namur arrived at Pisa by sea with a few followers and commenced hostilities against Florence: the emperor followed in March round whom the Pisans flocked with a frank generous enthusiasm, and devotion to his cause that far surpassed anything he had hitherto met

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. xxvi.—Sismondi, Ital. Rep.
† Muratori, Annali, 1312.

with in Italy. They supplied him with galleys, troops, and money; made him absolute Lord of Pisa, offered to suspend their constitution in his favour, and instantly renewed hostilities, with Lucca, Florence, and the Tuscan league: Henry remained with them until the 22nd of April collecting soldiers and at the head of fifteen hundred men-at-arms marched on towards Rome. He was opposed at the *Ponte Molle* by Prince John of Naples but easily forcing this passage, crossed the Tiber and entered the capital. In conjunction with the Colonna faction and Senator he soon mastered the greater part but could make no impression on the quarter of the Vatican which was defended by Prince John, and therefore on the 29th June and against all ancient usage was compelled to have his coronation performed in the Lateran *.

The city was divided in feeling, and the emperor's position so precarious that he retired to Tivoli at the end of August and moved towards Tuscany ravaging the Perugian territory on his way, being determined to bring Florence and all her allies to submission. At Arezzo he was honourably welcomed and thence marching along the left bank of the Arno invaded the Republic: Caposelvole immediately surrendered, Montevarchi resisted bravely for three days; San Giovanni next fell; Fegghini soon followed, and all the Florentine troops amounting to eighteen hundred men-at-arms were concentrated round Incisa on the Arno to dispute the imperial progress. Satisfied with a sullen opposition they refused the offered combat, for their allies had not yet joined neither were they regularly commanded: the emperor on seeing this immediately turned the fortress of Incisa by difficult mountain passes and under the guidance of Florentine exiles pushed forward a detachment to occupy Montelfi which a strong body of the enemy were approaching for the same purpose. The Florentines were attacked suddenly and driven back on the main body of their army at Incisa

* Muratori, Annali.

where they remained that night entirely cut off from Florence, while the imperial army took up a position two miles nearer that capital and after a short consultation marched directly towards it. At San Salvi they encamped, and a sudden assault would probably have carried the city, for the inhabitants were taken by surprise, were in a state of consternation, and could scarcely believe that the emperor was there in person: their natural energy soon returned, the Gonfaloniers assembled their companies, the whole population armed themselves, even to the bishop and clergy; a camp was formed within the walls, the outer ditch palisaded, the gates closed, and thus for two days they remained hourly expecting an assault. At last their cavalry were seen returning by various ways and in small detachments: succours also poured in from Lucca, Prato, Pistoia, Volterra, Colle, and San Gimignano; and even Bologna, Rimini, Ravenna, Faenza, Cesina, Agobbio, Città di Castello with several other places rendered their assistance: indeed so great and extensive was Florentine influence and so rapid the communication, that within eight days after the investment four thousand men-at-arms and innumerable infantry were assembled at Florence!

As this was about double the imperial cavalry and four times its infantry the city gates were thrown open and business proceeded as usual except through that entrance immediately opposite to the enemy. For two and forty days did the emperor remain within a mile of Florence ravaging all the country but making no impression on the town; after which he raised the siege and moved to San Casciano eight miles south of the capital, where receiving reinforcements from Pisa and Genoa, the Florentines thought it necessary to strengthen their defences on the left bank of the Arno. The war was then carried on by frequent skirmishes, until winter and sickness forced the imperialists into Poggibonzi, which was restored to its original position on the hill and took the name of "*Poggio or Castello Imperiale.*" Here the emperor remained,

A.D. 1313.

suffering much from want and continual alarms; with Siena in his rear and Florence in front; all the roads occupied, both flanks infested, his detachments cut off, and a continual waste of men and money until the ninth of March, when he moved to Pisa and prepared for a new campaign *.

The Florentines had thus from the first, without much military skill or enterprise, proved themselves the boldest and bitterest enemies of Henry; their opposition had never ceased; by letters promises and money, they corrupted all Lombardy; Ghiberti of Parma, Guidotto della Torre, Cremona, Brescia, Reggio, the cardinals, the king of France and even the pope himself were all assailed by Florentine subsidies and Florentine intrigue: for this the people were pressed to the utmost, but believing that it was for the maintenance of their liberty were cheerful givers. Yet party quarrels did not cease: to the four former chiefs of the Neri had been added Tegghiaio Frescobaldi and Gherardo Ventraia; these six compelled the Podestà to decapitate Masino Cavalcanti and one of the Gherardini; they ruled the priors at their pleasure, disposed of every office in the state, condemned or absolved whom and when they pleased and were absolute masters of the commonwealth. The chief of these, Rosso della Tosa, died from the effects of a fall in 1309. "God," says Dino Compagni, "had been expecting him a long time for he was above seventy-five years old." "He was an able-minded knight, the source of discord in Florence, an enemy of the people, a friend of tyrants. This was he who separated the entire Guelphic party into Bianchi and Neri; he it was that kindled civil dissension; this was the man that with cares intrigues and promises kept others under him. True to the black faction he persecuted the white; on him the circumjacent states of his own party depended and with him alone did they treat." "His two sons and a young relation were afterwards made knights by the influence of his party; much money

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., from cap. xxxv. to xlix.—Muratori, Annali.

was given to them on this occasion and they were called '*The Knights of the Spinning Wheel*,' because their pensions were charged on the earnings of poor women who lived by such employment."

In the following February Betto Brunelleschi the hardest, most insolent, and most imperious of the black faction also disappeared. "He was of a Ghibeline family," says Dino, "rich in money and possessions, but hated by the people because in times of scarcity he used to lock up his corn; saying, '*I will have such a price for it or not sell it at all.*' He persecuted the Bianchi and Ghibelines for two reasons; first to gain favour with the dominant faction, and secondly because he never could hope forgiveness for his apostacy." "He was an eloquent man, much employed in embassies, intimate with Boniface VIII., was the principal author of Corso Donati's misfortune, and so addicted to evil that he cared neither for God or the world but veered about as suited his own inclination. He died by the hands of two young Donati while engaged in a game of chess to the great joy of many, for he was an infamous citizen" *.

The third of the four rulers of Florence Pazzino de' Pazzi soon followed his companions; he also was the victim of domestic vengeance; the death of Masino Cavalcanti was neither forgotten nor forgiven by that powerful family which could muster sixty men-at-arms of the name alone and held the ruling powers in detestation. In January 1312 Paffiera Cavalcanti hearing that Pazzino, attended only by one servant, was gone out to try a falcon on the dry bed of the Arno near Santa Croce, instantly mounted and followed him with some of the Brunelleschi who attributed the death of their kinsman Betto to his contrivance. Pazzino soon guessed their errand and fled towards the stream but was overtaken by Cavalcanti's javelin and afterwards dispatched in the water. The Pazzi and Donati who had become friends instantly armed and the

* Dino Compagni, Lib. iii°, p. 90.—Simone della Tosa, Annali, An. 1309, &c.

Cavalcanti in their turn were attacked; barricades sprang up in a moment, friends mustered hastily on every side; the della Tosa, the Tornaquinci, the Scali, the Agli, the Lucardesi and many others were in arms; the people seemed to have joined willingly in this strife, three palaces of the Cavalcanti were again burning and the town once more in wild disorder.

After tranquillity had been partially restored the Pazzi accused their adversaries before the priors and forty-eight of the Cavalcanti were immediately condemned in person and property and that family again expelled from Florence. Two sons and two kinsmen of Pazzino were made knights by the people, for he was generally popular; as a reward for his services, and even pensioned at the public charge by those whom he ruled and favoured while alive.

Geri Spini alone remained of all the chief persecutors of Corso Donati, and he lived in doubt and anxiety from the recent honourable restoration of that family with the Bordoni and their friends to a country whence they had been so lately banished with shame and injury. Not content with their revenge on Betto Brunelleschi, the kinsmen of Corso Donati determined to pay those honours to this chief's memory which their sudden exile had before rendered impossible: wherefore assembling all their friends and followers they issued in complete armour from the houses of the Donati, proceeded direct to the church of San Salvi and disinterring the old chieftain's festered corpse bore it away to Florence in martial pomp and sullen triumph; as their fathers had that of Rustico Marignolli. Torches, priests, and funeral songs did honour to the dead; bands of armed knights guarded the bier, and while the sacred rites continued, drew round the church in menacing array, with solemn defiance to their enemies. In this impressive mode were the last duties performed for him whose life had been a continued scene of armed tumult, and who even in death seemed to be denied the quiet of the grave; for the insatiate spirit of Donati they said still

walked the earth crying for vengeance on those false friends who first deserted him, then conspired against him, and finally brought him to an ignominious end*. "Thus," exclaims Dino Compagni at the end of his chronicle; "Thus our city continues tormented; thus obstinate in evil deeds remain our citizens; and what is done to-day is blamed to-morrow. Sages are wont to say '*that a wise man does nothing to repent of.*' But in this city and by these citizens nothing is done however praiseworthy that is not blamed and stigmatised as evil. Men kill each other and no law punishes the criminal, but according as he hath friends or money to spend, so is he acquitted of the crime. O wicked citizens! Ye that have corrupted and vitiated mankind by your evil customs and unhallowed gains! Ye are those who have introduced every evil habit into the world, and now the world will reward you! The emperor with all his powers will come upon you and plunder you by sea and land"†.

The devastation of the country by imperial armies fully accomplished this prediction but neither filled the emperor's coffers nor saved his troops from disease and suffering. An embassy from Frederic King of Sicily brought him a small supply at Poggibonzi and enabled him to move to Pisa where he immediately issued a process against the Florentines depriving them of every honour and jurisdiction, displacing their judges and notaries, fining the community one hundred thousand marks of silver, condemning the principal citizens in goods and

* Dino Compagni, Lib. iii°.—Gio. Villani, Lib. ix°, c. xxxiii°.—S. Ammirato, Lib. iv°, p. 248.

† We here take leave of Dino Compagni whom Muratori prefers both for style and choice of matter to Malespini and even to Gio. Villani himself: but there is a simple dignity about the latter that balances all the fervid and dramatic eloquence of Dino, whose indignant feelings of humanity and patriotism occasionally perhaps do injury to his judgment as an author. Although a Ghibeline in disposition he seems to have held to the Guelphs as a political body and is honestly bitter against all who opposed his views for reconciliation and domestic peace: his language is beautiful and all his impassioned bursts of eloquence are on the side of generosity, humanity and peace.

person; forbidding the republic to coin gold or silver money, and allowing Ubizzino Spinola of Genoa and the Marquis of Monferrato to counterfeit the golden florin of the republic.

Against King Robert of Naples similar denunciations were directed all of which were subsequently annulled by the self-arrogated power of Clement V. Some irregular hostilities were maintained by partisans during Henry's stay at Pisa, which gave Pietrasanta and Sarrezzano to the imperialists; but the emperor now turned all his energies to the conquest of Naples as the first step towards that of Italy itself. For this he formed a league with Sicily and Genoa, assembled troops from Germany and Lombardy; filled his treasury in various ways, and soon found himself at the head of two thousand five hundred German cavalry and one thousand five hundred Italian men-at-arms, besides a Genoese fleet of seventy galleys under Lamba Doria and fifty more supplied by the King of Sicily who with a thousand men-at-arms had already invaded Calabria by capturing Reggio and other places. On the 5th of August the emperor marched from Pisa by the Vale of Elsa towards Siena; near which some skirmishing took place and passing forward encamped at Monteaperto where an indisposition which he had previously felt at Pisa began to gather strength: from Monteaperto he moved on to the baths of Macereto in the plain of Filetta and thence to Buonconvento twelve miles from Siena where the illness gained ground and he expired on the 24th of August 1313.

The intelligence of this event spread joy and consternation amongst his friends and enemies; the army soon separated, and his own immediate followers with the Pisan auxiliaries carried his body back to Pisa where it was magnificently interred*.

Thus died Henry of Luxembourg an able prince who accomplished great things with scanty means: he is described by cotemporary writers as wise, just, and gracious, a good catholic, sincere in mind, magnanimous in heart, and strong and secure

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix°, cap. xlix., l., li., lii., liii.

in arms; of the middle size with good features but a slight cast in the eye. Possessed of great talents and perseverance he was active and indefatigable in business, temperate, loving peace, never depressed by misfortune nor elated by success, wherefore he was feared beloved and reverenced. Lord of a small and powerless state he was placed on the imperial throne to serve a political purpose; but without money authority, or any other influence save that of his personal character and kindred. He nevertheless allayed the jealousy of the German princes, reconciled their mutual contentions, and directed his whole thoughts to the recovery of Italy; arriving without army or resources he yet managed by the single force of his genius to raise the one and accumulate the other. He pacified factions, restored exiles, vindicated the imperial authority, gained friends and allies and finally equipped an immense army for the conquest of Naples where Robert had no equivalent force to oppose him, and would probably have retired to France for personal safety.

The Florentines have been accused of causing his death by bribing a Dominican friar to give him a poisoned wafer in administering the sacrament; but there seems no just reason to credit this tale: his health began to sink under the effects of fatigue and suffering at the siege of Florence; perhaps even at Rome or under the walls of Brescia, and although he at last expired suddenly and unexpectedly the full extent of his malady was probably concealed while at Pisa and on the march, in order not to dishearten his soldiers*.

Death saved the Italians from his sovereignty, but his life might have made them a strong, united, and ultimately an independent people: Florence also was saved, for such talents so supported must have finally triumphed†.

Nevertheless the republic occupied a noble position. Putting

* Muratori, Annali, 1313.—Flam. dal Borgo, Dissert. ii^a, p. 88.—Villani, Lib. ix., caps. i. and xlix.—S. Ammirato, Lib. v^o, p. 260.—Muratori, Annali.

† Dino Compagni, Lib. iii^o.—Gio.

themselves, says Sismondi, at the head of the Guelphic party, the Florentines embraced in their negotiations the politics of all Italy. Already leagued with Lucca, Siena, and Bologna they sought the friendship of Guido della Torre in 1311 before his expulsion from Milan by the Visconti and did not desert him in his misfortunes: they not only excited Brescia to revolt but supplied the inhabitants with money against the emperor who besieged it in person; they kindled a spirit in Padua that Can della Scala could not easily extinguish; they bribed Parma to make an open declaration against the German Prince and even sent troops to Rome to oppose his coronation. Lastly they extended their negotiations to the courts of France and Avignon and were apparently the first to conceive the notion of connecting together all the members of the great European republic by a balance of power that might secure the general independence. Those who now see nothing but inconvenience in the system of annual parliaments would do well to consider that these enlarged views and plans of universal politics, more or less followed by European statesmen ever since the fourteenth century, originated in a shopkeeping democracy whose executive government was changed six times a year in all its principal branches, and in which the ministers who commenced any negotiation or other important matter could scarcely have expected to be in office at its termination. Florence was small but free, and more than commonly enlightened for the age; its people of an acute and searching intellect, full of industry and elasticity, and perfectly comprehending the general interests of the commonwealth: its counsels were exclusively guided by the most able heads of those branches of commerce by which it was enriched: popularly chosen, they expressed the will of their constituents but did not allow the especial concerns of their trade to overlay those of the community, nor was there, save the national but impolitic principle of exalting manufactures above agriculture, any demand for ex-

clusive protection from particular branches of industry; each ceded a little and the machine rolled smoothly on until extraneous accidents paralysed its more wholesome action. The leading trades were then at Florence what they now are in England, united and powerful bodies with many followers; but inclosed in the narrow precincts of a single city and sharing directly in the government they both imbibed and imparted knowledge at home while their feelers extending over all the known world directed a stream of riches and intelligence to the centre. Nor, until the Medici sapped the republic, after the aristocracy and Ghibelines fell, was there any party that from mere faction or love of political power vitiated the measures of the state in its exterior policy; because, with the exception of a certain number of noble families, every citizen might expect to be called in his turn to the head of affairs, while the regular emoluments were too small, the period of office too short, and the duty too severe to make public employment on these accounts *alone* the object of illegitimate ambition.

Florence showed great moral courage in her determined opposition to Henry VII. but her military virtues, in the opinion of Sismondi, had already begun to decay; yet nearly four hundred gentlemen of the highest rank and most distinguished families (their names are still extant) perished or were taken prisoners in the bloody battles of Montecatini and Altopascio affording ample proof of their courageous spirit; and nearly six hundred more belonging to the contado may be added to the number who thus suffered for their country; all serving gratuitously*!

Their tranquillity during the siege was calculation, not cowardice; they had double the emperor's numbers, but the Germans were always more formidable troops than the Italians; a defeat would have lost the city where the party of their exiles was strong; yet their gates were never shut nor their

* Sismondi, Repub. Ital., vol. iii., p. 272.—Toscana Illustrata, p. 321.

usual business interrupted: the result justified this caution for public safety, not a brilliant victory, was their object.

The pernicious system of employing foreign mercenaries had nevertheless been long gaining ground amongst all the Italian states; they were at this period called "*Catalans*," but although adopting the name were totally unconnected with that fierce company of all nations who under Roger de Flor still held together when dismissed in 1302 by Frederic of Sicily and carried terror and desolation through Greece and Asia. They may be considered as the first "*Condottieri*" having been employed by the Greek Emperor Andronicus against the Turks and Bulgarians: their less famous imitators, composed of French Spanish and other adventurers, sold themselves at a given price to any purchaser without having a spark of the nobler and more generous feelings of a soldier*.

This system swelled gradually from the few retainers of turbulent citizens like Corso Donati, to the subsequent employment of large public armies; and the despicable character of men who thus sold their blood and conscience, together with the influence of increasing trade the natural enemy of war; besides other causes; gradually brought the profession of arms into disrepute at Florence: but it was not until after the middle of this century that the military spirit received its greatest shock; the warlike nobility was then completely subdued; long and expensive contests began with Milan, soldiers became more plentiful than money, and the military service of country gentlemen was allowed to be exchanged for an equivalent pecuniary contribution. This gradually deadened national spirit and encouraged the employment of mercenaries with all their train of necessary evil†.

There *are* periods when the general cause of liberty may be supported on a foreign soil; when native tyranny may be best opposed in the ranks of a stranger; when the universal rights

* Sismondi, vol. iii., p. 214.—Gio. Villani, Lib. viii°, cap. li.
† Leonardo Aretino, Lib. vii°, p. 141.

of man, of the weak and the injured, may be vindicated by assisting a country in which we have no apparent interest, or even where the art of war may be learned by those destined to defend their own. These are generous and legitimate motives for assistance; but the mere gladiator who changes sides as the scale preponderates, and kills for gold alone, is only a tolerated ruffian on a larger scale and disgraces the name of soldier.

With such companions the Florentines became every day less inclined to serve, more especially as the general belief in their own opulence had raised the market price and therefore increased the difficulty of procuring their ransom far above that of any other Italians; so that various circumstances concurred to change the ancient military spirit and substitute foreign mercenaries for the unpaid valour of devoted citizens*.

The sudden death of Henry VII. elated the Guelphs as much as it depressed the Ghibelines and completely changed the political position of Italy: but the Pisans had most cause to mourn, for they joined him with a generous confidence, stipulated nothing for themselves, expended two millions of florins in his service, supplied him with ships and soldiers, made his cause their own with a zeal that springs only from unity and sincerity of heart; and after all this they found themselves exposed single-handed to the resentment of those they had provoked for his sake.

Perplexed but not daunted, they soon resumed their native energy and even endeavoured to retain the imperial army in their pay: but the Germans indisposed to war after the emperor died, were far more anxious to recross the Alps than remain any longer in Italy. Frederic of Sicily, who had landed at Pisa to ascertain the truth of what he had heard while at sea, was not bold enough to undertake their defence and declined the honours of the commonwealth; so after the Count of Savoy and Henry of Flanders had successively refused

* Goro Dati, Storia di Firenzi, Lib. iii., p. 37.—Sismondi, vol. iii., p. 273.

this dangerous distinction, the Pisans confided their city to the care of Uguccione da Faggiola then imperial vicar at Genoa and one of the ablest of Ghibeline captains, who with a thousand German horse cheerfully undertook its defence and fully redeemed his pledge.

Arriving at Pisa in September 1313 he immediately marched against Lucca and after ravaging the whole country mocked and insulted the citizens even under their walls: civil discord between the Obizzi and Bernarducci repressed the wonted energy of Lucca and disgusted Florence, which thus bore all the burden of war on its own shoulders, for the King of Naples wholly bent on recovering Sicily was anxious for tranquillity in the north, and the Pisans in general far from being blinded by success were eager to be friends with a sovereign whose power was extremely formidable*.

Robert was now senator of Rome, and besides Provence and Naples had been acknowledged Lord of Romagna Florence Lucca Ferrara Pavia Alexandria and Bergamo besides several fiefs in Piedmont; and the pope was about to create him imperial vicar in Italy during the vacancy of the empire. An ambassador was dispatched from Pisa to Naples and a treaty concluded which promising to reëstablish general tranquillity, began by restoring the exiled Guelphs of that republic to their country. A.D. 1314.

But peace was not the object of Uguccione; his trade was war, and as Podestà of Pisa at the head of a thousand men-at-arms besides a private council of his own creation invested with all the powers of the state, he felt himself strong enough to rule it, and determined to renew the war with fresh vigour. Pisa could scarcely have selected a man more fitted to retrieve her affairs or extend her fame or usurp her liberties. Born, as is supposed, of an obscure but rather opulent family amongst

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. lviii. Muratori, Annali, 1313.—Sismondi, —S. Ammirato, Lib. v., p. 261.— vol. iii., p. 297.

those Apennines that border on the city of San Sepolcro he had been from childhood both a Ghibeline and a soldier: he took an active part in the civil wars of Arezzo and full of courage and ambition had proved himself one of the ablest men of his day either in the field or the cabinet. Of a fierce aspect, proud demeanour, and unrelenting heart, he was admirably adapted to the spirit of the age in which he lived: he wore more ponderous arms, was stronger and taller than the usual measure of man and as much celebrated for his personal prowess in the field as for the nobler qualities of a general and a statesman. His individual feats were sometimes magnified into superhuman exploits resembling the fabled deeds of ancient Paladins and excited the admiration of the soldiers as much as his military talents commanded their respect and confidence. In one battle we are told that being on foot, wounded in the knee, and alone amidst the enemy; he yet made good his retreat and rejoined his companions with a well-battered helmet and no less than four battleaxes and thirteen arrows fixed in his long and heavy buckler. No chief was better fitted to restore confidence to a dispirited people than Uguccione da Faggiola, and all the power of Pisa was frankly intrusted to him: he was the first to discontinue the ancient mode of going out to war at fixed seasons and finishing the campaign at certain stipulated times; on the contrary, by keeping the field throughout the year and merely using the capital as a camp to retire upon he so harassed the Lucchese that they were compelled to sue for an ignominious peace, a peace too that disgusted Florence, not only by its hard conditions but more particularly by the restoration of all the Ghibeline exiles, with Castruccio Castracani at their head. Through their agency he subsequently mastered Lucca and plundered it for eight successive days without intermission or mercy, not even sparing the papal treasure deposited in the church of San Frediano; a crime considered of so dark a nature as almost to

eclipse the rapine rape and murder of his licentious soldiery*. The booty was enormous, the pope's treasure alone amounting to a million of golden florins: but besides this the citizens were extremely rich, for Lucca was then equal if not superior to Florence in the number and opulence of her bankers who under the name of "*Barattieri*" fall peculiarly under the lash of Dante in the twenty-first canto of his Inferno. The capture of Lucca and sudden filling of Florence with the fugitives startled the community yet ultimately produced great benefit, for they brought with them superior knowledge in the art of manufacturing silk, and formed a new epoch in the annals of that trade amongst the Florentines as well as at Venice and Milan, and even in Germany France and England†.

Before Henry VII.'s death Robert had accepted the government and checked to a certain point the free republican action of Florence, for he was in a manner lord also of the national purse but far more interested about Sicily than Tuscany; nevertheless on the first alarm a Florentine army had been dispatched to the aid of Lucca but arriving too late to save that city turned into the Valdarno and secured most of the Guelphic towns while all Tuscany once more prepared for war. The king of Naples was intreated to send reinforcements and Piero his youngest brother arrived with three hundred men-at-arms on the eighteenth of August about two months after the devastation of Lucca: Piero soon won all hearts by his wisdom affability and personal graces, and so warm and general was the friendship of these democrats that if he had survived the war the lordship of Florence would probably have been conferred on him for life! A dangerous feeling, springing perhaps from an involuntary desire of repose after republican

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix°, cap. li.—Istorie Pistolese, p. 119.—Tronci, Annali.—Muratori, Annali, Anno 1314.

† Tegrimi, Vita di Castruccio, p. 35, Dati's translation.—Aldo Mannucci, Attioni di Castr. Castracani. Roncioni, Lib. xii., p. 694.—Sardo, cap. Ix.—Cronica di Pisa, Murat. S. R. I., pp. 991 to 996, vol. xv.—Dei, Cronica Senese, Ibid. pp. 55, 60.

turbulence, whenever a chief could be found to whom the public liberty might be safely intrusted; yet an experiment the effects of which they had afterwards good cause to rue in the person of Walter de Brienne the titular Duke of Athens *.

One of Piero's first acts was to secure the neutrality of Arezzo by a treaty of peace with the Guelphic league so as to leave a fair field for the Pisan war which was making rapid progress: Uguccione had not only recovered all that portion of the ancient territory which had been held by Lucca since Ugolino's time, but had also ravaged the country of Volterra, and even penetrated into that of Pistoia to Carmignano, only thirteen miles from Florence: he had besides overrun the Maremma, assaulted Samminiato, took Cigoli and other places of its district, and finally captured the Florentine town and castle of Monte Calvi. He also claimed half of Pistoia in right of conquest as Lord of Lucca and pursued his successful course by investing Montecatini, a well-defended fortress in the Val-di-Nievole which the Florentines had occupied ever since the downfall of that republic. This rapid succession of events created so much alarm that distrusting the extreme youth and inexperience of Piero when opposed to so formidable an enemy, the Florentines with his own consent again demanded assistance from Robert whose brother Philip Prince of Taranto was at their earnest request dispatched with five hundred men-at-arms, but against the king's judgment, who knew him to be unwise, rash, and unfortunate in war.

A.D. 1315.

Meanwhile Uguccione pressed the siege of Montecatini where besides the power of Pisa and Lucca he had assembled all the Ghibelines of Tuscany, the exiles of Florence, the Count of Santa Fiore and Maffeo Visconte's auxiliaries; and notwithstanding recent treaties the independent Bishop of Arezzo also joined his ranks; so that his cavalry amounted to two thousand five hundred men-at-arms with a proportionate num-

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. lxi.

ber of infantry making in all about twenty-two thousand seven hundred soldiers.

The Florentines summoned their adhèrents from Bologna, Siena, Perugia, Città di Castello, Agobbio, Romagna, Prato, Pistoia, Volterra, Samminiato and all the other Guelphs of Tuscany, which added to eight hundred Neapolitan men-at-arms under the two princes, formed a body of three thousand two hundred mounted men and a very numerous infantry, the whole amounting as is said from fifty-four to nearly sixty thousand; but this is probably an exaggeration of the victors: thirty thousand of all arms, as stated by Pignotti, might perhaps come nearer to the truth.

With this fine army commanded by Philip Prince of Taranto his son and brother, did the Florentines march to raise the siege of Montecatini. The Pisan general expected them to advance by the Fucecchio road across the marshy plains of that district to cut off his communications with the two capitals and force him to a battle on unequal terms with the hostile garrison of Montecatini in his rear: he had therefore occupied the passes in that direction but unnecessarily; for the allies having taken the road of Montesummano left his communications free and to his great satisfaction took up a position in front of the Pisan army on the left bank of the Nievole a small stream that now only divided the hostile forces. The Nievole was a great obstacle to men-at-arms in which the principal strength of armies then consisted; the Pisans were intrenched, and "*Battifolli*," or works of circumvallation, surrounded the place, by means of which Uguccione without wishing to fight determined to maintain the blockade and if possible prevent the besieged from receiving any assistance. Skirmishes were frequent, and neither party being willing to come to a general battle they remained several weeks in this threatening attitude, during which the Prince of Taranto detached a part of his army to occupy the country about Monte Carlo for

the purpose of intercepting the enemy's convoys and thus compelling him to raise the siege. San Martino the head-quarters of Uguccione's escorts was attacked and taken, all the passes occupied in his rear, the Guelphs immediately round Lucca were in arms, supplies stopped, and every direct communication with the besieging army entirely cut off while its commander was unable to spare a single soldier for the purpose of reëstablishing them.

For two days the troops had been without any fresh supply, Uguccione was unusually thoughtful, and the army with all its confidence became alarmed when the order to retreat was given, not so much from fear of the enemy as from apprehension that with so powerful an encouragement to the Guelphic faction the safety of Lucca itself might have been endangered. On the morning of the twenty-ninth of August a little before daylight Uguccione broke up the camp and marched in order of battle but resolved not to seek it if the enemy would allow him to retire quietly on Pisa: his retreat was soon observed and gave fresh spirit to the allies who instantly attempted in a hurried disorderly march to occupy Borgo a Buggiano before him, but they moved on the arch, Uguccione on the chord, and he thus gained the position. Perceiving that a battle was inevitable he halted at La Selva de' Trinciavelli opposite Buggiano where selecting a body of one hundred and fifty Feditori amongst the bravest of his followers, and forming his advanced guard into a second line of support, he suddenly gave the signal to charge ere the enemy was well in order, at the same time exclaiming that "as his adversary declined paving a road of gold for their retreat which he might more wisely have done, they would themselves endeavour to open one with their swords and show the prince that all his regal splendour was only a vain and useless bauble amidst the shock of soldiers and the clang of arms." "To remind you "of your duty," he continued, "is superfluous, for no army was

" ever better known to its general than you to me, nor any
" captain better known to his army than I to you: to say
" nothing of older things, have we not together restored the
" Ghibelines to Lucca, taken most of her towns and maintained
" the authority and dignity of Pisa? we have now only to make
" Montecatini as glorious to the Pisans as Arbia to the Senese,
" and for once at least, humble the proud spirit of the Floren-
" tines; too vain at having twice baffled the attempts of two
" imperial Henrys. Nor will it be a trifling glory if after so
" many years we should revive in Tuscany the almost extinguished
" name of Ghibeline and open a road for future emperors to
" reëstablish Italy in her antique grandeur under the Cæsarian
" sway, by the unassisted strength of our own right arms."

Thus saying he ordered his own son and Giovanni Malespini a Florentine exile, to lead the Feditori, and bade the charge be sounded. The attack was fierce and effectual; one chief carried his own and his father's glory on his lance, the other fought to be restored to his country; they were followed by the flower of Pisan gentlemen; the adverse line composed of troops from Siena and Colli, first bending to this storm, broke after a short struggle and uncovered the allies' main battle where Piero Count of Gravina stood with all the Florentine chivalry. Spent and breathless the victors were now met by a line of daring soldiers armed like themselves, steady, fresh, and in superior numbers; this unequal contest was soon decided, but not a knight turned back, each fell in arms and died as he was, victorious; none shrunk from their leaders, the chiefs themselves fell bravely with their followers and nearly all were slaughtered.

Meanwhile four thousand Pisan cross-bowmen in three divisions sent a continual flight of arrows against their enemy; one mass charged their cross-bows while the next took a steady aim and the third shot, and thus left no respite to their adversaries, bolt followed after bolt in one unmitigated shower and

horse and man reeled under the iron tempest*. Uguccione seeing the enemy's first line thus broken turned suddenly to his eight hundred Germans, saying, "*The glory of the field is reserved for your nation.*" They were the remnant of Henry VII.'s army, all old soldiers well skilled in war and detesting the Florentines for past events and as was believed, for the untimely death of their emperor. Their charge was terrible; but proud of an ancient name and the presence of three royal princes in her ranks Florence remained unbroken; yet the rage of battle did not reach its full height until certain intelligence of his son Francesco's death reached the Pisan general; all paternal emotions were at once enveloped in one deep feeling of revenge; at the head of his remaining horse Uguccione dashed madly into the thickest of the fight shouting out "no prisoners!" "no prisoners!" until his voice sank under the louder and deadlier tumult. The battle now became general and the allies struggled long and hard for victory, but the genius of Faggiola prevailed; the bravest knights and chiefs of Florence fell one after another and disheartened the survivors; their efforts gradually relaxed, they first wavered, then suddenly gave way and immediately a wild and universal flight proclaimed the victory and triumph of Pisa.

Many soldiers fell in the conflict, but more were lost in the Gusciana marshes as they fled towards Fucecchio; and it is related that the Nievole was so encumbered with dead bodies that instead of the fulness of its usual stream it crept sluggishly along in rivulets of blood!

The pursuit was closely followed up as far as the heights of Monsummano; two thousand men were killed in battle or drowned in the marsh, and amongst them one hundred and fourteen of the noblest Florentine families: fifteen hundred

* The cross-bow arrows most commonly used were called "*Moschetti*" or *Little Flies*, (Spanish *Mosquito*) and thence probably our word musket. (*Vide* Miscellaneous Chapter.)—Giunte alle croniche de' Cortusi apud Muratori, Ant. Ital., Diss. xxvi., p. 152.

prisoners were taken, but chiefly after the action: Piero Count of Gravina who led the Florentine battle lost his life, and his body was never found; Charles the son of Philip shared his fate and Carlo Count of Battifolle with many other Italian nobles of the highest rank saw their last sun on this disastrous day: at Siena, Perugia, Bologna, Florence and Naples there was public mourning for the victims of Montecatini: Uguccione lost his son, Lucchino Visconti was wounded, and Castruccio Castricani, a man destined to eclipse even his master's glory and to whom some ascribe the credit of this day's victory, did not escape untouched*.

The Prince of Taranto saved himself by flight and although too ill to command in person carried with him all the disgrace of this unfortunate encounter: the fugitives sought refuge in Fucecchio, Pistoia, and Cerbaia; Montecatini, which had been victualled by Simone di Villa during the first movement of the enemy, immediately surrendered; Monsummano was soon after taken; Vinci next fell; Cerretoguidi followed and the whole country trembled; yet Florence was not dismayed: rousing herself as was her wont, she made fresh levies reinforced her defences, quieted some peccant humours amongst the citizens, again demanded troops with a more experienced chief from King Robert and prepared for active war†.

* Tegrimo, Vita di Castruccio, Tradotta da Giorgio Dati, p. 19.—The lists of killed and wounded in those days probably referred only to citizens and men-at-arms, 2000 men killed will not justify the accounts of this day's carnage. The vulgar crowd was seldom thought of, and 114 of the principal families of Florence in addition to gentlemen of less exalted rank would probably amount to at least 200 Florentine cavaliers to be counted amongst the slain, and in fact the names are still extant of 192 of the principal families and exiles residing in Florence who were killed or missing or known to be prisoners. Now 200 multiplied by all the allied states would make more than 2000; and Macchiavelli in his life of Castruccio makes the killed 10,000 men although in his history he only mentions about 2000.—The Libro del Polistore, cap. viii., tomo xxiv., p. 725. Rer. Ital. Scriptores makes no mention of Castruccio in the battle of Monte Catini, but on the contrary says that Francesco della Faggiola was second in command.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., caps. lxx., lxxi., lxxii.—Storie Pistolese, p. 125.—

Misfortune is rarely unaccompanied by discontent and in great national affairs, whether unavoidable or not, always becomes the pivot of faction: the disaster of Montecatini though it neither damped the spirit nor even interrupted the usual business of the Florentines yet served to raise a strong opposition to the continued rule of Naples. The ancient alliance of the two states; the benefits received from the first Charles; the continued friendship of the second; the prompt and distinguished aid of Robert; all were now forgotten, and a powerful faction alike reckless of the foreign enemies and domestic strife whether from party or patriotism, determined to make a change. Count Novello d' Andrea was about this time appointed Viceroy of Florence upon which the citizens immediately split into two factions each led by a member of the same family, one calling itself the friend, the other the enemy of Robert: the former was directed by Pino, the latter by Simone della Tosa with the Magalotti, and other popular families of great influence who then ruled Florence and who would willingly have renounced King Robert and expelled his party had not their apprehensions of Uguccione da Faggiola restrained them. Philip of Valois and the Count of Luxembourg were successively but ineffectually invited to assume the supreme authority and public defence, wherefore the ascendant party resolved to place a creature of their own at the head of affairs. The viceroy had but little influence against such opposition and on his arrival was compelled to promise that he would not meddle with the executive government of Gonfalonier and Priors, or any other official appointment; never to impede the execution of any law or order made by the citizens; and resign his own office at the end of four months instead of twelve.

A.D. 1316.

Leon. Aretino, Lib. v°, p. 87.—S. Ammirato, Lib. v°, p. 265.—Tronci, Annali Pisani.—Muratori, Annali, An. 1315.—Muratori, Dissert. xxvi., p. 153.—Antichità Italiane, vol. iii.—Toscana Illustrata, pp 97, &c., and 320.—Pignotti, Storia di Tosc^a, vol. ii°, p. 238.—O. Malavolti. Stor. Senese, Parte ii^a, Lib. iv°, p. 75.—Sismondi, vol. iii., p. 303. Roncioni, Ist. Pisa, Lib. xii., p. 700.—Sardo Cronaca Pisana, cap. lxi.

Lando d' Agobbio a rapacious and merciless foreigner but a willing tool, was made *Bargello* or *Executor* of Florence with new and unlimited powers: this man was attended by five lictors with axes who waited at the palace gate, the ready instruments of his and his employers' will: at a sign from the tyrants any citizen was dragged without pretence, trial, or formality, to instant execution while spies were stationed in every quarter like spiders to catch the unwary. No man dared speak to his neighbour; the whole population high and low, Guelph and Ghibeline lived in terror and suspicion, and such was the Bargello's insolence that he coined base money on his own authority and issued it at one-half more than its value without a single citizen daring to raise his voice against the deed.

At last Pino della Tosa and the king's party sent secretly to demand Count Guido da Battifolli, a powerful neighbour, as royal vicar and he was so thoroughly Guelph, so generally respected and so well acquainted with Florentine affairs that their antagonists could make no reasonable objection to the appointment: but Lando the minion of the seignory being zealously supported by the Gonfaloniers of companies was still too powerful for bold and open war.

While thus tormented the daughter of Albert of Germany passed through Florence previous to her marriage with Prince Charles of Naples and was honourably received, especially by the king's party, who seized this occasion for explaining to her the real state of Florentine affairs and the tyranny of Lando d' Agobbio. Upon this Robert partly by threats and the aid of pope John XXII. who resided at Avignon; partly by the influence of his own vicar backed by Lando's enemies, succeeded in expelling that monster; but gorged with blood and treasure; and reëstablishing his own authority.

This occurred in the month of October 1316 and by a reform which immediately followed, all Robert's powers were continued for three years longer with a more pliant seignory, for

as the seven priors were enemies six more were cunningly added on the king's part, and these at the succeeding election managed to return the whole thirteen. This change continued but a short time when they were again limited to the original number of seven, and after the expulsion of Walter de Brienne augmented to twelve in order to admit four nobles; these were however soon expelled and the number thus reduced remained permanent as will hereafter be noticed *.

There is perhaps no such thing as unmingled evil, and the government of Lando d' Agobbio was not an exception to this rule, for a great portion of the city wall was completed and many private feuds entirely pacified by his influence or authority; this was no trifling or easy task, for enmities were deep; great families had great followings, and their dissensions often threw the whole community into disorder.

The public revenues had during this period of war and confusion diminished so much as to make an extraordinary supply necessary and the government adopted a not unusual mode of raising money which the continual revolutions of Florence rendered sufficiently effective. All persons, with some permanent exceptions, who were either in banishment, or in any way condemned to pecuniary penalties were if Florentine citizens absolved and permitted to return on paying five per cent. of the original fine before a certain day, and half that amount if belonging to the contado or district, any friend or relation being allowed to pay the money on their behalf the sum being limited to a certain amount whatever might have been the first penalty. This and two other decrees of the same nature restored many exiles to their country while they supplied its immediate necessities; but being accompanied by a degrading ceremony the high-minded Dante disdained to stoop and pre-

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. lxxix.— Macchiavelli, Stor., Lib. ii°.—Leon. Scip. Ammirato, Lib. v°, p. 271.— Aretino, Lib. v°.

ferred exile to acknowledging himself a culprit before the very men who had injured and persecuted him *.

Prosperity when it seems to be most firmly riveted is often on the verge of destruction, and thus it was with Uguccione della Faggiola who after the battle of Montecatini becoming for a while almost absolute in Pisa dreamed not of sudden change, but on the strengthening of his power and extending his dominion over all Tuscany. When Corso Donati was accused of aiming at the lordship of Florence and the rest of Tuscany in conjunction with his father-in-law the notion was ridiculed by most of the citizens as chimerical, but the Aretine's subsequent career opened their eyes to the possible achievements of talents and ambition, united in favourable times and circumstances. Pisa humbled and terrified by the emperor's death cast about for a protector and found a master; expecting to be instantly crushed by her enemies she yet rose superior to all and conquered her bitterest foe; but no glory fell to the people; they felt that it was the work of a foreign master whose personal benefit became the end and object of all their efforts: Lucca was his, not theirs, the blood spilt at Montecatini ended in his aggrandisement, not their advantage. Liberty was nothing but a name; the tyrant's power had bound her in her own ornaments, and with an outward respect to all the forms and trappings of freedom turned everything to his personal ambition. In Lucca he was also a tyrant but at the head of a faction, and a conqueror; but both cities loved their independence, felt their subjection, and hated him as a taskmaster.

This state of things was taken advantage of by two monks who had been concealed in that city since 1315 on a secret mission from Robert for detaching the republic from Sicily and reducing it to his own devotion. Being Guelphs themselves they were welcomed by that faction and an envoy was sent without the knowledge of the Anziani to treat with a

* S. Ammirato, Lib. v°, p. 271.—Vide Lettera All' Amico Fiorentino.

monarch who without either genius or inclination for war was yet a formidable enemy. These men were sedulously endeavouring to undermine Uguccione's influence by persuading the citizens that his aim was to be Tyrant of the republic, (for thus as in ancient Greece these Italian lords were denominated,) the whole power of which was already in his hands. Their arguments were successful not only from their truth but because they touched the pride and passions of the people and had real grievances to work upon without which agitators can seldom make permanent impressions.

The chiefs of this opposition were Banduccio Buonconti a citizen of high rank and popularity and his son Piero then Gonfalonier of Justice, both actively employed in managing the treaty with Robert: this which contemplated the entire pacification of Tuscany, was after some difficulty concluded, to the great discontent of Florence as well as of many Pisans, but particularly of Uguccione himself, who was too deeply indebted to war willingly to relinquish the sword. As no powerful man is too wicked to have adherents all the popularity and influence of the Buonconti were required to force this treaty through the councils where it was impeded and denounced by Uguccione and his friends, perhaps not unreasonably, as an attempt to surrender the liberties of the republic into the hands of King Robert after the example of Lucca and Florence. When he saw no chance of preventing the ratification, which he finally signed as Podestà, he endeavoured to excite a tumult by shouting out treason, ordering his Germans and other troops under arms, himself carrying a living eagle, the Ghibeline emblem, about the streets on a lofty pole and furiously threatening the Guelphs with death as disturbers of public tranquillity. Success would probably have attended this if the Gonfalonier had not calmly opposed him by persuading the soldiers not to act without orders from the Anziani: meanwhile Banduccio met the German veterans and with a commanding resolute air and

haughty words rebuked their audacity. His high rank and influence gave effect to his speech, upon which Uguccione at once arrested the agitation and returning to the public palace consulted with his council on the necessary steps to be taken. As it was an evident struggle between the Buonconti and himself he quietly sent for them the following morning on pretence of discussing some public business and threw both into prison; then giving a traitorous signification to Banducci's speech made it the foundation of a formal process by which he convicted them of conspiring to betray their country and deliver it into the hands of Naples. They were immediately beheaded; but two days after, alarmed at the universal disgust which his conduct had excited a general council was assembled in the cathedral, where by a short address he endeavoured to prove the necessity of such extreme rigour. "Believe not O Signores," said he, "that I either capriciously or vindictively have con-
"demned the Buonconti but solely to deliver you from a great
"and impending ruin. Robert King of Naples has often, as
"you well know, attempted to possess himself of Pisa and
"never yet succeeded. It is known to me by many secret
"letters that the said Buonconti, and other nobles who hold the
"magistracy, had agreed to deliver the city into his power on
"conditions hurtful to the people because the nobility alone
"were to participate in the public honours and government;
"and in short, the Guelphs were to prevail and the Ghibelines
"be trampled in the dust and treated like slaves. Where-
"fore I having detected this conspiracy exerted myself to arrest
"its progress, but perceiving that nothing else would do I re-
"solved to crush it at once by the death of the two Buonconti
"in order to avoid the certain ruin which their machinations
"had prepared for us. Neither had I ever an idea of usurping
"your liberties and making myself tyrant of your city, but
"rather to preserve it as the future effects will certify. Be ye
"therefore vigilant and with keen regards watch narrowly the

"proceedings of your country's enemies, and do not allow "yourselves to be deceived." Whether Uguccione was right or wrong he failed in convincing the Pisans and therefore artfully changed the mode of electing the seignory, which he knew was extremely unpopular, by restoring the ancient form, restricting as in Florence all public honours to tradesmen alone; and he moreover made it incumbent on future candidates to prove that they had always been Ghibelines. This very popular and important reform lulled the murmurs of the citizens while it exasperated the nobles, few of whom condescended to trade, and sharpened their enmity against him *. The city was therefore ripe for revolt because the people though pleased with the restoration of their rights were no less inimical to the reformer, and a timely insurrection at Lucca which was probably concerted with the Pisan malcontents soon offered a favourable occasion †.

Castruccio Castracani of the Interminelli family after thirteen years of banishment adventure and military knowledge in France and England, was restored with the other Ghibelines in 1314 and very soon acquired an extensive influence over his countrymen, for he was the ablest man of the age and with a longer life would probably have subjugated Italy. Macchiavelli says that he equalled Philip of Macedon and Scipio, and would have surpassed both had he had as wide a field of action: there is so much error or imagination mixed up with the truth in this great man's romance of Castruccio that it cannot be easily quoted except for extreme beauty of style; but such an opinion from the Florentine secretary would have been alone

* Sismondi erroneously places this peace and death of the Buonconti in 1314, Tronci in 1315; but Villani and all other historians give the proper date, as appears by the treaty itself, published in Dal Borgo. "*Raccolta di Scelti Diplomi Pisani*," p. 221. Where the names of Uguccione and Banduccio Buonconti may be seen as parties to the treaty in the month of August, 1316.—Sardo Cron. Pisa, cap. lx.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. lxxv.—Tronci, Annali Pisani, tom. iii., Ann. 1314, 1315.

sufficient to immortalize the Lucchese hero if every record of his own actions had been obliterated.

A shrewd experienced soldier like Uguccione must have very soon detected the ambitious nature and extraordinary talents of his officer, and after the late victory, to which Castruccio mainly contributed, his increasing influence at Lucca gave much uneasiness; for besides the possession of that city he probably owed much to Castracani's ability; and the consciousness of obligation to a possible rival whose superiority he must have felt would have been even still more irksome and more willingly got rid of than is usual.

After the battle of Montecatini it does not appear that Castruccio enjoyed any public command; but rich, powerful, and confident, he was not long in giving justifiable cause of offence: the people of Camajore or Massa del Marchese had in some manner injured him and he took a bloody revenge by killing twenty-two of them who had taken refuge in a church. It suited Uguccione to be indignant at this breach of the peace, but as there was danger in braving Castruccio he directed Neri to invite him to an entertainment and in this way he is said to have been treacherously arrested; according to Macchiavelli it was because he gave protection to the murderer of a gentleman who was much respected in Lucca and repelled the officers of justice until the former escaped: both are probable, more especially as Villani asserts that he committed many robberies and murders against the will of Uguccione*.

On hearing of his arrest the latter marched from Pisa at the head of a strong detachment of Germans with the intention of executing his prisoner, but a mutual understanding between the malcontents of either city, which are only ten miles apart by the nearest road, defeated his plan. He had scarcely arrived at the baths of St. Julian about three miles from Pisa

* Macchiavelli, Vita di Castruccio, Opere, vol. iii.—G. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. lxxviii.—Istorie Pistolese.—Paolo Giovio, Vite de Uomini Illustri. Roncioni, Lib. xiii., p. 707.—Sardo, cap. lxi.—Tegrimi Vita Cast.—Cronica di Pisa.

when the conspirators flew to arms and letting loose a bull which they kept in readiness at the gate of St. Mark chased him with arms concealed under their cloaks, through the street of Saint Martin crying out "*The Bull, the Bull*" until a dense crowd had collected; then changing their tone and brandishing their arms they with one voice shouted "*Liberty, liberty, long live the people and let the tyrant die.*" The flame spread rapidly and Uguccione's palace, which was in the Via Santa Maria at the corner of *Lo Scotto*, with all its inmates soon fell a prey to their fury: the public palace of the Anziani next surrendered after much fighting; the commander of the Pisan Masnade while preparing to do his duty was persuaded to remain neuter, and the revolution became complete, as all the other troops had submitted. The Lucchese revolted the same day, either before Uguccione's arrival or after he had quitted it to repress the Pisans, and with loud cries demanded Castruccio who was at once given up to them or else rescued from prison by force of arms: but being still in fetters they were instantly broken and served as a standard of triumph for his countrymen in their attacks on Neri della Faggiola, who was finally expelled. Neri joined his father and both ultimately became refugees in the court of Can della Scala at Verona where in company with Dante Alighieri they had full leisure to moralize on the instability of fortune.

The Pisans immediately elected Gaddo della Gherardesca as their chief magistrate while Lucca appointed Castruccio to a similar office for one year; both subscribed to the general peace and for a while were quiet; but Castracani's ambition was too fierce to smoulder, and he soon became one of the bitterest foes that Florence ever experienced, except her own citizens, as will be shown in the following chapter*.

* G. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. lxxviii.—Tronci An. Pisani.—Istorie Pistolese, An. 1316.—Machiavelli, Vita di Castruccio Castracani.—Paolo Giovio, Vite d'Uomini Illustri.—Cronica di Pisa.—Sardo, cap. lxii., varies a little in his account of this event which is variously related by other authors.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—Edward II., England.—Scotland: Bruce's wars.—France: Philip the Fair [IV.], (to 1314), Louis X., (to 1316).—Aragon: Jacob II.—Castile and Leon: Ferdinand IV., (till 1312), Alphonso XI.—Portugal: Dennis.—Germany: Albert I., son of Rodolph, (until 1308), Henry of Luxemburgh (from 1308 to 1313).—Naples: Charles of Anjou [II.] (till 1309), Robert (the Good).—Sicily: Frederic II. of Aragon.—Greek Empire: Andronicus Palæologus.—Ottoman Empire: Orkhan.—Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, established at Rhodes (1310).

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM A.D. 1317 TO A.D. 1326.

UGUCCIONE's expulsion dissipated the apprehensions of Florence and a general peace which was ratified in April, secured all those commercial advantages in the port of Pisa that she had been accustomed to enjoy: the citizens were in general against a peace yet as anxious to benefit by it as the Pisans were unwilling to favour them, so that the admission of that article which insured free trade to Florence was only acquired by a stratagem. A. D. 1317.

The state of Tuscany left Robert free to strengthen his influence throughout Italy; Germany gave him no uneasiness, for Louis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria, both elected in 1314, were yet struggling for the empire. Clement V. died about the same time, and had just been replaced, after two years' vacancy, by Pope John XXII. the son of a cobbler, and entirely devoted to Robert. Genoa was distracted by faction but the Guelphs were paramount; the families of Doria and Spinola had retired from the town in alarm and left the Fieschi and Grimaldi in full possession of it; the former, enemies in prosperity, were reconciled in misfortune; they assembled troops, were promised succours from the Lombard Ghibelines and resolved to besiege their native city. Robert who had been maintaining an unsuccessful war for three years in Lombardy intending if possible to crush the Ghibelines, became anxious for the fate of Genoa and determined to defend it in person:

he was a potent monarch but had to do with rich and powerful adversaries; Cane della Scala of Verona, Matteo Visconte of Milan, Castruccio Castracani of Lucca, Passerino Bonacossi of Mantua, and Frederic of Montefeltro Lord of Urbino worked well together, all uniting to check his ambition and preserve their own independence *.

The war with Sicily was still continued in a succession of sudden descents and all that sweeping devastation which marked the character of the age: Ferrara had revolted from the pope and King Robert and restored the house of Este, while Florence, relieved from the tyranny of Lando d' Agubbio and the fear of Uguccione, beheld the unusual spectacle of a revolution in its government unaccompanied by death, exile, or confiscation.

This gentle transition was owing to the sober management of Count Guido di Battifolle a wise and moderate man who armed with vicarial authority, his personal influence, and high in public esteem, maintained the general tranquillity. He was intrusted by the commonwealth with unlimited power to enlist any number of foreign mercenaries, except Aragonese and Catalans, that he might deem expedient, even though he were opposed by the twelve captains of the republic who acted in military affairs with considerable authority. The same influence proved also very effective at the beginning of this year in securing a seignory entirely devoted to the king's party, and amongst them we see for the first time as a public man, the name of Giovanni Villani, whose chronicles says Ammirato "After remaining in obscurity for two hundred years, never having previously been brought to the light of men; but finally published in the last years of our fathers, show how great is the obligation we owe to such writers; he having given to us clear and distinct notice of many remarkable things which occurred in

* Leon. Arètino, Lib. v°, p. 86.—Gio. lxxxv., and lxxxvii.—Sismondi, vol. Villani, Lib. ix°, cap. lxxxii., lxxxiv., iii., cap. xxix.

his time not only at Florence but throughout the world; besides leaving us an image of the purity of Florentine language, which having suffered continual corruption in the mouth of man, he chastely and religiously preserves together with the truth of history in his volumes"*.

Nor did Count Guido's benign influence rest here; almost a Florentine himself he was well acquainted with every peccant humour of the state both public and private, was familiar with their original causes and became anxious to unite the citizens by private and individual pacification. This was no easy task and yet the most important benefit that could be conferred on the community; as from the time of Buondelmonti almost every public dissension had hitherto sprung from private discord, and there were then no less than fifty of the principal families at deadly war with each other, all of whom he reconciled: the result was public peace and union in the town in stead of that continual change from war to internal anarchy, and again from domestic turbulence to external war, which had hitherto marked in bloody characters the Florentine history.

This unusual quiet encouraged domestic improvements, enabled government to call in all the base money of Lando d' Agubbio, and issue a new silver coinage under the popular denomination of "*Guelphs*" valued at thirty denari each: several public works were likewise commenced; many places which had suffered in the war were relieved from taxation; the Brescians were assisted with money against Cane della Scala who was pressing them closely; and Robert of Naples, again a favourite at Florence through his vicar's popularity, was liberally supplied with funds for his Sicilian wars.

An alteration in the manner of arming the troops also took place at this time in consequence of an unusual slaughter of the men-at-arms whose armour was found to be unfit for resisting the Pisan cross-bows at the battle of M. Catini: thencefor-

* Scip. Ammirato, Lib. v., p. 273.

ward every horseman was commanded to have a visored helmet, with back, breastplate, and bracelets, all of iron.

Count Guido's year of office having expired and with it the period of Robert's power in Florence, his authority was renewed for three years with little opposition; but A.D. 1318. stipulating that a vicar should be sent every six months by the king, in default of which the citizens were to appoint one themselves, and that he was not to meddle with any public officer except for the latter's protection: under these conditions the Count of Caserta was appointed to succeed Guido di Battifolle in spite of the opposition of two recusant friars, who however could not prevent this decree from passing through all the councils.

King Robert's anxiety for the fate of Genoa, which was invested on the twenty-fifth of March by the Ghibelines of Lombardy has already been noticed; it was the key-stone of his power, the connecting link between his French and Italian states, and therefore of the last importance that the Guelphic faction should govern there: but for this purpose the expulsion of the potent houses of Doria and Spinola became necessary because they were from the beginning opposed to his family, and in Sicily had always befriended the rival family of Aragon. He had long been endeavouring to accomplish his objects and therefore when intelligence reached Naples that Marco Visconti chief of the united armies of Lombardy and the exiles, had actually begun the siege, he hurried on his preparations for its defence; leaving Naples therefore on the tenth of July he landed at Genoa on the twenty-first with provisions, stores, a fleet of nearly a hundred sail of various descriptions, twelve hundred men-at-arms, and a very numerous infantry: the city was sorely pressed, but this reinforcement infused new vigour into the besieged without compelling the enemy to slacken his exertions so that the operations continued with unabated energy for six months longer.

There was an appearance of free and chivalrous generosity in Robert's unsolicited aid which so pleased the citizens that they instantly conferred on him and the pope conjointly the supreme power for ten years, and this was precisely what the king required, for he hoped ere long with the resources of such a state to reconquer Sicily and overcome all his enemies. The renowned and magnificent Genoa assailed by all the power of Lombardy and defended by a king in person accompanied by his queen and two of his brothers, princes of Taranto and the Morea, was an event too conspicuous not to rekindle the spirit of faction and chivalry throughout the Italian peninsula. Guelphs and Ghibelines therefore hurried to the war; the Marquis of Montferrat and Castruccio Castracani served in person, while the Pisans, Frederic of Sicily, and even the emperor of Constantinople sent their contingents to the Ghibeline camp: the Florentines were foremost in the cause of Robert, who also drew succours from Bologna and all the Guelphic powers of Romagna, so that his men-at-arms alone amounted to two thousand five hundred, with a vast body of infantry, while the Ghibelines mustered in all but fifteen hundred horse; as many probably as could act effectively amongst the rugged hills of Genoa. The besiegers were active on every side, sallies were frequent, mines excavated, towers overthrown, whole ramparts shattered, bold assaults attempted and repelled, and every stratagem of war, every engine of destruction, every daring act that the spirit and knowledge of the age could suggest was adopted for the attack and defence of Genoa. Neither party gained a step, the besieged held their ground, the besiegers continued their efforts, and fighting occupied both armies incessantly until the fifth of February 1319.

A.D. 1319. Robert then detached nearly sixteen thousand men of all arms to make a descent on Sestre-di-ponente and cut off the exiles' communication with their magazines at Savona while he with a large body of troops should simultaneously dislodge the enemy from the heights of Saint Bernard imme-

diately above the town. Both were successful. After three destructive repulses, Sestre was carried, the Milanese troops dispersed with great slaughter; Saint Bernard's heights retaken and then fresh quarrels breaking out between the Doria and Spinola families, Marco Visconti determined to raise the siege and retire into Lombardy*.

Robert the *Good;* as he is sometimes called; in order to commit the Guelphs and strengthen his own influence encouraged them to abuse their victory by a wholesale destruction of the villas and splendid palaces of the Ghibelines; the valleys of Bisagno and Polsevera were devastated with all their country houses and luxurious gardens, and afterwards the king, clergy, and citizens went in solemn state preceded by the relics of Saint John the Baptist to thank the God of peace for having permitted them to commit so much crime with impunity.

Robert soon after withdrew a part of his forces and repaired to Avignon, but the Ghibeline army quickly reassembled, again invested the city, reoccupied the suburbs, and continued the siege for four years while the whole Genoese territory was similarly vexed with war†. It was however secondary to that in Lombardy where the great Ghibeline chiefs acted in person under the command of Cane della Scala and old Maffeo Visconti. Ferrara as already noticed had revolted, restored the house of Este, and joined the Ghibeline league; Padua was besieged by Cane della Scala, the whole Ghibeline faction was excommunicated by the cardinal of Saint Marcel, and Lombardy in a general state of hostilities.

All Italy at this period was divided into Guelph and Ghibeline that is to say the parties of the pope and emperor; but in reality these denominations were retained and these princes

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. xciii., xciv., xcv., and xcvii., &c.—Giustiniani, Annali di Genoa, Lib. iv°, carta cxix. —Interiano Ristretto delle Historie Genovese, Lib. iii., p. 82.

† Sismondi, vol. iii., p. 366.

courted because their power or sanction was indispensable to the success of a faction. The Guelphic states were Naples, the Holy See and Florence; the Ghibeline states consisted of the Milanese and the greater part of Lombardy, but many other cities in Lombardy Tuscany and Romagna held to the one or the other party according to the faction actually predominant. Each however had its "*Fuorusciti*" or exiles, composed of the weaker side, who driven from their homes sought refuge in those cities where their faction happened to be in power and demanded aid for their own restoration. Either from pity or policy or the more grateful indulgence of party spirit; it was seldom refused; it was the cause of nearly all the Florentine wars in Tuscany and kindled the flame that afterwards scorched her so severely in Lombardy. The Florentines were also in the habit of considering the latter province as their outwork against the emperors, whose presence in Italy always filled them with alarm: these princes having to pass through Lombardy on their way to Rome for their coronation, and being generally ill supplied with money, it became an object of state policy at Florence to give them so much trouble there as to insure their arrival in Tuscany somewhat weak and exhausted. The same fears and wishes directed the policy of Rome and Naples and drew both those states into a close and permanent union with Florence; the second was further moved by the hereditary ill-will that still existed between the house of Anjou and the German emperors since the death of Manfred and Conradine, and from which much evil was anticipated at each successive coronation. The Ghibelines on the contrary strained every nerve to weaken their opponents and confirm their own title to possessions that they for the most part held under the empire and which it was consequently their interest to support; but without any more real attachment than their antagonists who worked so hard to prevent any German prince from endangering their independence

by acquiring power in Italy: self-preservation was the aim of both.

For these reasons the Florentines availed themselves of the tranquil state of Tuscany and their own domestic peace to assist king Robert and the Lombard Guelphs of Cremona and Brescia with a thousand men-at-arms of the Guelphic league, three hundred of whom were Florentines; by their aid Cremona was recovered from Cane della Scala and the Guelphs reinstated there. Upon this Maffeo Visconti determined on finding them enough work in Tuscany to prevent their meddling in more northern wars and for this purpose selected an admirable coadjutor in Castruccio Castracani, who, besides a great reputation, had during four years of peace managed to confirm his own power in Lucca, amass considerable treasure, and form an army of experienced soldiers ready and able for any enterprise. He therefore informed Castruccio that Florence in concert with the pope and the king of Naples had invited Philip of Valois into Lombardy as imperial vicar with a strong body of troops to act against the Ghibelines, but more especially against himself as excommunicate for the assistance he was giving to the Genoese exiles. Matteo also took care to impress on Castruccio's mind the certainty of his own ruin, lord only of the single city of Lucca, if he, Visconti, the master of Milan, of Pavia of Piacenza, Lodi, Como, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelle, Tortona and Alexandria; followed also by the most powerful chieftains of Lombardy, were once compelled to yield *. A.D. 1320.

This reasoning was scarcely necessary to convince Castruccio whose clear vision and sound judgment were conspicuous in everything, especially in what administered to personal ambibition and the general policy of his party. Almost all Lombardy had fallen under the sway of Ghibeline tyrants; the once

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cvi.—S. Ammirato, Lib. v., p. 279.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. v°, p. 87.

free cities of Romagna were equally fettered; Rimini bowed to the Malatesti; Forli to the Ordilaffi; the Manfredi ruled Faenza, and Guido di Pollenta the father of Dante's Francisca, was paramount in Ravenna. Arezzo was directed by her aspiring bishop of the Tarlati race, and Pisa although now uncontrolled was still thoroughly Ghibeline: the general character of this faction was therefore essentially aristocratic and monarchical; that of the Guelphs absolutely republican, and identified with political liberty as liberty was then understood. Florence, Siena, Perugia and Bologna were closely united to uphold their free Guelphic institutions, while Prato, Pistoia, Volterra and other smaller states, which though nominally independent were really controlled by Florence, attached themselves to the same party. Castruccio Castracani the scion of a Ghibeline stock was devoted to the Ghibeline cause: for four years successively he had been freely elected to command the Lucchese with almost sovereign power: he knew men and how to govern them; knew what enmities to despise or punish and what friendships to win and retain. As a daring soldier and skilful general he was beloved by the troops, for he was not blind to merit and knew how to reward it, but cared little about the morality of his followers if they only did their duty and quietly submitted to the rigid discipline that he established and enforced. No man was more beloved by the people or more generally popular with every class of citizen; they admired his talents and were proud of his fame. In 1320 he felt so confident of his position in the public mind that he ventured to expel the Avocati, who with about one hundred and eighty great Guelphic families now bid adieu to their country, and then boldly demanded the supreme authority: out of two hundred and ten senators there was but one voice against him, and the people unanimously confirmed this election. He was therefore a legitimate ruler. His economical management of the public revenue was exemplary and productive; he had amassed great treasure, and his system of

military honours and rewards heightened and improved the warlike spirit of the people until it had acquired a more professional character. All the neighbouring predacious chiefs were allured to his standard by the hope of future conquest, and rough and unscrupulous as they were he made them all bend to his discipline.

Thus prepared on every hand to begin that career of ambition to which he felt himself more than equal, Matteo Visconti's proposal was warmly received, and Philip of Valois' expedition with the ready assistance of the Guelphic league were together considered an infringement of the general peace, or at least a sufficient excuse for retaliation on the part of the Ghibelines *.

Uguccione della Faggiola was dead, a circumstance that lightened the anxiety of both Castruccio and the Florentines, particularly the latter whose dread of this veteran chief, blinding them as it did to the dangerous ambition of his successor, had never ceased since the disaster of Montecatini.

Such was the state of affairs in April 1320, when Castruccio Castracani with some Pisan auxiliaries suddenly occupying Cappiano, Monte Falcone, and the bridges of the Gusciano, broke into the Florentine territory carrying death and devastation as far as Cerreto Guidi, Vinci, and Empoli; then getting possession of Santa Maria-a-Monte by treachery, returned in triumph to Lucca. Afterwards invading Lunigiana and Garfagnana he dispossessed Ispinetto Malespina of several places necessary for his own military operations and then marched with all his force to aid the siege of Genoa. This city still maintained a fierce and bloody struggle with its own exiles and the Lombard Ghibelines; war raged not only round the walls but throughout the whole "*Riviera*" or coast district; it extended to Sicily and Naples and involved even more distant countries in its

* Tegrimi, Vita di Castruccio.—Aldo Mannucci, Vita di Castr.—Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cvi.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. v., p. 280. — Leon. Aretino, Lib. v., p. 87.—Sismondi, vol. iv., p. 1.

action, so that the siege of Troy itself, as Villani asserts, was hardly equal to it for heroic deeds, marvellous exploits, and hard-fought battles by land and water, without any cessation either in summer or winter.

The Florentines determined to prevent a junction that would probably have settled the fate of Genoa, therefore made a powerful diversion in the Lucchese states which compelled Castruccio to return ere he had joined the besiegers: avoiding an action they retreated to the frontier at Fucecchio while the enemy halted in front of Cappiano, both armies remaining nearly inactive until the advancing season drove them into winter quarters.

To make amends for this inglorious campaign more vigorous measures were pursued and an alliance concluded with the Marquis Spinetto Malespina, who although a Ghibeline had been too much injured by Castruccio on account of his friendship for Uguccione not to seize the first opportunity of revenge. Florentine troops were despatched to his aid, yet Castruccio was not apprehensive of anything in that quarter, but prepared with the help of a powerful body of Lombard Ghibelines for a more serious struggle on the side of Florence and soon marched to raise the siege of Monte Vettolini at the head of sixteen hundred men-at-arms. The Florentines, having only half that number, immediately retired and allowed him to devastate their territory with impunity for the last twenty days of June, after which he retired to chastise the Malespini in Lunigiana.

A.D. 1321.

Discontent ran high in Florence and the retiring seignory were much censured for their feeble conduct; the Agubbio faction was still powerful, and probably the inconvenience of a fluctuating administration was beginning to be felt, as the foreign affairs with a more complex character embraced a wider circle: to remedy this twelve counsellors, two for each sesto under the denomination of "*Buonomini*" were added to the

new seignory but to continue six months in office instead of two, and without whose sanction nothing important could be undertaken. To check also the increasing intimacy, and consequent favouritism between citizens and foreign officers of state which led to great abuse, it was decreed that no stranger who brought a kinsman in his suite could have a place in the commonwealth and that until ten years from his resignation of office he could not be reëlected. Some taxes were then reduced, the gold and silver currency reformed and preparations made for a fresh campaign: Azzo of Brescia was appointed captain-general; a hundred and sixteen knights and one hundred and sixty mounted cross-bowmen were enlisted and under the command of Jacopo da Fontàna soon checked Castruccio's incursions so as to protect the line of the Gusciana: but Philip of Valois' expedition had in the meanwhile failed, and in Lombardy the Tuscans were defeated at Bardo in the Val-di-Taro, their captain the Marquis of Cavalcabò was killed, Cremona recaptured, and Visconti everywhere victorious.

The lordship of King Robert over Florence had now entirely ceased after more than eight years' duration, again leaving free that community of determined republicans; but which, determined as they were, had so long and often given themselves up to the absolute control of a powerful monarch without any protection to freedom beyond the simple promise of their chosen master. Such proceedings, and they were not unusual in Florence, would argue the incompetency of any pure republic to steer a steady course in perilous times and circumstances: Rome took refuge in a dictator, Sparta had kings, Carthage fell almost as much by her own dissensions as the Roman arms, and if Athens and other Grecian states held out for a season, it was because all simultaneously revelled in that tumultuous licence miscalled liberty, a mere multiplication of tyrants, or the liberty of choosing who should be so; but where the weak had no protection and the strong were without control; where the poor

man had no voice in the commonwealth beyond the unwholesome shout of the forum which usually condemned honest men at the bidding of scoundrels.

Florence partook somewhat of this character, and if the Kings of Naples, wiser than he of the fable, made no attempt upon public liberty, it was because of her golden eggs; because they already governed despotically; and because in the then fretful state of Italy the loss of such an adherent would have outbalanced all the advantages of a forced and uneasy sovereignty: the spirit too of these republicans was then soaring at its height, and their so-called freedom had become a national jewel; they were willing to give themselves away under the pressure of circumstances but were not then to be easily taken either by force or cunning*.

One of the most interesting events of this year was the death of Dante. "In the month of July 1321," says Villani with less than his usual brevity; "died the Poet Dante Alighieri of Florence, in the city of Ravenna in Romagna after his return from an embassy to Venice for the Lords of Polenta with whom he resided; and in Ravenna before the door of the principal church he was interred with high honour, in the habit of a poet and great philosopher. He died in banishment from the community of Florence at the age of about fifty-six. This Dante was an honourable and ancient citizen of Porta San Piero at Florence and our neighbour; and his exile from Florence was on the occasion of Charles of Valois of the house of France coming to Florence in 1301 and the expulsion of the White party as has already in its place been mentioned. The said Dante was of the supreme governors of our city and of that party although a Guelph; and therefore without any other crime was with the said White party expelled and banished from Florence; and he went to the University of Bologna and into many parts of the world. This was a great and learned person

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cvi., &c. —S. Ammirato, Lib. v°, p. 283.

in almost every science although a layman; he was a consummate poet and philosopher and rhetorician; as perfect in prose and verse as he was in public speaking a most noble orator; in rhyming excellent, with the most polished and beautiful style that ever appeared in our language up to his time or since. He wrote in his youth the book of '*The Early Life of Love*,' and afterwards when in exile made twenty moral and amorous canzonets very excellent, and amongst other things three noble epistles: one he sent to the Florentine government complaining of his undeserved exile; another to the Emperor Henry when he was at the siege of Brescia, reprehending him for his delay and almost prophesying; the third to the Italian cardinals during the vacancy after the death of Pope Clement, urging them to agree in electing an Italian Pope; all in Latin with noble precepts and excellent sentences and authorities, which were much commended by the wise and learned. And he wrote the *Commedia* where in polished verse and with great and subtile arguments, moral, natural, astrological, philosophical and theological, with new and beautiful figures, similes, and poetical graces, he composed and treated in a hundred chapters or cantos, of the existence of hell, purgatory, and paradise; so loftily as may be said of it, that whoever is of subtile intellect may by his said treatise perceive and understand. He was well pleased in this poem to blame and cry out in the manner of poets, in some places perhaps more than he ought to have done; but it may be that his exile made him do so. He also wrote the *Monarchia* where he treats of the office of popes and emperors. And he began a comment on fourteen of the above named moral canzonets in the vulgar tongue which in consequence of his death is found imperfect except on three, which to judge from what is seen would have proved a lofty beautiful subtile and most important work; because it is equally ornamented with noble opinions and fine philosophical and astrological reasoning. Besides these he

composed a little book which he entitled '*De Vulgari Eloquentia*' of which he promised to make four books, but only two are to be found perhaps in consequence of his early death; where in powerful and elegant Latin and good reasoning he rejects all the vulgar tongues of Italy. This Dante, from his knowledge, was somewhat presumptuous, harsh, and disdainful, like an ungracious philosopher; he scarcely deigned to converse with laymen; but for his other virtues, science, and worth as a citizen it seems but reasonable to give him perpetual remembrance in this our chronicle; nevertheless his noble works left to us in writing bear true testimony of him and honourable fame to our city*.

The Florentines being now independent of foreign control, instead of a royal vicar elected their Podestà and Captain of the People as formerly all being well pleased, except perhaps the nobles, to be relieved from the enormous pressure of expense and subjection to one master, which was felt by every rank†.

A.D. 1322.

The defences of Florence were still unfinished although so many years had elapsed since the outer circuit of walls had been first begun: at the period of Henry the Seventh's invasion the ramparts were only completed from the river to the gate of "*Ognissanti*" now the "*Porta Prato*," although the foundation of the whole line to "*Porta San Gallo*" was laid: nevertheless a greater part of both circuits of the *ancient* ramparts had been sold to the citizens and destroyed, the space being occupied by new buildings. Terror of the emperor caused those already founded to be raised about fifteen feet high and every other part was ditched and palisaded; the first were completed in Lando d'Agubbio's time but the whole palisaded line from Porta San Gallo to that of Saint Ambrogio, now Santa Croce, was still unfinished‡.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. 136. † M. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. vi°, R. 34.
‡ M. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. iv°, Rub. 279.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 385.

One of the first public measures in 1321 therefore was to complete the whole circuit and strengthen it by flanking towers fifty-five feet high at regular intervals of more than a hundred and eighty feet apart: a work that was doubtless accelerated by their apprehension of Castruccio which had now taken a more alarming character from some recent proceedings at Pistoia.

This ever-vexed city harassed by external war and inward troubles finally elected the Abate da Pacciana de' Tedici, a tool of Castruccio, as their ruler; he was a weak intriguing man, who catching at a popular opinion was suddenly floated into power by the stormy multitude without ballast enough to steady him. Castruccio made good use of him, and a truce was suddenly concluded with that leader against all the influence of Florence, by which according to Villani, (though unnoticed by the anonymous author of the "Istorie Pistolese,") an annual tribute of three thousand florins was to be paid by Pistoia. The dread of Castruccio was rapidly and generally spreading; Siena became alarmed at the movement of a small detachment he had sent towards Arezzo and demanded aid of Florence; and Colle after repelling an attack of its own exiles, drew closer to the republic. On the other hand Guido de' Tarlati Bishop of Arezzo assisted by Lucca and Pisa devastated the lands and destroyed the towns of the Guidi of Battifolli and other friends of the league. Pisa was full of tumult revolution and blood until Coscetto da Colle, once the patriot who had expelled Uguccione, fell in his turn and Nieri or Mieri della Gerardescha gained the ascendant.

These accidents along with the fall of Frederic of Montefeltro, about this period put to death by the people of Urbino, exhibited the unstable condition of republican lords, based on the evanescent passions of the multitude, and did not fail to awaken the fears of Castruccio who determined to take pre-

cautions against similar accidents in his own history, therefore constructed a vast fortress called "*L'Augusta*," which flanked with twenty-nine massive towers occupied one-fifth part of the whole city of Lucca serving at once as a palace a prison and a citadel. Already possessed of the castle and mountain pass of Serravalle near Pistoia he soon stretched his spear over all the highlands while his Pisan allies broke faith with Florence by imposing duties on her commerce and treating every remonstrance with contempt*.

Thus worried on every side yet elated by the recent death of old Maffeo Visconti, one of the ablest of the Ghibeline leaders, the Florentines sent a strong detachment of troops into Lombardy on condition that in the following summer the Genoese and other Guelphic powers were to attack Lucca on every side and annihilate the rising power of Castruccio. Scarcely had an army been assembled for this purpose, when intelligence arrived that their principal condottiere, Jacopo di Fontanabuona, had passed over with all his following to the enemy: he had been commissioned to make himself master of Buggiano and other places by treachery but failed, and soon after joined Castruccio with two hundred men-at-arms.

A.D. 1323.

This officer who had hitherto served well and faithfully, was disgusted by a diminution of pay; by the separation of his corps into detachments under other colours, and by the prospect of being himself soon made subservient to another leader, wherefore he was the first to lead the way in that course of treachery that subsequently marked the character of Italian wars while the safety of Italian states was intrusted to the selfish spirit of these mercenaries. They were in fact the only regular troops of the time, were eternally at war therefore always embodied disciplined and experienced in all the military

* G. Villani, Lib. ix., caps. cxlvi., cliii., cliv., clxv., &c.

skill and science of the age, while the old unpaid civic bands had already hung up their arms for great emergencies and began to dwindle into a mere militia without self-confidence. This defection agitated all Florence, not so much from the physical loss as the moral effect and a consequent distrust in the remainder of their army; the expedition to Lucca was therefore abandoned, and it seems probable that a sudden and apparently uncalled-for dismission of the confederate forces which Villani places in the previous August might have occurred at this period*.

Castruccio with this reinforcement and the possession of his enemy's secrets crossed the Gusciano on the thirteenth of June, attacked Fucecchio and other places, ravaged the surrounding country, then passed the Arno, devastated the territory of San Miniato and Montepopoli with all the Vale of Elsa and marched quietly back to Lucca†. On the first of July he suddenly reappeared in front of Prato only ten miles from the capital with six hundred men-at-arms and four thousand infantry; the citizens sent in terror to Florence for help, but paralysed by Fontanabuona's treachery she was nearly destitute of regular troops. The citizens however had not quite forgotten the use of arms and their spirit was still high: the shops were immediately closed, a candle was placed at the Prato gate, and every individual liable to serve summoned to the ranks ere it burned out, under the penalty of losing a limb; a proclamation being simultaneously issued to announce that all exiles who instantly joined the army would be pardoned and restored to their country‡. By these prompt measures 2,500 men-at-arms and 20,000 infantry were in the field round Prato on the second of July only one day after Castruccio's appearance, 4,000 of whom were exiles! Castruccio's rash advance with so small a force might have ended disastrously if the Florentines had been well

* G. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. clxiii., ccviii. —Leon. Aretino, Lib. v°, pp. 88, 89. —S. Ammirato, Lib. vi°, p. 291.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix°, cap. ccix.

‡ Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Istor. Fiorentina, Lib. vi., Rub. 360.

commanded; but he retired in the night and made an unmolested retreat to Serravalle, the discord in the Florentine camp an offset from civil dissension having saved him*. The nobles, who formed the cavalry and ever took the lead in war, vexed by the ordinances of justice, which probably had been somewhat relaxed by the Neapolitan viceroys, disdained even to conquer under a democratic government: the law which made one of a family answerable for another's crimes was what especially annoyed them, and they now indulged their ill-humour in ridiculing the fiery courage of these citizen-soldiers who were so clamorous for battle, exposed their want of knowledge and discipline, and predicted confusion and defeat the moment they took the field against a regular army. But the citizens' spirit was good and neither reason nor ridicule could damp their pugnacity or persuade them they were not invincible: they would fight: reference was made to Florence and in a moment the whole city was similarly inflamed; shouts of "*Battle*" "*Battle*" "*Let the traitors die*" were echoed on every side and vehement in proportion to their distance from the danger; even the very children caught the general cry and believing that they also had a voice in the commonwealth advanced in threatening array and backed by an angry populace demolished the windows of the public palace. Night closed in, the tumult redoubled, the Seignory became alarmed, and orders were finally dispatched for the advance of the army†. The Count Beltram or Novello of Naples who commanded, after two days' delay, marched to Fucecchio with an army increased by reinforcements from the Guelphic states, but disorganised by contention: nothing was done; Castruccio was at Lucca; yet the nobles would not consent to cross the Gusciana, but advised the exiles, who already suspected that faith would not be kept with them, to march on Florence and endeavour to force an entrance. This failed, and then government was

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxiv. † S. Ammirato, Lib. vi°, p. 295.

unreasonably called upon to fulfil its promise but refused. An order for the return of the troops was dispatched at the exiles' first appearance and the nobles exerted all their power to make the Seignory receive the latter; but fearing a coalition between these malcontents the priors remained firm*.

Deputies from the exiles were subsequently admitted, and being unable to succeed they in conjunction with the nobles attempted to surprise Florence on the night of the tenth of August by forcing the Fiesole gate; but the people were already on the alert, though alarmed by their uncertainty about the mischief fermenting within the walls. The plot failed; but so many of the nobles were implicated that it was thought most prudent to hush everything up after Amerigo Donati, Teggia Frescobaldi, and Sotteringo Gherardini were fined and banished for a time by a kind of ostracism now for the first time invented for the purpose of accusing and condemning the aristocracy without fear of personal vengeance: so potent were the Florentine nobles still! even when excluded from public authority, in despite of the ordinances of justice and with the power of secret accusation! The delinquents in this case were well known, but none dared even to name, much less accuse them! Yet the Florentines believed themselves free because they could tumultuously assemble in the market-place, storm the palace of government, force the seignory to succumb to popular fury, and destroy the property while they banished the persons of obnoxious citizens!

The method now adopted and frequently practised, was for all *members of the public councils* to write in sealed billets the names of those that each individual deemed most guilty and these were afterwards opened by the captain of the people. Thus were the above nobles secretly and safely accused; but it still required all the persuasion of the Podestà to lead them quietly before the courts and with the promise of their life

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxiv.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi°, p. 294.

induce them to confess even a knowledge of this design while they denied any direct participation in it*.

Thus ended this singular campaign in which the army scarcely saw an enemy but which brought back danger and revolution to the state: the Florentines however now for the first time discovered that the urban companies were not sufficiently officered by one gonfalonier, wherefore three subalterns under the name of "*Pennonieri*" were added to each so that the whole force became infinitely more flexible and divisible, and better adapted to real service.

The Città di Castello a place of great importance to the Guelphs was at this time ruled by Branca Guelfucci, but tired of his tyranny the people demanded aid from Tarlatino Tarlati the Bishop of Arezzo's brother who accordingly expelled him: but suddenly turning on his Guelphic supplicants drove four hundred of them in confusion from the town and reduced it to a pure Ghibeline dependency. Such a catastrophe coupled with the Ghibelines' increasing power filled the Guelphic league with so much alarm that its ambassadors immediately assembled at Florence to consider their means of defence†. The situation of that republic was at this moment extremely perplexing; a powerful and discontented nobility within, an able and determined enemy without; a bitter faction of ill-used exiles watching every opening for revenge and secretly corresponding with numerous adherents in the city; an undisciplined but self-confident and presumptuous militia; suspected and doubtful retainers; allies either by force or stratagem rapidly falling off; and finally, a periodical excitement at every official change which kept the people in a state of continual agitation.

Up to this period each administration had been elected by its predecessor which being composed of the priors just leaving

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxix.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 295, &c.—Macchiavelli, Lib. iiº.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. v., p. 91.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxxvi.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 298.

office, the twelve *Buonomini*, the sixteen gonfaloniers of companies, and a certain number of citizens chosen for the occasion, represented in a certain manner the whole nation, and as a high moral responsibility rested with these in choosing their successors some pains were taken to select men of known character and ability; but the frequent recurrence of these elections agitated the community, and being combined at this particular moment with the stormy aspect of public affairs generated a strong desire for improvement. The seignory of July and August 1323 having gained credit by detecting the late plot now ventured to propose an alteration in the form of government and received full powers from the various councils to effect it: their object was to avoid these frequent elections by at once choosing a sufficient number of priors to supply the successive administrations for forty-two months. Twenty-one sets of priors were thus elected with the accustomed forms, all their names being inclosed in a "*Borsa*" or purse, and the required number quietly drawn by lot every two months but with a prohibition to serve again in the same office for the space of twenty-four. Hence the only security for efficient magistrates was in the original election. This was called the "*Imborsazione*," and subsequently "*Squittino*" or scrutiny; the rest was chance; but as people are more heedless of future and distant events than of those which bring immediate consequences, much less circumspection was now used about real character, and those who sought public honours were more careless of deserving them than when exposed directly and frequently to the public eye. This scrutiny became in time a focus of political intrigue yet was popular at the moment, not only in Florence but throughout Italy where it was eagerly adopted, so generally felt was the inconvenience, or a desire for tranquillity, besides awakening the ambition of a larger number of citizens. Disturbances are the thorns of freedom and they were certainly blunted by this change, but the flower was not unscathed;

much of that lively interest and jealousy of power that previously attended elections declined along with them and a present convenience blinded many to the hidden defects of this system *.

It even appeared, says Sismondi, more democratic than the former; established a greater equality amongst the candidates and called a superior number of citizens to public honours. This last advantage was undoubtedly what seduced the people; it soothed the secret jealousy of middling men who saw with vexation a limited number of distinguished persons always appointed by the public voice. The *Borse* of the three supreme magistracies alone, must for forty-two months have contained the names of six or seven hundred candidates; and all the others having been, very soon after, submitted to the same procedure, there was at last one hundred and thirty-six magistracies or different offices which were provided for by lot. Thus but little choice remained: and every citizen had the certainty of obtaining some place. The electors often admitted incapable men who would never have been chosen if they had been at once obliged to commence their official duties †.

In the midst of these reforms Castruccio, whose system was prompt decision, sudden execution, and the gain of everything in every way, whether by treachery, stratagem, or open war, recommenced his successful incursions but was generally too weak to oppose the united strength of Florence: the moral effect of his character was however very imposing in both states and nothing was too daring either for his arms or conscience. His Ghibeline allies the Pisans were deeply engaged in war with the king of Aragon for the defence of Sardinia, which offered him a favourable occasion as he thought of becoming their master: the conspiracy was however discovered; the conspirator Betto or Benedetto Malepra de' Lanfranchi with

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., caps. ccxxix., ccxxxviii., and ccxlv.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. v., p. 92.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 298.—Macchiavelli, Lib. iii°.—Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. vi., Rub. 366.

† Sismondi, Ital. Repub., vol. iv., p. 16.

many others lost his head; all friendship or alliance with Lucca was renounced by Pisa, and ten thousand golden florins offered for the head of Castruccio *. About two months afterwards he suddenly left his capital at the head of a small detachment on the nineteenth of December and by the treachery of an inhabitant of Fucecchio was admitted at night into the town during a deluge of rain, which at first concealed his aggression: the subsequent struggle was fierce and bloody; a great part of the place was taken but alarm fires on the towers brought strong reinforcements from the neighbouring garrisons: Castruccio held on with desperate resolution against an overwhelming force of soldiers and citizens until wounded fatigued and hopeless of success he sullenly retired with the loss of banners and horses, but still unmolested: for the glory of repulsing him was deemed sufficient, and the habitual dread of his prowess left no appetite for a second encounter †.

Nothing of importance occurred between Castruccio and the Florentines in the following year, for the former was busy with his intrigues against Pisa and Pistoia and the latter employed reducing some petty chieftains in the Mugello but still more seriously on the side of Arezzo where the bishop was rapidly gaining ground against the Guelphs. Five hundred men-at-arms were engaged in France and other preparations making for the day of battle which the Florentines foresaw must come before Castruccio could be arrested in the rapid course of his ambition: a new confederacy was therefore formed in March between Florence, Bologna, Siena, Perugia, Orvieto and Agubbio; with other communities and Guelphic lords, for the recovery of Città di Castello which was to be effected by a combined army of three thousand men-at-arms levied for three years, a great part of which was maintained by the Florentines. A.D. 1324.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxxx.—Roncione, Lib. xii., p. 725.—Sardo, cap. lxv., lxvi., who is silent about Castruccio.—Uomini Illustri Pisani, vol. ii°, pp. 281—283.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxxxiii.

In Lombardy an unsuccessful war was carried on against the Visconti by the papal Guelphs who were several times defeated, and their commander Raimond of Cardona with Simonino della Torre a chief of sense and valour, were finally taken by Galeazzo and Marco Visconti; but Simonino was afterwards drowned in the Adda to the great regret of his party *. To balance this, Spoleto surrendered after two years' siege to the Perugians and Florentines, the Pisan fleet was defeated by Prince Alphonso of Aragon and the authority of that republic soon after ceased altogether in Sardinia.

The two last events gave little pleasure to the Florentines who saw nothing in the weakness of Pisa but augmented strength for Castruccio and increasing danger to themselves; neither was their dissatisfaction lessened by the conduct of Count Novello, who at the moment when the friendship of Pistoia was of the last importance to Florence suddenly seized on its dependent town of Carmignano in consequence of an insult offered by the former to his royal master, and would have reduced the citadel of Pistoia also if the seignory, unconscious of the intrigues then in activity between Castruccio and the Tedici had not commanded him to quit the place: his engagement soon after expired and he returned with no great credit to Naples †.

Meanwhile a suspicion began to prevail in Florence that the original formation of the "*Borse*" had not been honestly conducted and public jealousy was awakened, more especially against the family of Bordoni who together with their friends and consorts were known by the general name of "*Serraglini*" and were said to have acquired an undue influence in the government. This produced a reopening and re-formation of the *Borse* from which many names were cast forth and a number added sufficient for six changes of priors which as yet was the

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxxxix., ccxliv.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 300.
† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxlvii.

only magistracy drawn by lot: but this reform was almost immediately after deemed insufficient and notwithstanding the recent tricks even at the very commencement of the system, not only the seignory of six priors and the gonfalonier, the colleges of Good Men and gonfaloniers of companies, but also the consuls of trades and commanders of hired troops were made subject to the new law of election *. This calmed the fears of the citizens, and they were still further quieted by the appearance of five hundred French cavalry, all nobles, with no less than sixty belted knights amongst them who came by agreement to serve under the banners of Florence.

The arrival of this band of gentlemen, who with their squires alone could not have mustered less than fifteen hundred horse, was what principally encouraged the Florentines to recommence hostilities more vigorously in the following year: Castruccio meanwhile had moved towards the Pistoian mountains and repairing the castle of Brandelli whence there was a view of both Pistoia and Florence, called it Bellosguardo and gazed with a longing eye on either city; one was only his own in perspective, the other was almost in his grasp; and Filippo Tedici who had driven his uncle from the government of Pistoia, and was in treaty both with Castruccio and Florence, pretending the greatest alarm demanded assistance of the latter with whose aid he hoped to better his bargain: a body of troops was directly sent under command of the Podestà, but discovering his object, this officer returned in disgust; upon which he made his terms with Castruccio and Pistoia was suffered for a while to exist as an independent state †. Florence had attempted to gain it by treachery but failed, and Castruccio tired of Filippo's intrigues offered him ten thousand florins and his daughter Dialta in marriage for immediate possession of the city. This secured Filippo who before daylight on the fifth of May 1325 opened a gate to the

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cclxxi. —Leon. Aretino, Lib. v°, p. 93.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cclxi., cclxix.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 302.—M. A. Salvi, Hist. di Pistoia, Parte ii., Lib. vi°, p. 354 to 361.

Lucchese general; but the latter distrusting his ally would not enter until he had actually unhinged it, and then took possession of the place in the manner of the time by scouring the streets at the head of his cavalry and trampling upon all that came in his way.

A.D. 1325.

The fall of Pistoia was an event of great importance: equally distant from Florence and Lucca and on the confines of both, it formed a rallying point for the armies of either and its friendship or enmity had considerable influence on every operation of the war; hence the eagerness of Florence at all times to preserve her authority there, and hence the general consternation when intelligence of its capture arrived at the capital *.

She might have bought it for the same price or even less than Castruccio, because Filippo felt himself too insecure not to make both friends and money by the sacrifice of his country; but failing, either from want of skill or perhaps dishonesty in her agents, she repeated her attempts to surprise the place thus forcing him into the arms of Castruccio, and he poisoned his own wife to complete the union †. Rumours of this event reached Florence while the magistrates were engaged in public festivities on the occasion of two foreign officers of state being dubbed knights by the republic, and the banquet was going on in the church of San Piero Scheraggio when the news was confirmed: in a moment the whole assembly fell into confusion, the tables were overturned, and every man was immediately armed and in his saddle: believing that a part of the town might still hold out, a rapid march was made as far as Prato where hearing the whole truth they returned dejected and mortified to Florence. The following day brought some consolation in the arrival of Ramondo da Cardona who had been sent in the preceding November from Milan on a mission to Rome: he had

* Istorie Pistolesi, p. 164, &c.—Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccxciv.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. vi., pp. 302 and 306.—Sismondi, vol. iv., p. 21.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. v°, p. 93.

† Istorie Pistolesi.

promised to return but was absolved by the pope and sent instantly to Florence as commander in-chief of the republican forces. His presence gave new spirit to the people which was increased by the capture of Artimino on the twenty-second of May: one of the finest armies ever assembled by the republic soon took the field at the enormous expense of three thousand florins a day: the city bells tolled as a declaration of war; the public standard waved over San Piero a Monticelli; the *Soldati* or mercenary troops first moved to Prato, and the "*Cavallate*" with all the mass of civic infantry joined them on the following morning. One of the city bells which had been captured at Montale broke while in the act of sounding; three weeks before there had been a violent earthquake in Florence, and the following evening a broad stream of fiery vapour flared over the city: all these circumstances were dwelt upon with anxious and gloomy foreboding by numbers of citizens over whose mind the talents and success of Castruccio had gained a superstitious ascendancy. The cavalry consisted of five hundred gentlemen of the highest rank in Florence under the name of *Cavallate* or men-at-arms on horseback, all magnificently equipped and a hundred of them mounted on "*Destrieri*" the largest and finest war-horses of the time and which few could afford to purchase: none cost less than a hundred and fifty golden florins or near two hundred pounds of our present money, yet there were three hundred of these, natives and strangers, in the Florentine army. Besides the Cavallate there were fifteen hundred foreign cavalry in the pay of Florence of whom eight hundred were French and German gentlemen of the highest rank and distinction: the general-in-chief, Raimond of Cardona a Spanish Condottiere, and his lieutenant, Borneo of Burgundy, were followed by a troop of two hundred and thirty Catalan and Burgundian cavalry and lastly there were four hundred and fifty Gascons, French, Flemings, Italians and men of Provence picked with great care from the veteran com-

panies of Masnadieri, and all experienced soldiers. Fifteen thousand well-appointed infantry between citizens and rural troops, completed the personal force of this fine army, and eight hundred canvas pavilions and other great tents, with six thousand "*Ronzini*" and baggage horses attended its movements *.

Except two hundred Senese cavalry no allies had yet joined, but hostilities commenced on the seventeenth of June by devastating the Pistoian territory up to the gates of the capital, capturing many small places, insulting Castruccio who was in that city by running for the Palio under its walls, and sending him repeated challenges to battle. Castruccio drily answered that "*It was not the right time,*" and the Florentines marched directly to besiege Tizzano a strong town about seven miles from Pistoia on the road to Florence: there every preparation was apparently made for a regular siege while Cardona on the ninth of July sent his lieutenant Borneo with five hundred picked men towards Fucecchio; and to engage Castruccio's attention a strong detachment was at the same time directed to alarm Pistoia and the surrounding country. Borneo was joined at Fucecchio by a hundred and fifty Lucchese exiles and a numerous infantry, besides some reënforcements from the garrisons in Val d' Arno. Carrying with him a pontoon bridge, apparently the first noticed by the early historians of these campaigns, he threw it silently over the Gusciano at *Rosaiuolo* during the night and the whole division crossed that river without being perceived by the garrisons at the bridge of Cappiano or Monte Falcone scarcely a mile above and below the point of passage †.

On hearing this Raimond suddenly quitted Tizzana passed the lofty range of Monte Albano and by nightfall had joined his detachment and invested the fortified bridge and fortress of Cappiano. This was an unexpected stroke for the Lucchese

* The "*Martinella*" also seems to have accompanied this army according to ancient custom.—Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 307. † Istorie Pistolesi.

general who believed himself safe in that quarter, and would appear to have doubted the possibility of so sudden a passage of the Gusciana by any soldiers; so that this operation increased the fame of Cardona, the confidence of the league, and the spirit of the Florentines. His frontier line being thus broken Castruccio immediately quitted Pistoia and entering the Val di Nievole threw his army in position amongst the hills above Vivinaia which he endeavoured to strengthen while he pressed for the coöperation of all his friends: Pisa disregarded this summons in consequence of his recent treachery; but from Lucca, Arezzo, La Marca, Romagna, and the Maremma, he assembled thirteen hundred men-at arms and a numerous infantry, with which he reënforced all his positions from Vivinaia to Porcari, strengthening the latter with additional works and troops to secure his communications with Lucca; and finally cut a trench from the hills to the marsh of Bientina which was guarded with the utmost solicitude.

The bridge of Cappiano was taken by Cardona on the thirteenth of July, the town itself next fell; two days after Montefalcone was summoned and reduced in eight days, and thus the whole line of the Gusciana was cleared of the enemy. This rapid success brought numerous reënforcements from Siena, Perugia, Bologna, Ogobbio, Grosseto, Montepulciano, Chiusi, Colle, San Gimignano, Volterra, San Miniato, Faenza, Imola, Count Battifolle and the exiles from Lucca and Pistoia; all eager to assist in overwhelming this formidable chieftain; so that the army had already swelled to three thousand four hundred and fifty-four men-at-arms and a proportionate number of infantry. With this immense force Cardona advanced, and on the third of August invested the strong fortress of Altopascio which crowns a hill rising from the marshes north of the Bientina lake: the place although impregnable to an assault was so damaged by the battering engines and so poisoned by heat, sickness, and the horrid stench of filthy

matter which it was then usual to cast into besieged towns, that on hearing of the discomfiture of a Lucchese detachment sent from Pistoia to make a diversion towards Florence it immediately surrendered. The capture of this place was succeeded by doubts, discussion and delay; the troops had become sickly from heats and malaria, and the army proportionably reduced: discontent and intrigues were plentiful, and Castruccio quick in the use of corruption, seized the favourable moment to bribe two Frenchmen of high rank, but was detected and baffled. Cardona himself, although proof against Castruccio's temptations, was false and ambitious; he had seen Florence in periods of distress repeatedly surrender her liberties, and determined by getting her into difficulties to try if he also could not become her master; the fall of Altopascio elated him, his pockets were filled and his camp emptied by the bribes of rich citizens who tired of a long campaign and alarmed at increasing sickness, cheerfully exchanged their money for leave of absence and the pleasures of the capital. The cavalry being generally composed of these, was reduced along with the rest of the army to almost half its original number, and Cardona wished this; for his thoughts ran high, and hence his delays, discussions, and repeated demands to be invested with the same power in the city that he already exercised in the army; in order as he said, to insure the necessary obedience. But finding that the government would not listen to his request he lay idle amongst the Biantina marshes while Castruccio, with the eyes and activity of a lynx, strained every nerve to catch him in his toils, and succeeded; so that he who at first neglected the means of victory through bad faith, was at last through incapacity unable to save himself from destruction*. Dissension arose both in the camp and city about the propriety of withdrawing the army to a more healthy quarter or boldly pushing on to Lucca: the most cautious advised the former course

* Macchiavelli, Lib. ii°.

from a suspicion of the general's views and the state of the troops; but their opponents prevailed both in camp and council, some of them even favouring Cardona's wildest speculations. It was therefore resolved to advance towards Lucca, but instead of cutting through the enemy's position while he was weak, by a direct movement, as might have been effected; a bad unhealthy post was occupied on the edge of the Sesto marsh which decimated the troops while it still more augmented the gains of the general.

Castruccio did not fail to profit by this delay although his army also had decreased from want of funds and sickness, and therefore could not long maintain its position without reënforcements, but he discovered in that of the enemy the seeds of certain victory. By reason, money, and promises, he had already prevailed on Galeazzo Visconti to send his son with eight hundred horse into Tuscany; and with two hundred more from Passerino lord of Mantua and Modena he hoped soon to recover his ascendancy: in the meanwhile his situation was very precarious, for Cardona by a vigorous effort might have cut his line of communication; the latter now sensible of his errors and probably urged by the general discontent, had actually detached a hundred men-at-arms and a body of pioneers to clear a passage over the mountain. Castruccio's out-posts soon checked their progress and were followed by a stronger body then descending the hill in order of battle: skirmishing began, and voluntary reënforcements pushed out unordered from the Florentine camp below. It was entirely an encounter of cavalry; the green slopes of the hills were covered with armed and plumed knights; the whole scene resembled a tournament rather than a real battle and the effect is described as beautiful. Each party was broken four different times and each reuniting in compact order returned unconquered to the charge: many lances were shivered, many gentlemen unhorsed, and arms and wounded and expiring men lay

scattered on the mountain side. The Florentines with only half its numbers for three hours sustained and repulsed the charges of Castruccio's chivalry and might have finally prevailed if they had been well supported: but Cardona in complete order of battle looked on inactively, his troops cooped up in a narrow angle of the plain below whence they could not move without incurring danger. This did not escape Castruccio who therefore pushed boldly on with augmenting numbers, and though unhorsed by a German knight, wounded, and some of his bravest followers slain by nightfall had succeeded in driving the enemy back to their entrenchments in face of a much superior army.

Forty men-at-arms were either killed or taken on the side of Florence and many wounded, but all in front; for the Florentines did not turn, but battled proudly, and retreated sullenly, more angry with their own commander than with the enemy: they made no prisoners but must have smote well in the conflict, for no less than a hundred of their opponents' horses had galloped to the plain with empty saddles from the field of battle.

The trumpets of either host answered each other in defiance until after dark and neither choosing to own a defeat both remained under arms long after night set in; but the Florentines lost their spirit from that day's fight and no longer trusted either in the faith or talents of their general. Castruccio being anxious to keep the Spaniard in his difficult position directed the governors of several towns in the Val-di-Nievole to entangle him in a fictitious intrigue with the expectation of their surrender, and Cardona thus duped, notwithstanding every warning chose to continue in this state of vain inactivity.

On hearing of Azzo Visconti's arrival at Lucca with eight hundred men-at-arms he took fright and hastily retreated to Altopascio whilst Castruccio apprehensive of his escape hurried

back to the capital to accelerate the march of the Lombards. Visconti was so unwilling to proceed without repose or money that it required all the influence of Castruccio's wife seconded by the blandishments of the most beautiful women in Lucca and the payment of six thousand florins, to gain his promise of marching on the following morning: Castruccio then departed leaving to the women the care of keeping the young Milanese chieftain to his engagement. On the morning of the twenty-third of November the allied army paraded ostentatiously in front of Castruccio's position, with flying colours and sound of many trumpets, daring him as it were to battle, and the latter fearful of losing such a moment sent out some troops to amuse them with a prospect of victory while he kept his main body in hand awaiting the junction of Visconti. This was completed at nine in the morning when Castruccio was seen once more descending from the hills with three-and-twenty hundred men-at-arms in majestic movement towards the plain, while the greater part of his infantry remained in the mountain and took no part in the events of this day. An advanced squadron of one hundred and fifty French and Italian gentlemen began the fight by a bold charge directly through Visconti's line; but the second line or main body of Feditori consisting of seven hundred horsemen under Bornio of Burgundy who had been corrupted by Azzo or Castruccio, turned when it was time to charge and fled from the encounter. The whole army, whose confidence was already shaken, were confounded and some others began to fly; but had Raimond promptly moved forward to the support of his first line which had charged so effectively the battle might still have been maintained on equal terms: instead of which he remained motionless and added to the general consternation. Presently the main body of cavalry scarcely tarrying to exchange a single lance-thrust, hurried off in universal confusion leaving everything to the infantry who still maintained their ground with undaunted courage;

but neither their arms nor discipline were calculated to stand alone against such masses of man and steel as came successively upon them, and after an obstinate resistance they also were discomfited. The battle lasted but a short time, few were killed in the fight but many in the pursuit, for Castruccio instantly sent on a detachment to Cappiano, took possession of the bridge which had already been abandoned, and cut off all direct means of escape: the slaughter was therefore considerable but uncertain; the prisoners amongst whom were Raimond of Cardona and his son, were numerous; the Carroccio, the Martinella, with all the public standards, banners, and baggage of the army were taken; Cappiano and Montefalcone soon capitulated, and Altopascio not many days after. Thus did the tide of fortune turn and bear forward Castruccio to prouder hopes and higher dignities. On the twenty-seventh of September his whole army assembled at Pistoia and was reënforced by that garrison, while Castruccio in all the confidence of victory dismantled the bridge and forts of Cappiano and Montefalcone, and secure in the possession of Pistoia left the rest of his frontier open to the Florentines whose territory he ravaged for nearly seven weeks without interruption. Policy and necessity dictated this course, for his funds were exhausted, Azzo Visconti was still unsatisfied, and the army in arrears of pay; so that nothing but the plunder of Florentine citizens could supply his present necessities. Carmignano was his first conquest; he then marched to Lecore, to Signa, Campi, Brozzi, and Guaracchi; all were captured or fell a prey to flames and plunder: Peretola, within two miles of Florence, became for a while his head quarters while from the Arno to the mountains he ravaged all the plain, a plain covered then as now, but more richly, with magnificent villas and beautiful gardens the delight of the citizens and the admiration of the world*. All was destroyed. The wealth was plundered, the monuments

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cccxvii.

of then reviving art were carried away and reserved for the conqueror's triumph. Games were celebrated and races run on the very spot, time out of mind reserved by the Florentines for their public spectacles. A course of horsemen began the sports; that of footmen followed; and afterwards, to make the insult still more disgusting a bevy of common prostitutes ran together in mockery, deriding the impotence of the Florentines, not one of whom had the courage to come forth and check these insulting spectacles *. Yet the city was full of troops, and thousands had escaped from the fight, but the star of Castruccio shed its influence over them; their spirit was subdued, their courage wasted, and distrust of those great families whose kinsmen were prisoners to Castruccio lest they should treat with him secretly, completely distracted their judgment. After another course of devastation the invaders reassembled on the twenty-sixth of October and repeated their insults to please Azzo Visconti, who thus revenged a similar proceeding of the Florentine auxiliaries, not long before, under the walls of Milan.

Signa next occupied Castruccio, as it gave him command of the Arno at this point with a free entrance into the Val di Pesa and all the southern country; he therefore reënforced and strengthened it coined silver money there with the imperial image as an act of high sovereignty and passed them current under the name of "*Castruccini.*"

Florence was during this time in a painful state of suspicion and dismay; all the prisoners' kinsmen were regarded with distrust and deprived of office both within and without the city; half the Contado was a desert, its starving inhabitants huddled together in the capital where a wide-spreading mortality was the natural consequence †. Deaths were so frequent that the public crier, whose business it was to proclaim the decease of a citizen according to ancient custom, was prohibited

* Sismondi, vol. iv., cap. xxx. † Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cccxxviii.

from exercising his calling during the continuance of the malady: every precaution was adopted to secure the city; the walls were strengthened, San Miniato a Monte fortified, and even the citadel of Fiesole repaired from mere apprehension of Castruccio, who threatened to restore it and beleaguer Florence; and this he probably would have done had not the Bishop of Arezzo and the Ubaldini from incipient jealousy refused to lend their assistance. Fearful of internal war all exiles but the regular "*Escettati*" of 1311 were restored to their country on payment of a trifling impost; assistance was demanded from King Robert and the allies, but with little success; for through terror of Castruccio only Colle and San Miniato Tedesco answered the call. King Robert afterwards sent some trifling aid, but still Florence did not despair and a bold attempt was made to cut off Castruccio's whole army in a pass of the Val di Marina near Calenzano. New taxes were imposed to the annual amount of a hundred and eighty thousand florins beyond the ordinary revenue; levies were made in Mantua and in Germany; Monte Buoni and other important posts were fortified to protect the district: yet in the middle of all this danger two hundred cavalry were magnanimously despatched to Bologna which was sorely pressed and its army soon after defeated at Monteveglio by Passerino lord of Mantua, with the assistance of Azzo Visconti and his followers, fresh from their Tuscan victories *.

But this Milanese chief ere he finally quitted Tuscany offered a parting insult to Florence by holding public games in the very bed of the Arno. He then returned with five-and-twenty thousand florins as his share of the general plunder, while Castruccio loaded with prisoners and booty resolved to enter his capital in triumph like a Roman conqueror†.

The fame of this event attracted a crowd of spectators from all parts of Italy eager to witness the revival of an ancient

* Istorie Pistolesi. † Leon. Aretino, Lib. v.

ceremony but more eager to behold a hero whose reputation had already become familiar to the world. On the 10th of November, being the festival of Saint Martin, Castruccio made this triumphal entry into Lucca; not in a car, but on a magnificent courser, and at some distance from the gates a solemn procession of the clergy nobility and almost all the women of exalted rank in the city received him like a royal personage. At the head of his procession were the prisoners of least note with uncovered heads and arms crossed upon the breast, stooping as it were in humble supplication for the mercy of their conqueror: next came the Florentine Carroccio rolling heavily along, drawn by the same oxen and decked with the same trappings they had borne in the field, and overhung by the reversed and now degraded standard of that republic. Then followed other Florentine banners, those of the party Guelph and the kings of Naples, with flags and pennons of inferior note and various communities, all trailing in the dirt and as it were sweeping the path of the conqueror. Immediately after this mortifying spectacle walked the same chiefs who had so often borne these flags to victory. Here Raimond of Cardona also had full leisure to contemplate the effects of his own dishonesty; and the gallant Urlimbach a German knight who had unhorsed Castruccio, could also muse on the instability of fortune, as despoiled of arms and spurs he swelled the train of the victor. A multitude of noble captives followed in this insulting procession which was closed by Castruccio and his legions in all the pride and insolence of victory. But nothing mortified the prisoners so much as being compelled to bear large waxen torches as offerings to Saint Martin the tutelar saint of Lucca and dear to her troops because of the Bacchanalian licence usual at his festival on pretence of tasting the various flavour of the new-made wines, and because the saint himself had once been a soldier*.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., caps. from ccc. to cccvii. and from cccxvii. to cccxx., &c.—

The day after this pageant Castruccio invited fifty of his principal prisoners to an entertainment but afterwards it is said compelled them by extreme severity and even torture, to ransom themselves with enormous sums, by which he collected a hundred thousand florins for the prosecution of the war. Allowing himself no unnecessary repose he almost immediately led his army to Signa and on the 27th of November invested Montemurlo between Prato and Pistoia: this fortress being strong and well defended by the Pazzi and Adimari, required a regular siege and allowed him to employ his disposable troops in overrunning the neighbouring country to the gates of the capital which he could do with impunity, for although there were three hundred Neapolitan cavalry in Florence the government could not induce them to quit the town. A company of Flemings indignant at these insults sallied out with more courage than order and being unsupported were quickly driven in again with loss; another disorderly attempt was made, through mere shame, by the citizens with little better success*.

Thus bearded at their very gates, insulted, ridiculed, the country a desert, Signa occupied by the enemy, Prato at his mercy, Montemurlo still unsuccoured and ready to fall, the Bolognese army, their only bulwark against Lombardy, defeated; their best chieftains prisoners, their army diminished, their expenses increased, their allies daunted, death raging within the city and destruction without, all things adverse to them, and fortune courting their enemies; under such a pressure the people at last gave way, and despair once more compelled them to a temporary surrender of their independence.

Charles Duke of Calabria was therefore, and perhaps not

Istorie Pistolesi. — Leon. Aretino, Lib. v. — Mar. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. vi., Rub. 391.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 307.—Macchiavelli, Lib. ii°.—Sismondi, vol. iv., p. 23.—Tegrimo, Vita di Castruccio. Translated by Dati.—Aldo Mannucci, Vita di Castruccio.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cccxxix. to cccxxxii.

unexpectedly, offered the lordship of Florence for ten years on certain conditions, with which as showing the nature of such concessions we may finish this chapter.

It was decreed that the Prince should remain for thirty months consecutively within the Florentine state, or at war in the enemy's dominions, and the three succeeding summer months in addition should hostilities continue.

That in time of war he was to maintain one thousand Transalpine cavalry and have an annual allowance from the republic of two hundred thousand golden florins; half that sum in peace with the obligation of maintaining only four hundred and fifty men-at-arms.

If in time of peace the Duke wished to be absent he was bound to appoint a lieutenant of the blood royal or of some other great and powerful family; also to nominate a vicar for the administration of justice, who was not to alter any part of the government, but on the contrary defend and maintain the priors and gonfalonier, the executor of the ordinances of justice, and the sixteen chiefs of companies.

This decree which passed on the 23rd of December 1325 was despatched with a solemn embassy to Naples and finished the transactions of that unfortunate year, which began so brightly for the Florentines*.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—England: Edward II.—Scotland: Robert Bruce.—France: Philip V., (The Long) 1322. Charles IV., (The Fair).—Castile and Leon: Alphonso XI.—Aragon: Jacob II.—Portugal: Denis, till 1325. Alphonso IV. The Empire distracted by Civil War between Louis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria —Naples: Robert (The Good).—Sicily: Frederic II. (of Aragon).—Greek Empire: Andronicus Palæologus.—Ottoman Empire: Othman.—Pope: John XXII.

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* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cccxxxiii.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 321.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM A.D. 1326 TO A.D. 1329.

UNTIL the Dictator's arrival Florence gave the chief command of her army to Pierre de Narsi a French knight of exalted rank who was made prisoner at Altopascio: he had just been ransomed, and smarting under the indignity of Castruccio's triumph sought revenge and distinction ere he was compelled to relinquish his brief and hazardous dignity. Not being able to save Montemurlo which after a courageous resistance, honourably capitulated on the 8th of January, he exerted himself less worthily by trying to raise insurrections at Signa and Carmignano, and even attempting the life of Castruccio. His emissaries were three constables or colonels of the Lucchese army who with six private soldiers, all foreigners, undertook the murder, but this wary chief was never dormant and fortunately detected them.

A.D. 1326.

After some hesitation through fear of a mutiny amongst the Transalpine troops, Castruccio resolved at every risk to maintain the discipline of his army and show the mercenaries by a severe example that they were not exempted from the penalty of insubordination any more than Italian soldiers. Going forth therefore on horseback in complete armour, and surrounded by his native battalions he from a piece of rising ground and with dark and threatening aspect addressed the assembled army.

After a full exposition of the conspiracy, he dwelt on the

disgrace that any single individual might bring on the character of a whole nation if his countrymen neither joined in his condemnation nor sympathised with the military feelings of their chief. "He did not then speak to them," he added, "as a "Prince, but in the more exalted character of their general, "who despising personal vengeance was resolved to preserve "the army by a rigid adherence to all the strictness even of "Roman discipline." Then sternly commanding the prisoners to be brought forth and their heads to be struck off as they stood; which was done with a single blow of the sword; he calmly dismissed the troops and resumed his usual occupations. This unexpected intelligence and the sudden execution of justice on culprits who were previously unknown, together with surprise, fear, and habitual respect for Castruccio, all conspired to prevent any instantaneous burst of feeling from the foreign companies: but the French soon began to murmur, wherefore to stop this disorder the greater part of them were boldly dismissed even in presence of the enemy*.

Pierre de Narsi did not for this discontinue his machinations, and Castruccio to show his contempt of him, marched to Signa with only seven hundred horse and two thousand footmen, crossed the Arno, ravaged the Val di Pesa and destroyed Torri: a few days after he burst into the Val di Greve devastated the country round San Casciano, burned that town, and then returned unmolested to Signa in spite of the Florentine general and all his forces. Again on the 25th of February assembling eight hundred cavalry and three thousand infantry he once more advanced to Peretola and anew insulted Florence; then reoccupying Signa ordered its immediate evacuation and destruction, as he could spare neither the men nor money necessary for its defence even had he any hope of maintaining a place only seven miles from the capital against the powerful armament of the Duke of Calabria. But while thus employed he

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cccxxxvi.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 322.

conceived the bold and barbarous notion of drowning the vast plain of Florence by stopping the Arno's course with a huge embankment across the rocky strait of the Golfolina, ten miles from the metropolis.

No man hardy or wicked enough to attempt this could be found: the engineers told him that the fall of ground from Florence to the Golfolina amounting to about two hundred and eighty-eight feet would render such an undertaking impossible and he therefore relinquished this cruel and extravagant notion. After breaking down the bridge of Signa he retired to Carmignano which he garrisoned with the exiles of the former place and Florence, intending to make it the centre of all future operations and principal seat of war. From this point he crossed Monte Albano devastated all the country about Vinci, Cerreto-Guidi, and Vettolino; took Petrojo near Empoli, crossed the Arno, threatened Empoli itself and committed every possible mischief ere the superior power of Naples compelled him to desist.

As war still detained the Duke of Calabria in Sicily he despatched four hundred horse to Florence under his Vicar Walter de Brienne titular Duke of Athens, a man whose family had been expelled from Greece and his father killed by the great company of Catalans in 1311: being closely connected with the royal family the people, although disappointed, were willing to receive him, and on the expectation of this reënforcement sent some troops to their friends in Romagna and Lombardy where Faenza and Forlì, Milan and Brescia still continued at war*.

In the Florentine state Pierre di Narsi still endeavoured to maintain a miserable warfare of intrigue and treachery against a man in every way his superior: a conspiracy, real or fictitious on the part of some of Castruccio's officers, was managed by Pierre to gain possession of Carmignano; but on attempting

* G. Villani, Lib. ix., caps. cccxlv., cccli.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 322.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. v.

to effect this with a strong detachment from Prato he fell into an ambuscade and was taken prisoner with almost all his followers after a severe conflict. This disaster filled Florence with dismay, and when the next messenger brought intelligence of their general's decapitation in the market-place of Pistoia, they felt that misfortune had not yet done with them: but the immediate arrival of Walter de Brienne; the Pope's appointment of King Robert as Imperial Vicar of Italy; the excommunication of the Bishop of Arezzo; the assurance of Charles of Calabria's near approach, and the defensive movements of Castruccio in consequence; all helped to maintain the public spirit*.

Soon after Walter's appearance the proper time had arrived for a new Scrutiny whereupon he immediately endeavoured to prove that according to the contract his master was entitled to appoint all the magistracies of Florence, a prerogative which he forthwith began to exercise by cancelling even the previous nominations; but in other respects he governed discreetly, became exceedingly popular, and altogether acted a wily and sagacious part in direct opposition to his natural character†.

Four hundred additional cavalry soon after came from Provence followed by the Pope's legate as a pacificator, and Castruccio seeing this dangerous combination of spiritual and temporal power arrayed against him, endeavoured to gain time for preparation: to this end he declared in a written address to the legate that "although so highly favoured by "fortune he had never trusted to the continuance of her "support or allowed himself to be blinded by success, and "therefore was ready to make peace with Florence if she "would be content to remain within her just limits and no "longer intermeddle with the affairs of others; that she ought "by that time to have learned the danger of molesting people "in their own home, for God who never suffered men to in-

* Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccclxv. † Ibid., cap. cccli.

" dulge long in pride had already shown her how he abhorred " the arrogance of those who allowed themselves to be flattered " by a too favourable contemplation of their individual power." This advance gave some hopes to the legate; but now the expectations of Florence again began to rise; Castruccio himself was anything but sincere; Charles of Calabria had already reached Siena; and this negotiation was consequently discontinued.

The houses of Tolomei and Salembeni had long kept that city in confusion, and Florence being apprehensive of complete ruin to the Guelphic faction there, implored the Duke as he hoped for permanent success to remain and tranquillise the town by a confirmation of their power. Charles, who probably would not at any rate have departed without securing something for himself, willingly took this advice; remained eighteen days at Siena, reëstablished peace in the city; demanded the perpetual lordship of the republic, which after some tumults he secured for five years with somewhat less authority than at Florence, and finally charged the latter sixteen thousand florins for thus carrying her wishes into execution*.

On the 30th of July he entered Florence followed by eleven hundred men-at-arms one hundred of whom were knights of the Golden Spur. He was lodged in the podestà's palace from whence the seat of justice was purposely, perhaps derisively removed, and formally acknowledged as lord of the Florentine republic. It was the mark of misfortune, the stigma of disgrace; yet it excited the admiration of Italy; for Italy beheld the Florentine people, masters only of a small and not a very fruitful territory, after their repeated misfortunes, after so many defeats, such reverses and so much treasure lost; nay at the very moment when they seemed to totter on the very brink of ruin, suddenly rise in their strength and like a giant refreshed

* G. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. ccclvi. — S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 327.—O. Malavolti, Part ii., Lib. v., p. 84.

with wine, by the power of their own resources as it were command the service of so great a prince, and an army such as had never before been seen in Florence!

There were no less than two thousand men-at-arms assembled most of them belonging to the highest ranks of society, independent of the Cardinal Legate's court and followers which were far from trifling; and without reckoning the Florentine chivalry or a single knight of the Guelphic confederacy. So vast a development of national resources was the more remarkable because at this very time the ancient bank of the *Scali* and *Amieri* which had already endured for a hundred and twenty years with undiminished reputation, failed for the enormous sum of 400,000 florins which being for the most part due in the city of Florence shook the republic to its centre and, excepting bloodshed, was considered equally ruinous with the battle of Altopascio itself*.

The several contingents of the Guelphic league were afterwards summoned, and increased this fine army to three thousand four hundred and fifty men-at-arms besides the Florentine Cavallate, never less than five hundred men, and a selection of some of the best and bravest infantry in Tuscany. Sixty thousand florins were immediately raised by a partial and extraordinary tax on the richest citizens and every diligence was used by the Florentines to insure success: yet this great army remained entirely passive and they had the mortification to see their time and treasure idly wasted by him to whom they had surrendered their liberties in the expectation of a very different result.

Many reasons were given for this delay; but Villani a citizen of rank and reputation and an eye-witness of what he relates, believes it to have been because Castruccio amused the Pope's legate with false negotiations and employed the time in augmenting his forces from all the Ghibeline states of Lombardy

* G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. iv.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 328.

and Tuscany, until he became not only fearless of attack himself but prepared to resume the offensive. If the duke had made no delay either at Siena or Florence he might have marched to Lucca while Castruccio's army was weak and he on a sick-bed; but Charles of Calabria was no general, and more adapted to augment the authority with which he was already invested within than to free his constituents from their formidable enemy without.

He demanded the power of appointing every public officer from the priors downward both within and without the city; of making peace or war; of restoring rebels and exiles even in opposition to the laws, and finally of renewing his authority for ten years from the first of September 1326. The people became alarmed, and the more so because he was supported by the nobles who eagerly proposed to invest him with absolute sovereignty for an unlimited period; not from any love to the prince but from hatred to the people and their ordinances of justice which they were determined if possible to destroy. Charles was however wise enough to take good counsel and still hold to those from whom he had received what he already possessed; the citizens acquiesced in his demands and the aristocracy was baffled *. Seeing that nothing was to be expected from him the Florentines contented themselves with fortifying Signa and the opposite town of Gangalandi in order to protect the agricultural labourers, and then quietly awaited the movements of both their masters. Castruccio had already driven Spinetto Malespini from his dominions in Lunigiana and compelled him to take refuge with the protector of all unfortunate exiles, Cane della Scala; but the Duke of Calabria tempted him once more to try his fortune by the invasion of that province while he with the Florentine army marched on Pistoia. Both these plans were executed and with more hope of success because the towns of Mammiano and Gavignana

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x°, cap. ii°.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 329.

in the mountain of Pistoia had just revolted. Castruccio was not much alarmed, and though very ill reduced both places in the middle of a severe winter, baffled the Florentine army which attempted in vain to relieve them and finally compelled it to return in disgrace to the capital: then turning suddenly on Spinetto once more drove him into exile.

Thus failed the first dilatory attempt of this brilliant army, and Florence became more desponding than ever: those that formerly used to tremble at the formidable name of Uguccione now acknowledged that he was only a sudden and startling noise, but that Castruccio was the thunderbolt itself which had stricken and consumed their country. The citizens were now utterly distracted and knew not where to turn, such was the confusion and so great the waste of men money and credit occasioned by his uncommon abilities and continual success; for in the midst of all Castruccio's good fortune he had never, it was said, committed a rash or hazardous act; every event was calculated, few mistakes made, and victory attended him as his shadow *.

To prevent the people of Lunigiana from revolting he destroyed all their fenced towns and augmented his army with the garrisons, the works of Montale near Pistoia were dismantled and Montefalcone shared the same fate; for he used to say that "*those strongholds were the best, which could make long marches* "*and keep themselves near or distant according as they were* "*wanted.*" The awe which his character impressed on the Guelphic lords of Italy caused Robert to be blamed for opposing the inexperience of his son to the power of so accomplished a general and exposing the descendant of a line of illustrious princes to the disgrace of being killed, defeated, or made prisoner by a simple gentleman of Lucca. Such was the "form and pressure of the time"! In consequence of this as was supposed, Charles had instructions to tell the Florentines that unless they would consent to take eight hundred of his

* S. Ammirato, Lib. vi., p. 331.

foreign cavalry into the pay of the confederacy he must return to Naples. This unexpected demand and infringement of every compact, after all their exertions, astonished the citizens; but there was no help and 30,000 florins were added to the 450,000 they had already thrown away upon the Duke of Calabria, because few of the allies would submit to the extortion; yet this was not all, and as if to deride their weakness, he at the capricious request of the duchess repealed some of their sumptuary laws, the solemn decrees of the state, to which the citizens held with extreme tenacity, and they had the mortification to see their wives and daughters in the midst of the country's misery when they should rather have been clothed in mourning for her slaughtered citizens, puffed up with such excess of vanity as to adorn their heads, says Villani, with "long tresses of white and yellow silk instead of hair, which they wore in front: this decoration because it displeased the Florentines as immodest and unnatural, they had already taken from the females and had made laws against it and other disorderly ornaments; but thus the inordinate appetite of women overcame the good sense of men" *.

The Lombard Ghibelines seeing so formidable a display of Guelphic power together with the more intimate union between the church and Naples; in spite of Castruccio's success could not help feeling that their cause was in jeopardy and therefore determined to support it by the imperial power: Parma and Bologna had already given themselves to Rome, the Bishop of Arezzo was excommunicated and deposed; and besides Florence and Siena; San Miniato, Colle, San Gimignato and Prato had made Charles their lord, the last even in perpetuity. This great extension of power gave the house of Anjou command over the greater part of Italy and therefore no time was lost in despatching an embassy to implore the "*Bavarian*," (as Louis was called by those who

A.D. 1327.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xi.

did not wish to be anathematised) to meet the Italian Ghibelines or their ambassadors at Trent for the purpose of considering the best means of exalting the imperial dignity.

Until the year 1322 Louis of Bavaria had been so occupied in struggling for the crown with his rival Frederic of Austria that he had no leisure to meddle with the Peninsula; but the decisive battle of Muhldorf in which four thousand men-at-arms were killed in repeated charges on the field, and Frederic of Austria made prisoner, left him at liberty to employ himself in foreign politics and turn his attention towards Italy. Pope John XXII. whom he informed of the victory at Muhldorf, not having before decided on the candidate he meant to support, received the letter of Louis as his friend, and promised to aid him in the consummation of peace; but when the pontiff heard of the assistance afforded to his worst enemy the excommunicated Galeazzo Visconti in 1323 and of the Bavarian's having compelled Raimond of Cardona the papal general to raise the siege of Milan, his anger exceeded all bounds. He insisted that as pope he was the only legitimate ruler of the empire during a vacancy, the only judge between two competitors; and until his decision was known no king of the Romans could exist: it was, he said, a grave offence against God, and a palpable contempt of the church to have exercised the powers of royalty without its sanction and protected its enemies, especially Galeazzo Visconti and his brothers who had been declared heretics by the definitive sentence of a competent tribunal. Louis was therefore excommunicated, and again more solemnly in March 1324 when he was also declared incapable of ever ascending the imperial throne. Frederic while in prison had been visited by Louis and treated with so much and such unusual generosity that he acknowledged him as emperor and was immediately liberated, ever after remaining his ally and intimate friend. Germany was then pacified, the pope's intrigues there were all baffled and the emperor prepared to

visit Italy, to confirm his imperial dignity by a public coronation, and revenge himself on the pontiff.

In this disposition an invitation from the Italian Ghibelines was peculiarly well-timed, especially as Louis, weakened by long wars remained without money, and Italy was always considered as an inexhaustible mine of treasure by Transalpine nations. He therefore repaired to Trent about the middle of February where he was met by Azzo and Marco Visconti of Milan Cane della Scala of Verona, Passerini Buonacossi of Mantua, Renaldo Marquis of Este, the Bishop of Arezzo, and ambassadors from Frederic of Sicily Castruccio Castracani, the exiles of Genoa and all the other Ghibelines. Here the pope was declared heretical by a considerable body of the clergy and solemnly excommunicated, ridiculed, and defied: the imputation was not new, for this ambitious and mercenary pontiff was a zealous asserter of his own infallibility, wished to dictate absolutely to the church and had made enemies of large bodies of the clergy; amongst others of the Franciscan or minor friars who insisted on Christ's poverty and therefore, following his example, condemned all property in churchmen as preposterous and unbecoming. These monks had been bold enough to denounce John as heretical and excommunicated, upon which he burned some of them and deprived others of the little they possessed conforming to their own maxims: other causes had made other enemies amongst the secular clergy; so that Louis found himself zealously supported by a powerful body even in the church, and it was unanimously declared that as Christ had no property all priests who had were enemies to his sacred poverty *.

In Tuscany the war now became somewhat more active, Pistoia was attacked with partial success, but Charles uneasy at the Bavarian's progress sent an embassy to Avignon and implored Pope John in concert with the Florentines to publish a

* S. Ammirato, Lib. vii., p. 334.—Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xviii.—Sismondi, vol. iii., p. 379, vol. iv., p. 41.

crusade against him and restore the Bolognese and Ferrarese exiles, or he might expect worse consequences than in the threatening days of Henry the Seventh. Meanwhile new taxes sprang up to meet new dangers, and 80,000 florins were raised by an impost called the "*Estimo*" on real and personal property and even annual incomes, the amount of which being ascertained by secret testimony from seven neighbours was accompanied by considerable abuse and injustice, and yet all was borne, not only with patience but cheerfulness*.

A desire to court the supreme authority, the perilous aspect of affairs, the hope of final victory, the encouraging remembrance of past dangers, such as Uguccione's sudden fall at the moment of his most exalted hopes; their own profound despair and the Emperor Henry's unexpected death when all around was dark; these were the thoughts that buoyed up Florence, and induced the people to hope for some similar ending to their present conflict with Louis and Castruccio, although as yet but in its infancy.

Some consolation was also drawn from the old boast of republicans, that while lords and kings and emperors died, they themselves were in a manner eternal: because all the good or evil when concentrated in one man, vanished with him; but the welfare of republics was rarely affected by the decease of any single member of the commonwealth. Such reflections spread rapidly; "Why should we," it was asked, "display less virtue, less resolution than our fathers who with firm and constant minds repelled such dangers? The times call for exertion, let us arise and show ourselves equal to the occasion"†

In this awakened spirit they not only gave liberally but celebrated the birth of their master's son with unusual splendour, as if in profound peace and prosperity: the infant's death about eight days after, was caught at by the superstitious to augur as

* G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xvii. † S. Ammirato, Lib. vii., p. 334.

brief a period for any rejoicings at the success of Florence; and subsequent events confirmed the general credulity.

Pisa although she had sent an embassy to Louis was but little disposed to receive him in Tuscany; the party that governed were bitter foes to Castruccio, and although Ghibeline, inclined rather to Robert and the pope than to an excommunicated emperor whose friendship or enmity promised to be equally ruinous. When the news of his coronation at Milan was known in Pisa some Florentine exiles assisted by a part of the populace made great rejoicing and even paraded the streets crying out "*Death to King Robert, the Pope and the Florentines, and long live the Emperor.*" Upon which the seignory expelled them and all other exiles, and even the German cavalry, whom they had previously dismounted, besides a certain set of nobles suspected of partiality to Castruccio and the emperor.

This jealousy of Castruccio was not confined to Pisa; his iron sceptre weighed heavily on Lucca, and both Charles and the Florentines unequal in the field clutched at the chance of destroying him by secret treason: the potent family of Quartigiani, the most active in his exaltation, either weary of servitude or perhaps urged by the vanity of pulling down an idol they had themselves erected, but certainly stimulated by Florentine ducats, undertook to organise a conspiracy that would overwhelm Castruccio in the midst of his greatness. It was agreed that a powerful army should assault Pistoia and force him from Lucca to its defence; the conspirators were to seize this occasion for displaying the banners of King Robert and the church, which had been sent to them from Florence, and simultaneously call upon the people to rise and get possession of a gate, while by preconcerted signals, the garrison of Fucecchio with all the troops in the Val d'Arno would hurry to their assistance and occupy Lucca without sending a single man from the camp before Pistoia.

This scheme was well laid and would have succeeded but for one of those accidents that so frequently ruin the best-imagined enterprises: some trifling delay of the Florentine army allowed a pause between the final arrangement and execution of the plot and the conspirators had time to reflect. One of the Quartigiani either from remorse or being unable to endure a state of anxious suspense went and revealed all to Castruccio: in a moment every gate of Lucca was closed and guarded; twenty-two of that family were instantly arrested, many other citizens imprisoned, houses were searched, the banners found, and every evidence of conspiracy rendered clear and palpable. Messer Guerruccio Quartigiani the chief conspirator and three of his sons were immediately hung with the reversed banners of the pope and king suspended over them, while others suffered a more cruel and then a not unusual punishment, under the name of "*Propagginare*" or "*Piantare*," that is to say, being *planted* in the ground like vines; or buried alive with their heads downward and their feet in the air, a sort of execution which Dante had probably witnessed and retained in mind when he was inventing a punishment for those guilty of simony *.

* Fuor della bocca a ciascun soverchiava
D' un peccator li piedi, e delle gambe
Infino al grosso, e l' altro dentro stava.
Le piante erano a tutti accese intrambe;
Perche sì forte guizzavan le giunte,
Che spezzate averian ritorte e strambe.
Qual suole il fiammeggiar delle cose unte
Muoversi pur su per l' estrema buccia,
Tal era lì da' calcagni alle punte. (*Inferno, Canto xix.*)

From out the mouth of every hole emerg'd
A sinner's feet and legs, high as the calf;
Nought else was seen; the rest all hid within.
Both soles were burning of each culprit there,
Which made the tortur'd joints so strongly writhe
That cords they would have snapt, and twisted withs.
As fire is wont, with unctuous matter fed,
To run along the surface it hath caught,
So there from heel to toe quick play'd the flame.

The remainder of the Quartigiani family of which there were a hundred men able to carry arms, were declared rebels and expelled from the city and territory of Lucca.

This was considered a just judgment of God, because that very race, originally Guelphs, had betrayed their party and were the first to surrender national liberty to the very man now chosen as the instrument of their punishment for a second treason: but in tracing the ramifications of this plot Castruccio found so many citizens implicated that he prudently refrained from any further investigation *.

The duke, the legate, and the Florentines, equally baffled in open war and secret conspiracy, revenged themselves by another excommunication of Louis and Castruccio with all their adherents, which was solemnly pronounced on the great festival of the patron saint of Florence by Cardinal Orsini; and immediately afterwards a noble army of five-and-twenty hundred horse and twelve thousand infantry under Count Novello encamped at Signa for three days on purpose to perplex the enemy: but suddenly quitting this they moved on Fucecchio and, crossing the Gusciana by a bridge of boats previously prepared, appeared before Santa Maria a Monte.

This was the strongest fortress in Tuscany but at that time somewhat weakened, because Castruccio had withdrawn a part of its garrison to strengthen Carmignano the supposed object of attack, and had left but five hundred veterans with the people's aid to defend it: this place was inclosed in a treble rampart and the citizens were accustomed to fighting from its having been made one of the centres of that devastating warfare with which Castruccio so often tormented the Florentines. But the latter were more especially exasperated against the people of Santa Maria because on Castruccio's first success, from having been thoroughly Guelph they changed sides and delivered up all the Lucchese exiles to his mercy: they were

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xxv.—Tegrimi, Vita di Castruccio.

therefore immediately summoned to surrender under the penalty of an indiscriminate massacre but remained true to their chief and resolved to stand the hazard of a siege.

No time was lost, for Count Novello commanded the assault to be given with the greatest ferocity "to show the world that a royal army composed of such nobility was not to be baffled and derided by five hundred peasantry inclosed in a fortress which though strong was not impregnable." "If "the campaign," he is made to say, "if the campaign should "begin successfully the pride of Castruccio may be repressed "and therefore a great obstacle at once be opposed to the "Bavarians' passage into Tuscany, this would liberate Naples "from danger and secure the tranquillity of Rome, already in "disorder at the mere expectation of his arrival. Are you not "aware O soldiers" he added "that our master Robert has "already despatched a fleet of seventy galleys against Frederic "of Aragon; not so much from ancient enmity as because that "false king has favoured the coming of this false emperor? "Are there not seven Genoese galleys in the Tiber's mouth "cutting off every supply from Rome, which has dared to be-"come the ally of an excommunicated man; and the prince of "the Morea, if he have not yet entered that city, has at least "ravaged all the territory of Orvieto and captured numerous "fortresses. Is not the town of Rieti already occupied by the "Duke of Athens? Has not Ostia ceased to resist, and do we "not every moment expect the news of its surrender? And all "these labours are undertaken only to hinder everything be-"coming a prey to this barbarian who more eager for money "than glory has already expelled his hosts the Visconti from "their dominions; worthy nevertheless of a severer punish-"ment as the great disturbers of Italian tranquillity. With "such examples it also becomes us in Tuscany to do something "of renown that will lower the pride of Castruccio, the potent "minister of this German, and now rendered insupportable by

" the immoderate favours of fortune. He boasts of our having
" been already a whole year in Florence and accomplished
" nothing; of his having at one time amused us with the hopes
" of peace, at another made us ridiculous even to ourselves, by
" unravelling all our intrigues and conspiracies against him;
" of our miserable failure at Mammiano and Gavignana; of
" Malespini's feeble attempt and disgraceful flight, and with our
" being inferior to him in everything but priestly excommuni-
" cations. But that which should make us blush even to think
" of, he has had the audacity to declare that he expects yet
" once more to return triumphant to Lucca with our young
" prince in bonds before him holding a lighted torch for an
" offering at the shrine of Saint Martin, as Raimond of Cardona
" was compelled to do two years ago! Now is not this arrogance
" enough to make us trample on it with all that fiery indigna-
" tion that is wont to fill the breast of noble-minded men, when
" Castruccio! (to what a pass are human things arrived!)
" Castruccio! a poor dependent of Uguccione della Faggiola,
" dares to hope that he can lead away bound to his chariot
" wheels the son of King Robert! the nobility of Naples! and
" with them the city and people of Florence! We do not
" now combat with either Lucca or Pistoia, nor have we before
" us this tremendous captain; but what is there that will prove
" too great for this man's pride if we are not found good enough
" to capture one of his fortresses, when even now amongst his
" other boasts he vaunts of not having left Florence a foot be-
" yond her walls! I know that any man who regards his own
" honour would rather die than survive the disgrace of being
" beaten by this fortress, and for myself I am resolved either to
" leave my bones before yonder ramparts or lodge this evening in
" the town. If you are of my mind victory is secure; because to
" resolute men all things are attainable: but I already see the
" just anger that moves you against this tyrant, and believing
" that deeds and not words are the proper answer to your

" general's appeal, you hold that to be lost time which is not " employed in combat. Our horses are now of no service as " our camp is safe; dismount therefore and instead of wasting " time in useless words I will show you what is to be done by " my own example."

Scarcely had he finished speaking and given the signal of assault when the sharpest conflict that had for many years been known in Tuscany began: the attack was bold and sudden and the defence desperate: the battering engines were soon in position; battalions of Genoese cross-bowmen shot so strong and thickly that not a man could show himself on the walls without being killed or wounded: the dismounted knights in heavy armour, each with his shield, advanced in solid order and placed the ladders under a crossing shower of stones and arrows; the infantry with lighter arms and worse protected, rivalled them in courage and the assault soon became general. Doubtful and fierce too it remained until a young squire of Provence seizing a projecting stone, with one bold spring got footing on the top; waving his master's pennon: instantly a loud shout echoed through the ranks and in a few minutes a long line of banners fluttered on the solid battlements: without a pause the whole mass swept forward to the second wall and dashing over it like a wave plunged fiercely into the town driving all that could escape, in terror to the citadel: nothing withstood the soldiers' fury, and man woman and child were indiscriminately slaughtered. Many endeavoured to conceal themselves, but the jealousy of different nations, rivals in courage and strong in enmity, Italian and Transalpine troops, made each set fire to the town lest the other should monopolise the plunder, so those that the sword missed the fire consumed; and if by chance some frantic wretches rushed in terror from the flames they were instantly hacked to pieces by a disappointed and maddened soldiery. A third inclosure formed the citadel, but the troops were too much exhausted for an immediate assault, and

the remaining citizens, despairing of relief from their general, who was at Vivinaio with an inferior force, in a short time surrendered themselves to the Florentines *.

After a rest of eight days Count Novello recrossed the Gusciano and halted for two more at Fucecchio to observe Castruccio's movements, but seeing that he did not stir, the Florentines again passed the river, advanced to Cerruglio, and for three successive days defied him to battle: the Lucchese chief who had only eight hundred horse and ten thousand foot, being in daily expectation of the emperor's arrival at Pontremoli was content to remain on the defensive. The same expectation prevented the Florentines from marching direct on Lucca, therefore crossing Montalbano between Signa and Carmignano they suddenly attacked Artimino which Castruccio had fortified so strongly as to apprehend no danger in that quarter. But flushed with his late victory Novello at once gave the assault which was renewed for three days successively; the last battle continuing without intermission from noon until night-fall; when all the palisades and one of the gates being burned, the garrison, with the fate of Santa Maria before their eyes, surrendered on the twenty-seventh of August. Count Novello wished to proceed and carry Tizzana and Carmignano in the same manner, but Louis being now close to Pontremoli he and his troops were ordered back to Florence.

It was now about thirteen months since the Duke of Calabria had entered that city with the finest army that its vast resources had ever produced, and 500,000 florins had been expended on him by the community; yet, saving the capture of Santa Maria and Artimino, nothing had been done; wherefore the people became justly discontented, though compelled to suppress their ill-humour from a sense of present danger and the threatening progress of the emperor.

* Istorie Pistolese.—Gio. Villani, v., p. 99.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. vii., Lib. x., cap. xx.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. p. 339.

Louis was crowned at Milan on the thirty-first of May by the excommunicated Aretine prelate; the archbishop of Milan having refused to perform this office; but whether from a delay in the promised supplies accompanied by an insolent message from Galeazzo Visconti, as Villani avers; or from the complaints of Marco, Lodrisio, and Azzo Visconti against Galeazzo's tyranny; or from suspicion of an attempt to poison the emperor, as the sudden death of Stephano Visconti after tasting his drink, led others to suppose; it is certain that on the twentieth of July Galeazzo's brothers Luchino and Giovanni and his son Azzo, were arrested along with that prince himself and closely imprisoned; the strong castle of Monza being given up to Louis as the price of the latter's safety. This revolution was effected at the public council of Milan after Visconti's German troops had been seduced; an imperial vicar and twenty-four citizens were immediately appointed to govern the city thus suddenly restored to apparent independence, and 50,000 florins were granted to the emperor. This decided conduct pleased the Milanese and Guelphs as much as it alarmed the other Lombards, because it was Visconti himself that had brought Louis into Italy and he was the first to experience that monarch's ingratitude.

A diet afterwards assembled near Brescia where several new bishops were created and about 200,000 florins collected from the Ghibeline states of Lombardy; Louis then crossed the Po near Cremona and with two thousand men-at-arms marched through Parma, passed the mountains without any opposition from the papal troops stationed in those parts, and halted at Pontremoli on the first of September 1327. Here he was received by Castruccio but refused to sojourn at Lucca until Pisa which had determined to shut her gates upon him had been reduced to reason *.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xxxii.—Bernardino Corio, Storia di Milano.

This city, which had found the friendship of Henry as ruinous as the enmity of Louis seemed likely to prove; was confirmed in her resistance by a terror of Castruccio's arts and influence, and the certainty of his being as ready to purchase her liberties, as the Bavarian if once in possession, would be willing to sell them. The Bishop of Arezzo apprehensive that Pisa would be forced into the arms of Florence persuaded the citizens to send ambassadors to Louis at Ripafratta and engaging his word for their safe return; but after much dispute nothing was agreed upon, both parties being dissatisfied, and the ambassadors were arrested by orders from Castruccio as they returned to Pisa. The prelate indignant at this perfidy bearded the latter in presence of Louis himself, who evidently leaning to the Lucchese chief and probably a party in the act, allowed of an indecent altercation and high words between these proud and privileged seignors. The result was a continued detention of the envoys, the bishop's withdrawal from the imperial camp, and finally his death a few days after, while on his road to Arezzo where his brother Piero Saccone of Pietramala a bitter enemy of Florence, immediately succeeded to power.

Louis followed up this treacherous act by a close and rigorous investment of Pisa on both banks of the Arno, even before the people knew of their ambassadors' detention, while the exiles maintained a partisan warfare, scoured the whole Contado, captured town after town, and finally cut off all further succours by mastering Porto Pisano. Arms and money were supplied from Florence; for such was the condition of Pisa that the government feared even in this crisis to levy a new tax lest the populace should rise in rebellion. The siege lasted a month and the city might have baffled Louis;

Parte iii., folio 204.—Libro del Polistore, cap. xi., p. 737. Rerum Italicarum, Scriptores, tomo xxiv.—Storia di Milano da Pietro Verri, vol. ii., cap. x., pp. 119—20, &c.

but fresh discord, the curse of these licentious republics, caused it to be surrendered on condition that neither their own exiles, nor Castruccio, nor any of his people should be admitted into the town; that their form of government should remain inviolate and 60,000 florins be paid into the imperial treasury. On the eleventh of October Louis entered Pisa, and three days after the citizens of their own accord but principally through fear of the populace, destroyed the capitulation and admitted both Castruccio and the exiles while they threw themselves and their country on the emperor's mercy. Justice was well administered, but dearly purchased by a contribution of 160,000 florins; enormous at any time, but peculiarly so at a moment when the Sardinian war and final loss of that province had reduced the whole community to the verge of ruin; and when only a few days before, 5000 florins could not be demanded, without the danger of revolution; so badly governed, or so short-sighted and capricious were the people *.

After the settlement of Pisa Louis and Castruccio repaired to Lucca where the more powerful spirit of the latter was made manifest in its immediate ascendancy and influence over his guest whose splendid reception Castruccio followed up by a present of 50,000 florins; both chiefs then proceeded to Pistoia from whose heights Castruccio pointed out the plain and towers of Florence and showed the easy access which the possession of the one gave him to the territory of the other.

Returning to Lucca for the feast of Saint Martin, the emperor took that opportunity of publicly placing on the head of Castruccio the ducal circle investing him with the states of Lucca, Pistoia, Volterra and the bishopric of Luni, conferring on him the privilege of quartering the royal arms of Bavaria with his own, besides an unscrupulous donation of

* Paulo Tronci, Annali Pisa.—Ranieri Sardo, Cronica Pisana, cap. lxx.—Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xxxiii., xxxiv. and xxxv.—Roncioni, Lib. xiii., p. 741.—Cronica di Pisa, Sc. Re. It., V. xv.

the Pisan towns of Serrezzano, Rotina, Montecalvole, and Pietra Cassa. The ceremony of receiving the ducal coronet from an emperor's hands, Castruccio's great power talents and influence, and the universal feeling that this title would not long continue vain and empty, but become in substance as in name the first dukedom in Italy since the time of the ancient Lombards, altogether imparted a solemn and imposing character to the transaction which increased the apprehensions of every Italian Guelph; nor was the Ghibeline Pisa less anxious or discontented to see four of her walled towns quietly made over to Castruccio as a coronation gift; an earnest, as it seemed to be, of her own destiny *.

The Duke of Calabria knowing that Castruccio was unwillingly compelled to follow Louis, who resumed his march towards Rome on the fifteenth of December, also prepared to quit Florence, leaving Philip Sanguineto with a thousand men-at-arms as his vicar. At a public feast he took leave of the Florentines, promising to return when the kingdom of Naples should be safe, and departed on the twenty-seventh of December, the same day that Castruccio by another road marched from Lucca to join the imperialists †.

Charles governed despotically like every ruler of that age; for liberty then consisted in the privilege of being eligible to govern and choose governors, rather than in being governed well; and although in doing so he tyrannically condemned a citizen of rank who with as much reason as insolence opposed the grant of a subsidy to King Robert, thereby proving that freedom no longer existed in Florence; yet he made himself a favourite with the citizens by great personal urbanity and his endeavours to reconcile private feuds; together with considerable liberality and a generally impartial administration of justice. On the other hand he was unpopular from his inactive unwar-

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xxxvii., xlvi., xlviii.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xlvi.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vii., p. 345.

like character, and the excessive cost of his maintenance: this, according to Villani who was employed in auditing the accounts, amounted in nine months to 900,000 florins; but as the greater part was circulated within the town; although a highly-taxed people necessarily worked twice for the same money; it was still accompanied by great activity and some outward appearance of prosperity *.

The emperor's arrival at Viterbo was immediately felt in Rome, where a contest had previously arisen between Stefano Colonna seconded by Napoleone Orsini, who adhered to A.D. 1328. King Robert; and his own brother Sciarra Colonna, Jacobo Savelli, and Tebaldo di Santa Stazio, captains of the people: the two first had been expelled; for Castruccio's arts and Ghibeline ducats had been long at work in that factious city which the pontiff's absence at Avignon left in a state of continual agitation. It was generally governed by an oligarchy headed by the pope's ministers and those of the king of Naples; by the Colonni, Savelli and Orsini; with occasional bursts of the most furious democracy: the senator administered justice; a council of fifty-two members nominally formed the government and was presided by the prefect of Rome; two or three captains of the people along with the senator being elected by the popular voice. The Ghibeline chiefs sent privately to Louis, desiring that no heed should be given to the Roman ambassadors, who wished to settle the terms on which he was to be received, but that he should march directly to Rome: with this hint Castruccio, who was appointed to answer the embassy, immediately ordered the trumpets to sound to horse, saying courteously "*This is the Emperor's answer.*" These messengers were detained, and Louis suddenly appearing before the city surprised the disaffected, confirmed the doubtful, and gave spirit to his adherents. He was crowned on the sixteenth of January 1328 †.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xlix. Muratori, Anno 1327-8.—Sismondi, vol. iv., p. 58.
† Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xx.—

During these transactions Benedetto da Orvieto the Duke of Calabria's judicial vicar arrived at Florence where the citizens still found resources to complete the walls south of the Arno and erect the present Roman gate so as to secure that quarter of the town, which had been endangered by Castruccio's late inroads on the Val di Greve. Neither was the duke's lieutenant Philip Sanguineto inclined to sleep: by means of two Guelphic citizens of Pistoia friends of Simone della Tosa and well acquainted with the weak points of that city a plan was laid to surprise it and successfully executed. Having accurate measures of the walls and ditches Sanguineto with six hundred men-at-arms, the two Pistoians, and Simone della Tosa, but no other Florentine, repaired by night to Prato: he was there joined by two thousand infantry with the requisite besieging engines, ladders, and bridges, and continuing his march arrived under the weakest point of the Pistoian capital before daylight. The ditch was frozen hard enough to allow one man in armour to pass at a time, and thus a hundred men-at arms gained the ramparts unperceived until the officer of the night visited the guards with his patrol: a short conflict then took place, the officer and patrol were put to death, but an alarm was given; the garrison was immediately under arms and the whole city in confusion. During this time bridges had been thrown over the ditch and engines set to work at the wall which with the assistance of some friends within was perforated sufficiently to allow of a man-at-arms leading his horse through: the assailants were soon united and an obstinate conflict followed with various success until broad daylight, when the Florentines succeeded in overcoming all opposition, and then driving their enemy from the strong but as yet unfinished citadel, continued the plunder of Pistoia for eight successive days. This event was known at Rome only three days afterwards and raised Castruccio's anger against Louis for compelling him to leave Tuscany: he instantly set off with five hundred horse and a thousand

crossbow-men, and taking the Maremma road pushed eagerly forward with only twelve followers; after some days travelling through a very dangerous country Castruccio reached Pisa on the ninth of February where he soon contrived by intrigue and influence to acquire supreme authority; a tolerable compensation for the loss of Pistoia *.

Nor was Castruccio's departure of trifling consequence to Louis, who acting almost entirely by his councils had made him a knight and count of the Lateran palace, and senator of Rome, besides a reinvestment of the dukedom of Lucca, while all the Romans, and even the imperial court itself, paid him greater respect than was generally offered to the emperor. It is related that while at Rome he publicly wore a crimson velvet mantle, on the breast of which was embroidered in golden characters "*E' quello che Iddio vuole*," and on the back "*E si sarà quello che Iddio vorrà*" †, and thus says Villani he himself foretold the future judgment of the Deity ‡.

Castruccio alone was more dreaded by King Robert than the Bavarian and all his army; the latter indeed was more formidable to his friends than his enemies, and as he was principally indebted to that chief for his success, so did all prudent conduct depart with him; for although Louis had a well-appointed army ready, and an almost certain prospect of success, one abortive attempt alone was made on Naples and nothing besides accomplished. Delay, idleness, and disorder ruined the troops, and after losing Ostia the whole enterprise broke down into quarrels and tumults, with pompous, unjust, and cruel legislation; pope-making, and reciprocal coronations between the two potentates. Want of money also compelled him to arbitrary

* Ranieri Sardo asserts that Castruccio was but forty-eight hours going from Rome to Pisa, and that *he caused* Pistoia to revolt merely to have an excuse for leaving the emperor! both incredible. — Cronaca Pisana, cap. lxx; Lib. del Polistore, cap. xiv., (tom. xxiv., *Rer. Ital. Script.*)

† "*He is that which it hath pleased God to make him.*" "*And will be that which God determines.*"

‡ Tegrimi, Vita. Castr.—Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. lix.

and ungrateful acts; Salvestro Gatti lord of Viterbo, the first who had opened his gates to Louis, was deposed and tortured for his treasure, and a severe contribution afterwards levied on the Roman people; he was therefore despised for his poverty, detested for his perfidy, loathed for his ingratitude, and subsequently held up as a beacon and a memorial by Petrarca in his beautiful address to Italy *.

While Castruccio was steadying himself in the government of Pisa Sanguineto and the Florentines were in high disputation about putting their recent conquest into a proper state of defence, the former insisting that he had done his part in capturing the town while the citizens maintained that the Duke was bound to discharge such expenses from his salary. The altercation continued and Pistoia remained unvictualled; but the Florentines having gained some trifling advantages grew as careless and confident as if fortune had never left their arms, while Castruccio hurried on his preparations for recapturing the neglected place †. Nevertheless the Pisans and even his former adherents now disliking his arbitrary sway offered their city to Louis; he fearful of alienating Castruccio referred them to the Empress by whom it was accepted and her vicar immediately despatched to take the reins of government. Castruccio was not thus to be despoiled; he received the officer respectfully, but scoured the city with his horsemen in the manner of the age as a mark of sovereignty; then dismissed the imperial lieutenant loaded with gifts and caused himself to be elected and proclaimed absolute Lord of Pisa for two years ‡.

Thus master of new and abundant resources he lost no time in profiting by the disputes at Florence, and immediately in-

* Ne v'accorgete ancor, per tante prove,
Del Bavarico inganno
Ch'alzando il dito, con la morte scherza. (Canzone "*Italia mia.*")

—Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. lix., lxxi., lxxii., et seq.

† Libro del Polistore, cap. xiv., tom. xxiv.—Rer. Ital. Sc.

‡ G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. lxxxii.

vested Pistoia with a thousand men-at-arms and numerous infantry: the place was strong, encompassed by a double ditch and defended by Simone della Tosa with a sufficient garrison besides many Guelphic citizens. There was a protecting force at Prato only ten miles off and within sight of its signals, so that if the town had been well provisioned it might have withstood all Castruccio's efforts until sickness compelled him to retreat. This chief, who had remained at Pisa to complete his preparations, joined the army on the 30th of May bringing strong reinforcements, and surrounded the town with a palisaded ditch and lines of circumvallation. Here he resolved to remain; nor did all the Florentine stratagems succeed in turning him from his purpose, not even when they collected a formidable army of six-and-twenty hundred men-at-arms and for three days successively defied him to battle, which he constantly pretended to accept, while he only strengthened his camp with additional trenches, fresh palisades, and wide-branching abbatis.

Seeing no chance of provoking him the allies changed their position, and attacked the strongest point of his intrenchments with as little skill as success instead of cutting off his supplies by Serravalle, which he would have been unable to prevent without a battle.

Sanguineto fell sick and had moreover quarrelled with some of the confederate chiefs, so that he deemed it best to retire and make a diversion elsewhere, leaving a strong convoy at Prato ready to succour the place when a fair occasion offered. On the 28th of July after delivering another formal challenge which Castruccio was too sagacious to accept, the confederated army drew off towards Prato and thence marched in two divisions, one by Signa and the Gusciana to threaten Lucca, the other by the left bank of the Arno, which destroyed Pontadera and carried the rampart and *Fosso Arnonico* by storm. This was a great canal and breastwork excavated and fortified with towers by the Pisans in 1176, both as a national bulwark and

an outlet for the superfluous waters of the Arno, of which river some have supposed it to be one of the three branches mentioned by Strabo. Thus was opened all the Pisan territory: San Casciano and Sansavino soon fell and Pisa saw herself insulted at her very gates with perfect impunity. Castruccio nevertheless remained immoveable; he calculated on starvation and the moral effect of seeing a superior army retire without accomplishing anything, and accordingly on the 3rd of August Pistoia surrendered to sixteen hundred men-at-arms and the usual force of infantry, in face of an army of nearly double these numbers*.

Thus victorious he returned in triumph to Lucca more powerful more dreaded, and more formidable than before; none of his important enterprises ever failed and Italy had not beheld such a captain for centuries. Lord of Pisa, Lucca, Lunigiana, and much of the eastern Riviera of Genoa; and master of three hundred walled towns, he was either courted or dreaded by every Italian prince from the Emperor downwards, but Florence was in terror at his very name; and Galeazzo Visconti the once powerful lord of half Lombardy; who had been released by the Emperor in the preceding March at Castruccio's intercession; now served under his standard as a private individual†. Visconte soon after expired at Pescia from the effects of a fever engendered by the labours of the Pistoian siege, and it was fatal to more than him; even Castruccio's hour drew near; for the same fever, the consequence of his personal fatigues, was rapidly consuming him also‡. He feared the emperor's resentment for the usurpation of Pisa and would

* Tegrimi Vita Castruccio.—G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. lxxxv., lxxxvi.—Istorie Pistolesi.—Ripetti, Dizionario Geografico-Fisico-Storico di Toscana.

† He had been imprisoned for eight months in a dungeon of the strong castle of Monza which he had just finished building. This prison, called "*Il Forno*" or the oven, from its shape, received its prisoners through a hole in the top, but was too low to allow of their remaining in an upright position. Galeazzo was first inmate of his own dungeon.

‡ Pietro Verri, Storia di Milano, cap. x., p. 119, &c.

have made peace with Florence, but was too much mistrusted and therefore failed: the malady increased, he informed those about him that he was going to die and that his death would be the signal for great revolutions; then taking the necessary precautions to insure his three sons the quiet succession of his three great cities, and charging them to conceal his death until they were secure, he expired on the 3rd of September 1328 in the forty-seventh year of his age and the twelfth of his rule over Lucca*. Tegrimi his biographer says that Castruccio was a cruel avenger of his own wrongs; but as personal vengeance never justifiable assumes in princes a more sharp and bitter aspect, it would be difficult to say whether his conduct to his subjects merited the name of severity or cruelty. With the soldiers he was universally popular, and in speaking to them his eloquence and grace of manner and diction were wonderfully adapted as well to his own dignity as to the mind and feelings of his audience. He would often calm a tumultuous soldiery by simply calling them sons, fathers and brothers, and no army ever mutinied under his command. He was first in every danger, first to seize the ladder and mount the wall; first to swim across a river when swelled to a torrent; first in every individual act of skill and courage, as he was first in talent and command; and he gained the hearts of soldiers by his agreeable familiarity with the meanest amongst them. His great reputation as a warrior secured his ascendancy in field and council; and such was his soldiers' confidence that often by his mere name and appearance the fortune of battle was restored, fugitives arrested, and the foe defeated. His arrival alone was frequently sufficient to force an enemy from fortified places or insure their immediate surrender. Whatever were his individual sentiments he always consulted his council, composed of the ablest men of Lucca, and more especially of those most learned in history: but when it was a pure question of war he

* Lib. del Polistore, cap. xiv., p. 745, tom. xxiv.—Rer. Ital. Scrip.

sought the opinion of old military men well acquainted with the seat of intended hostilities. Uneducated himself he yet delighted in the company and conversation of literary men: he improved and maintained the roads and bridges of his state, had numerous spies, amongst them many women, in all parts of the world, and was popularly said to have the wings of an eagle*.

"This Castruccio was in person tall, dexterous, and handsome; finely made, not bulky, and of a fair complexion rather inclining to paleness; his hair was light and straight and he bore a very gracious aspect. He was a valorous and magnanimous tyrant, wise and sagacious, of an anxious and laborious mind and possessing great military talents; was extremely prudent in war and successful in his undertakings: He was much feared and reverenced and in his time performed many great and remarkable actions. He was a scourge to his fellow-citizens, to the Pisans, the Pistoians, the Florentines and all Tuscany, during the fifteen (twelve?) years in which he held the sovereignty of Lucca. He was very cruel in executing and torturing men, ungrateful for good offices rendered to him in his necessities, partial to new people and vain of the high station to which he had mounted, so that he believed himself lord of Florence and king of Tuscany"†.

The historian Giovanni Villani who gives this character of Castruccio did not escape the common weakness of his time, a superstitious belief in the powers of judicial astrology; and the following anecdote curious in itself when vouched for by so respectable an authority was admirably calculated to confirm it.

"About this death of Castruccio," he continues, "it falls to our (the author's) lot, to make mention of a case that occurred. We being in extreme disquiet at his persecution of our community which appeared to us almost impossible: complaining of it in our letter to Master *Dionysius dal Borgo a San*

* Tegrimi, Vita di Castruccio, pp. 35, 45, &c.
† G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. lxxxvi.

Sepolcro * our affectionate friend of the order of Saint Augustine professor of divinity and philosophy at Paris, praying that he would inform me when our misfortunes would cease. He answered me shortly after by letter and said, '*I see Cas-truccio dead, and at the end of the war you will have the lord-ship of Lucca from the hands of one who bears the coat of arms red and black, with great vexation, expense, and shame to your community.*' We had the said letter from Paris at the time when Castruccio had reconquered Pistoia as already narrated, and writing again to the professor how Castruccio was in greater pomp and state than ever, he immediately replied, '*I reaffirm that which I wrote to you in my other letter, and if God has not altered his judgment and the course of the heavens, I see Castruccio dead and buried.*' And as I had this letter I showed it to my fellow priors who were then of that college a few days after Castruccio's death; and in all its parts the judgment of Master Dionysius was a prophecy"†.

The news of Castruccio's death was scarcely believed by the Florentines, so great and sudden was their feeling of relief from the most imminent danger to which the community had ever been exposed: joy and confidence once more returned, for without Castruccio they did not fear the emperor, whose avarice and tyranny were hourly increasing the number of his enemies. Having exasperated the Romans so much as to endanger his own safety Louis quitted Rome on the fourth of August amidst a storm of insult and indignity, with every offensive expression of public hatred, even to the tearing of his dead countrymen's

* This learned man was the great friend, master, and adviser of Petrarch; the intimate friend also of the learned King Robert of Naples in whose palace he died as Bishop of Monopoli in the year 1342 just after the decease of the poet's greatest friend Giacomo Colonna bishop of Lombez and while Petrarch was yet at Parma. Dionysius must have been no common person if he really deserved the high praise bestowed on him by such a man as Petrarch who besides other eulogies says, "*Amongst the ancients such a man would have been rare; in our age he was unique.*"

† G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. lxxxvi.

bodies from their graves and contemptuously plunging them into the Tiber: the same night Stefano Colonna and the Orsini were joyfully welcomed, the pope again became popular and the Guelphic banner once more predominant. The emperor marched to Viterbo and Todi whence he plundered the surrounding country and Romagna even to the gates of Imola, his progress being marked by tyranny perfidy and cruelty; here incited by the Ghibeline exiles of Tuscany and other places, he resolved to proceed by Arezzo against Florence while Castruccio should invest it on the west, and the Ubaldini with the imperial troops of Romagna raise the standard of rebellion in the Mugello; so that the city as yet unprovided, surrounded on every side, and the harvests not secured, must have soon surrendered. When once master of Florence, all Tuscany and Lombardy were at his feet and the kingdom of Naples would afterwards have become an easy conquest: had Castruccio lived this project might have been carried out, and Florence dreading the worst strained every nerve to repel the threatened danger*.

The fortresses of Upper Val d'Arno were immediately supplied; men, horses, arms, victuals and commanders were despatched in every direction; Prato, Signa, and all the fenced towns in the lower valley were similarly reënforced; all provisions from the open country were ordered into walled places; the confederacy was summoned in every quarter; strict watch and ward were maintained in the capital, and every weaker point of its defences strengthened. Charles of Calabria was peremptorily recalled on pain of forfeiting his salary, but unwilling to venture his person between Castruccio and the Bavarian he sent his kinsman Count Beltram dal Balzo with four hundred horse in his stead; the latter came, but the storm had already past; Castruccio was no more. Louis also hearing of Don Pedro of Aragon's arrival with the Sicilian fleet at Cor-

* Tegrimi, Vita di Castruccio, p. 69.

neto, marched from Todi to join him and entirely renounced the enterprise.

The removal of this heavy weight gave full play to the natural elasticity of Florentine spirit; profiting by the general relaxation consequent upon Castruccio's death Carmignano was immediately invested and after an obstinate resistance surrendered on the sixteenth of September, but the citadel eight days after. In the meantime the united forces of Louis and Don Pedro had captured Talamone, besieged Grosseto and endeavoured to annihilate the foreign trade of Florence and Siena which the war with Pisa had driven back into these channels. While thus occupied intelligence of Castruccio's death and the occupation of Pisa by his sons reached the emperor and hurried him forward from Grosseto towards that city where he was received as a liberator just three days before the fall of Carmignano.

Already incensed against Castruccio, and fearless of the dead lion he determined to keep no terms with that chief's sons, and became still more excited when he was informed of the negotiation began by him with Florence which it suited him to consider as an act of treason in the deceased duke; he therefore resolved to drive the family from Lucca yet was turned from his intention for the moment by the gifts and entreaties of their mother: but the people soon rose in revolt and gave him a fair opportunity of interference. Having quelled the insurrection he established a governor over the town who soon intermarrying with the Interminelli replaced Castruccio's sons in their former position, upon this Louis returned in anger displaced his lieutenant and depriving the three Interminelli of the dukedom banished both them and their mother to Pontremoli*.

Immediately after this eight hundred of his best cavalry with their officers, besides many gentlemen, reduced from poverty to serve on foot, all mutinied for want of pay and

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xcv., xcvi., c., cii., civ.

quitted the army in a body: failing in a sudden attack on Lucca they plundered its suburbs, marched to the Val-di-nievole, ravaged that country, and finally establishing themselves in the strong position of Cerruglio between Vivinaia and Monte Carlo they levied contributions on the neighbouring district and offered themselves on high conditions to the Florentines: although unsuccessful in this they managed to extract a part of their arrears from Louis and detained his envoy Marco Visconti until the whole should be satisfied.

This mutiny was the cause of important events in the subsequent transactions of Florence which was now freed from foreign rule by the unexpected death of Charles Duke of Calabria. It occurred on the ninth of November, and divided the community between joy and sorrow: he was an only son, left no male heirs; and the succession became doubtful; the Guelphic party therefore lamented his loss as the probable dissolution of their ancient and unbroken alliance with the house of Anjou; but the generality rejoiced at their recovered independence and sudden relief from so costly a government, at the very moment when by the death of Castruccio his assistance was no longer wanted. Nor was the Duke of Calabria either from his tastes or natural abilities a sort of leader in any way adapted to the conduct of Florentine affairs in so dangerous circumstances, notwithstanding his personal popularity and exemplary administration of justice: a stranger's rule too began to press as heavy on the mind as it did on the purse of the people; and the mercenary and encroaching conduct of his officers would have soon brought things to a crisis if death had not quietly dissolved the tie.

It has been remarked that Florence was more frequently beholden to death than to her own wisdom for salvation; and assuredly at this epoch, as in the time of Henry the Seventh, she was not only delivered from almost certain bondage to a foreign master but relieved of an incubus on her liberty and

finances that was in itself sufficient to oppress all public virtue and accustom the people to the dangers of absolute monarchy*.

The moment that Charles's death became known they as usual applied themselves to the task of remodelling their constitution in such fashion as to allow every citizen of good Guelphic principles and acknowledged respectability to participate in its public employments. This was supposed to be accomplished in the following manner. The gonfalonier and six priors with two coadjutors from each Sesto were ordered by the people, assembled in full Parliament, to return a list of all the Guelphic citizens, not noble and under thirty years of age, whom they considered worthy of being elected to the office of prior: similar returns were to be made by the nineteen gonfaloniers of companies with two coadjutors for each; by the captains of the party Guelph and their council; and by the five chief officers of commerce assisted by two consuls from each of the seven superior trades. These lists were then united in one, which was laid before a new council composed of the gonfalonier and priors, the twelve goodmen, the nineteen gonfaloniers of companies; two consuls from the twelve superior trades balloted for by the priors alone; with six coadjutors from each Sesto, selected by the goodmen and priors combined, making altogether a board of ninety-eight persons: these voted by secret ballot for or against each name as it was read aloud, and that which was approved of by sixty-eight black beans or votes, was immediately inserted in the list of future priors. These names written on small schedules, were afterwards placed in six purses, one for each Sesto, which being secured in a strong box with three distinct keys the latter with the box itself were given in joint charge to the Captain of the People, the guardian of the Franciscan friars and the monks of Settimo. Three days before the priors left office the council was again assem-

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cv., cvi., cvii.

bled and the names of the new seignory drawn by lot, the same person being ineligible to a like office for two years; but if a father, son, or brother of the elected were drawn they were ineligible for one year only, and more distant relations for six months after their kinsman had left office.

This reform was first confirmed by the regular councils, and afterwards by the whole of the people assembled in parliament before the public palace, where it was much discussed and severe penalties were denounced against violaters. These transactions finished on the eleventh of December and the same scrutiny was to be repeated every two years from the following month when all those names which remained in the purses were to be left untouched while the schedules of those who had served were removed to another bag until each had had his turn of public employment.

The college of Good Men whose office lasted double the time of the priors was similarly chosen; that of the gonfaloniers of companies followed the same forms, their period of office being reduced like that of the Buonomini from six to four months. but they were eligible at twenty-five years of age, and each of the twelve superior trades also elected their consuls in the same manner. The ancient assemblies of "*The Hundred*," "*The Credenza*," "*The Ninety*," and "*The General Council*" were now abolished and another called the "*Council of the People*" composed of three hundred approved Guelphic citizens, was substituted: also a second called the Common Council, over which the Podestà presided, and where the nobles and popolani were mingled to the number of two hundred and fifty approved citizens, both renewed every four instead of six months in order to give each citizen a seat in rotation.

No deliberation of the seignory was valid until first confirmed in the "*Consiglio del Popolo*" where the Captain of the People presided; and afterwards in that of the Podestà. In this manner was the Florentine constitution reformed, and

shortly after, to avoid canvassing for votes with other interested solicitations and pernicious exchanges of favour at the public expense, the foreign Podestàs were selected in a similar manner from amongst those Italians who were considered most worthy by the suffrages of the Florentine people; schedules with all their names being kept safely inclosed in purses as above described *.

This reform was universally popular and for a long time produced general tranquillity, first because the uncontrolled election of their magistrates, in which for the most part consisted their liberty, returned to the people from the hands of a foreign master; and secondly because the prepotency and ambition of individual citizens in earlier periods, made the public good subservient to their own personal exaltation and involved the commonwealth in unnecessary wars papal anathemas and internal divisions. By the new constitution on the contrary, the various public interests were represented in a succession of initiative, deliberative, and legislative councils, each particular interest choosing its own set of approved citizens but subject to the check and sanction of all the rest, and ineligible without it: but whether the mere plebeians who belonged to the different trades were really represented, and felt that they were so; or whether they only benefited by the personal honesty and wise administration of the new magistrates, until corruption again crept in, will be seen in the course of this history.

The inconvenience of a general assembly of the people as a deliberative body had been long felt and must ever prove an absurdity; for unless reason fall on it like a shower of rain the real opinion of a multitude can never be collected during the few hours set apart for such meetings: this reformation was therefore a considerable step in constitutional government and had it been maintained in pristine honesty would have

* M. di Coppo Stefani, Lib. vii°., cap. cviii.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. vii., Rub. 446.—Gio. Villani, Lib. x., p. 358.

long preserved the republic. But good laws and constitutions are the consequence not the cause of an increasing public virtue and general necessity; they are the means of preserving the former, not of creating it; the salt, not the viand whose natural tendence to decay will finally overcome its keeper. The misery of nations proceeds less from the form of government than the vicious mode of its administration and the moral character of the people, which act and react upon each other; and if free communities have in general most chance of happiness, it is because, without any great preponderating power, each individual feels the necessity of sacrificing something to the interest or prejudice of his neighbour. When preponderating powers once enter a free state, whether they be united mercantile bodies, a potent nobility, or a combination of moneyed wealth; the general balance is disturbed, justice and freedom vacillate, public morals sink, and liberty sooner or later will pass to other climes.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—England: Edward II. until 1327, Edward III.—Scotland: Robert Bruce.—France: Charles IV. (the Fair) until 1328, Philip VI. of Valois.—Aragon: Jacop II. till 1327, Alfonso IV.—Castile and Leon: Alfonso XI.—Portugal: Alfonso IV.—Pope: John XXII.—German Emperor: Louis of Bavaria.—Naples: Robert (the Good).—Sicily: Frederic II. of Aragon.—Greek Empire: Andronicus Palæologus till 1328, Andronicus the younger.—Ottoman Empire: Orkhan.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM A.D. 1329 TO A.D. 1336.

THE general tranquillity which followed these popular reforms enabled government to turn its attention almost exclusively to war, as all good Guelphs were indignant at the conduct of the Bavarian "*who called himself emperor*," for he had not only introduced his Antipope Nicholas V. with almost divine honours into Pisa; on the third of January; but soon after formally deposed and excommunicated the reigning pontiff along with Robert King of Naples and the Florentine republic. The Pisans also shared this indignation because they had assisted, though very unwillingly, in so sacrilegious a proceeding, wherefore the new general Count Beltram del Balzo, then stationed at San Miniato, was ordered to waste their country; and this he accomplished without any opposition from Louis who under the mask of listlessness was secretly engaged in organising a dangerous conspiracy against Florence. It was conducted by Ugolino de' Ubaldini with whom some citizens of little note had agreed to betray the city and set fire to the more distant quarters; while all were busy with the flames, two hundred soldiers previously introduced under a certain Giovanni del Sega, were to rush from their concealment, occupy the Prato Gate, admit the exiles and also a thousand imperial horse with a foot-soldier behind each. All these were under a German marshal's command who was imme- A.D. 1329.

diately to "*correr la terra*," an operation already described as the mark of military possession and supremacy. The plot was revealed by two of Sega's accomplices, and this conspirator who had been selected for his dexterity in such matters, was executed with characteristic cruelty by being "*planted*" alive in the earth, head downwards; but not until after his flesh had been torn from the bones with red-hot pincers. His betrayers were rewarded with a donation of 2000 florins and the right of carrying offensive and defensive arms; a privilege of no small importance, and just denied to all the rest of the community in consequence of frequent robberies and other disorders. Amongst these the practice of natural heirs habitually murdering their own relations the sooner to enjoy an inheritance, appears to have been frequent; but against such offenders a more severe and ignominious punishment was directed *.

The effect of this conspiracy was to add new flame to Florentine rage against Louis whose unpopularity was so great that one powerful rallying-point was deemed sufficient to unite many places in rebellion against him. A commissioner was therefore appointed with full authority to make alliances between the Florentine republic and every person place or community that would revolt; and a further promise of unmodified indemnity for any previous injury or other offences committed against the commonwealth. To give it greater weight and solemnity thirteen citizens were afterwards joined in the commission, while Count Beltram was commanded again to ravage the Pisan territory and with greater severity in consequence of the antipope's recent anathemas. The "*Company of Cerruglia*" as the German mutineers were now called, being still unsatisfied, Azzo Visconti who was then in the imperial court, offered Louis a large subsidy to liquidate these claims provided he were reinstated in the government of Milan for which he

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cxiii., cxiv.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vii., pp. 359, 364.

had been long a supplicant: the conditions being accepted an officer was sent in the middle of January with Visconti to receive 30,000 florins for the company; but this man absconded with the greater part, and Azzo intent on establishing his own authority made no haste about the remainder, so that Louis seeing himself thus slighted immediately marched to Lombardy *.

After the expulsion of Castruccio's wife and children he had sold Lucca to their kinsman Francesco Castracani for 22,000 florins, but his Italian influence was waning fast: the house of Este hitherto his friends were disgusted, especially at the creation of an antipope, and reconciled themselves to the church; Pisa was soon after pardoned by Pope John as a reward for treacherously delivering the antipope Nicholas into his hands; Azzo Visconti also, stung by his own and his father's wrongs and angry at the treatment of Castruccio's children, was deep in negotiations with the court of Avignon, and a general coolness pervaded Lombardy. Louis marched from Pisa on the eleventh of April and the mutineers seeing no hopes of an accommodation chose the hostage Marco Visconti; who was one of the most popular and boldest warriors of the day; as their leader and resolved to shift for themselves. Partly stimulated by the intrigues of Pino della Tosa and the Bishop of Florence who promised them a large sum of money, they conspired with Castruccio's old German garrison of L'Agosta, the citadel-palace of Lucca, and being secretly admitted, soon drove Francesco Castracani from the town. Marco then sent to demand payment of Florence and at the same time offered to sell the city for 80,000 florins on the sole condition of pardoning Castruccio's sons and allowing them to live as private citizens †.

* Lib. del Polistore, p. 745, tom. xxiv., Rer. Ital. Script.—Pietro Verri, Storia di Milano, vol. ii°, cap. x., p. 125 &c.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cxxvi., cxxvii.—Muratori, Annali.—Libro del Polistore, cap. xi.

This proposal filled Florence with quarrels in consequence of the violent opposition of Simone della Tosa a relation but jealous enemy of Pino's: it was finally, and would have been wisely rejected, if the system of non-interference had been afterwards rigidly pursued; but as the mutability of the Florentines was proverbial, opinions soon changed, and that which might at this time have been had for little, was afterwards vainly attempted at the expense of blood, treasure, national honour, and almost of national liberty. They managed better in their transactions with Pistoia the loss of which was more keenly felt than any other of Castruccio's conquests: Filippo Tedici and other friends of that celebrated chief had just made a partially successful attempt to recover possession of the town in the name of his sons; but their enemies the Panciatichi, Muli, Gualfreducci, and Vergellesi, although Ghibelines, resolved to reëstablish the old alliance between Pistoia and Guelphic Florence. A treaty was therefore concluded in May, by which the latter remained in possession of Carmignano, Montemurlo, Artimino, Tizzana and other strongholds to which in common with Pistoia all exiles were restored: moreover the Pistoians voluntarily intrusted the custody of their city to a Florentine guard and governor appointed by that republic. Jacopo Strozzi was therefore made commissioner with orders to create several knights of the leading Ghibeline families in the name of the commonwealth and make them a present of 2000 florins each; a very popular act which excited much friendly feeling and was accompanied with great public rejoicings in both capitals; but ever after this although nominally independent Pistoia really ceased to be any longer a free community*.

To the recovery of Pistoia succeeded the pacification of Valdi-Nievole which with Florentine assistance had been conquered by Lucca in 1281. In this romantic district the ancient

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cxxviii.

walls and castles of those restless times now add new beauties to the quiet scenery where they once appeared as bold and formidable actors; for after Castruccio's death that people made a confederacy called the "*League of the Val-di-Nievole*," composed of Montecatini, Buggiàna, Uzzàno, Colle, Il Cozzile, Massa, Montesommano, Montevettolino, and Pescia; who seeing the reduced condition of Lucca, and the present tranquillity of Pistoia under Florentine protection quickly followed her example and acknowledged its supremacy *.

About the same period Pisa with the aid of Marco Visconti expelled the imperial vicar Tarlatino da Pietramala and once more recovered her liberty, to the great joy of Florence; but more from hatred to Louis than sympathy for Pisa, with which however she soon made peace: in the interim Marco Visconti anxious to return home attempted again to dispose of Lucca and repaired to Florence for that purpose, but the same patriotic or factious opposition still prevailed and defeated all his plans. After wasting a month in vain negotiation he was presented with 1000 florins and immediately proceeded to Milan where being received with enthusiasm by the people, Azzo's jealousy was roused and he had him strangled after a banquet, his body being subsequently thrown out of the palace window †.

The dread of being thus shouldered by so powerful a neighbour as Florence induced Pisa to take up this negotiation and precipitately offer 60,000 florins for the state of Lucca; but in her eagerness to close the bargain she paid the money without any hostages or other security for possession and was defrauded of both. This audacious attempt to supersede Florence and subjugate a neighbouring state by one scarcely emerged from long years of bondage exasperated every one and caused a third devastation of the Pisan district, which in the month of August enforced a disadvantageous peace,

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cxxxiii.

† Corio gives a somewhat different account of this transaction.—Historie Milanese, Parte Terza, p. 209.—Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cxxxi., cxxxii., cxxxiii., cxxxiv.—Sismondi, iv., p. 81.

while about the same period a third and final offer was unsuccessfully made by the German soldiers to dispose of Lucca. Upon this some opulent citizens, and amongst them the historian Giovanni Villani, indignant at what they thought an unprincipled opposition to this tempting offer, came boldly forward and proposed to advance the money themselves if the state would only engage to reimburse them from the ordinary revenue of Lucca: but this did not prevail against the party of Simone della Tosa; wherefore the soldiers anxious to return home sold the same city, which only twelve months before was dominant in Tuscany and dreaded by all Italy, to an exiled Ghibeline of Genoa for the paltry sum of 30,000 florins! Yet Gherardino Spinola had hardly completed his purchase when Florence, who like the dog in the fable would neither have the place herself nor allow others to touch it, flared up at this bargain and although Spinola immediately offered her either peace or truce, both were disdainfully rejected and in the midst of strong political excitement the war of Lucca commenced *.

In relating these events Villani indignantly exclaims against all the hypocritical excuses alleged by the governing party opposed to this purchase, who declared they had before objected to it from an honest feeling lest reports should be spread through the world that Florence from mere love of aggrandisement had purchased the city of Lucca. "But in our own opinion," says this author, "and in that of many wiser citizens who have examined the question, that as a compensation for all the defeats, injuries and expenses suffered by Florence from Lucca in the Castruccian war, no other vengeance could be taken by the Florentines, nor greater praise, nor more glorious fame could spread through the world than the being able to say, *that the merchants and private citizens of Florence with their own money had purchased Lucca and their*

* Gio. Villani. Lib. x., c. cxl., cxli.—S. Ammirato, Lib. vii., pp. 364-5, &c.

sometime enemies, her citizens and subjects, as their bond-slaves." "But whom God hates he deprives of reason and will not permit to act wisely; for perhaps, or without a perhaps, their sins were not yet purged, nor their pride humbled, nor the usury nor ill-gotten gains of the Florentines sufficiently diminished to prevent their spending and consuming more in war by pursuing their quarrel with the Lucchese, when for every farthing that Lucca would have cost, a hundred or more, nay we may say an infinity was spent afterwards by the Florentines in the said war as we shall mention in its place. Whereas with the above-named loan, neither spent nor lost, such high and honourable vengeance might have been taken on the people of Lucca by having purchased them as slaves, and more than slaves, with their possessions; and afterwards at their own expense, and under our yoke bestowed on them both peace and pardon and made them freemen and companions, as they were in ancient times with the Florentines"*.

The strong fortress and pass of Serravalle which Pistoia voluntarily surrendered for three years to Florence gave a free entrance to the Lucchese states, and together with the league of Val-di-Nievole enabled her to push on the siege of Montecatini more vigorously which, though a member of that confederacy, had been incited by Spinola to revolt: but it was large, strong, well defended, and not easily taken; Spinola attempted several times to succour it but failed, and nearly lost Lucca itself by a bold assault of Castruccio's sons who for many hours were in possession of all the city except the fortress of L'Agosta. Montecatini held out for eleven months against a close and rigorous blockade by an immense army and vast lines of circumvallation; extending no less than fourteen miles, and backed by ditches sufficiently capacious to admit the waters of three rivers, the Pescia, Gora, and the Nievole. About the middle of June 1330 it surrendered and scarcely escaped total

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., c. cxli.

destruction by a decree of the Florentine people: it was however ultimately spared, partly because of its importance as a military station, and partly from old recollections of its having been the only place in Tuscany that generously received the Guelphic fugitives from Lucca after the battle of Monteaperto; and thus exposed itself to immediate enmity, and even subsequent conquest by that republic: Montecatini was therefore saved and incorporated into the Florentine state *.

During the continuance of this siege the emperor after an unsuccessful campaign against Milan and its subject states, managed while at Pavia, Cremona, and Parma in the months of October and November to organise a very powerful conspiracy at Bologna for the purpose of snatching that important city from the hands of the pope's legate and nephew Bertrand de Poïet. The plot was personally directed by Count Hector of Panigo under the influence of the Rossi of Parma, one of which family was kept a close prisoner by the cardinal legate, and was too extensive not to have succeeded even after its complete detection, had not the arrival of a strong Florentine detachment enabled Bertrand to execute his prisoners and overawe the town †.

Thus Bologna like Florence and the other Italian republics, was ever in peril from civil discord or private and personal enmity; and thus a weak point always presented itself to external enemies in the swarms of vindictive exiles that infested every foreign state, besides their secret adherents at home. These irritable fugitives, boiling up with vindictiveness, were continually intriguing for their own restoration, and in their eagerness to join any prince or state making promises of everything, no matter how extravagant or false, against their native country; the predominant factions at home being at the same

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cxlvi., clxvii., clv.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cxliv., cxlv.

time harassed by constant fears of plots and new revolutions, dreading external aggressions, and in everlasting quarrels amongst themselves.

On the fifth of October, about ten weeks after the fall of Montecatini, the Florentines marched to Lucca and soon demonstrated to Gherardino Spinola that it was not that lordship but his own extraordinary talents which had exalted Castruccio Castracani whose mantle he vainly imagined he had secured with the rest of his spoils: in the short space of three days they captured the fortresses of Poggio, Corruglio, Vivinaia, Montechiaro, San Martino in Colle, and Porcari; thus mastering the whole of Castruccio's former position and encamping two days after under the walls of his capital. The camp was intrenched, permanent quarters erected, and every other preparation made for a winter's investment; but one of the first operations was to redeem the honour of Florence and revenge Castruccio's insult by running for the Palio under her very walls. Their intention to celebrate these races was publicly proclaimed, and as a curious trait of that age's customs it may be added, that a general safe-conduct to all who pleased to issue from the beleaguered town as spectators of the games was announced by the Florentines. Multitudes, both citizens and strangers, took advantage of this permission to view more nearly the insult about to be offered to them; but the Florentine general had a deeper object; he had corrupted a German commander who with two hundred men-at-arms took the opportunity of coming quietly over to his standard. This treachery threw Spinola into great consternation and the siege proceeded with so much vigour that a secret treaty with Florence was begun and nearly concluded by the citizens for the surrender of Lucca but being detected and disapproved of by Spinola, although his purchase-money was secured, it fell to the ground *. A.D. 1330.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. clxiv., clxix.

This investment continued under various commanders until the latter end of February 1331, when the old Florentine general Beltram del Balzo who had been serving in Lombardy, was again appointed to command the forces: discipline had relaxed, disorders occurred; a mutiny had broken out amongst the Burgundy troops and was quelled with great difficulty; a German colonel had deserted to Spinola with a hundred horse; and a strong reënforcement from John king of Bohemia (the same that afterwards fell at Cressy) to whom Spinola had offered on certain conditions the lordship of Lucca, was on its march to Tuscany, so that Count Beltram considered it necessary to raise the siege. The Bohemian's troops arrived about the beginning of March and immediately acted on the offensive; Buggiano was abandoned by the Florentines, Cerreto Guidi and other places taken and burnt, and their territory ravaged for three days without opposition, but probably from treachery in the officers commanding the passes in the Val-di-Nievole *.

A.D. 1331.

Spinola complaining of King John's want of faith withdrew from Lucca in disgust and the latter found himself in addition to his other numerous acquisitions with a secure footing in Tuscany. This extraordinary man the son of Henry the Seventh, became king of Bohemia by his marriage with the daughter of Wenceslas II. but accustomed to the gallantry of the French court was soon tired and disgusted with the rude manners and turbulent disposition of the Bohemians and resided in his hereditary dominions. Young, brave, addicted to pleasure and all the military amusements of the age, he became a constant traveller, had great personal influence, and mixed with the politics of all Europe without any apparent motive of personal aggrandisement. His reputation was high, for he made friends even of his opponents, and had recently arrived at Trent on purpose to marry his son to the daughter of

* Gio. Villani, cap. clxix., clxx.

the Duke of Carinthia who had been his competitor for the kingdom of Bohemia. While thus employed ambassadors arrived from Brescia to offer him the sovereignty of their town for life they having been sorely vexed by the combined powers of Azzo Visconti and the two nephews of Cane della Scala who had not been long dead. The king of Bohemia eagerly accepted this offer well knowing how much might be gained in Italy at that time by any foreign prince who would boldly lead a faction; wherefore immediately repairing to Brescia he reconciled all parties, restored the exiles, induced Mastino della Scala to retire with his troops, and remained in quiet possession of the place. Cremona, Pavia, Bergamo, Vercelli, Novara, and even Milan itself became his voluntary subjects; Parma Reggio and Modena soon followed the general example, and it was during this shower of Lombard cities on his head that Spinola's ambassadors came also to show him the way into Tuscany *.

Three envoys were immediately despatched to Florence imploring for peace or truce with his city of Lucca and adding that as king of Bohemia only, he could not be influenced by the friendships or mixed up with the pretensions of his late father the Emperor Henry the Seventh. The Florentines were much too calculating a nation to follow the general enthusiasm about John of Bohemia, and being then intent on disinterring the sacred relics of Saint Zanobi, only replied that the Lucchese war was begun at the instance of the pope and king of Naples without whose concurrence nothing could be accomplished; King John expecting such a reply had already prepared the reënforcement which compelled Count Beltram to raise the siege.

The campaign as already mentioned went badly for Florence, and notwithstanding the pope's protestations it was evident

* Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. clxvi., clxix., clxxi. — Sismondi, vol. iv., cap. xxxii.

that he leaned to the king of Bohemia whose friendship with the cardinal legate now became notorious, each wanting to establish a separate dominion in Italy. Besides this, Florence had been laid under an interdict by the latter on account of a quarrel about the church of the Impruneta which the cardinal wanted for himself in defiance of the Buondelmonti who were its founders and patrons. On the other hand Colle from civil discord and private tyranny gave itself up entirely to Florence; Fucecchio, Castelfranco, and Santa Croce, did the same; and a quarrel having broken out at Pistoia between the Florentine party and their antagonists, the former with the troops of that nation at once took military possession of the town: the leading Ghibelines then gave Florence absolute authority for a year; but ere this period had half elapsed an embassy was sent to continue it for two years longer, so content were the Pistoians with their governors. Florence indeed fearful of again losing so valuable an acquisition tried to guide it by a thread of silk, and continued all the forms of government as though Pistoia were still independent: new podestàs were elected half-yearly, a captain of the guard quarterly; and other functionaries in a similar manner. A board of twelve citizens was created and renewed every three months which in conjunction with the priors exercised a supreme authority over Pistoia; finally a citadel was erected on that side of the city which looked towards Florence and was garrisoned by her troops; thus commenced a subjection under the form of voluntary obedience which continued ever after.

A.D. 1332.

About this time the Pisans fearful of a new revolution from the external strength and internal influence of numerous exiles implored the aid of Florence which notwithstanding her former enmity sent them a strong auxiliary force and preserved the town: the Ubaldini also quarrelling amongst themselves voluntarily returned to their allegiance, and the republic to secure these precarious subjects founded the town of Firenzuola on the

river Santerno amongst the summits of the Apennines and in the very heart of their wild and mountainous country*.

Florence in the midst of her own misfortunes had always kept an anxious eye on the affairs of Lombardy: Cane della Scala, the best, the ablest, the most generous and successful of its tyrants, died in July 1329 and was succeeded by his nephews Albert and Mastino, but the former rather addicted to pleasure than business resigned the cares of government to his brother, who inherited more of the talents than the virtues of their predecessor. It was therefore with great satisfaction that the Florentines saw John of Bohemia compelled to return into Germany in order to check a hostile and powerful confederation of his former friends, while the Guelphs of Brescia and Bergamo assisted by Mastino della Scala, Azzo Visconti, and the lords of Ferrara and Mantua, threw off his jurisdiction in Lombardy. Novara and Vercelli were soon after lost in the same manner for the aggrandisement of Milan; and thus Guelph and Ghibeline were strangely united against the emperor's friend, the suspected accomplice of the papal legate, and one who was secretly countenanced by the pontiff himself while he repudiated all his proceedings. The Florentines were in fact exceedingly alarmed by the union between John of Bohemia and Bertrand de Poïet, a reputed son of the pope, and who with his connivance were striving to form two separate states in Italy, a design likely to prove destructive to their republic; and the Ghibeline lords in attacking that monarch found themselves strangely opposed to the enemies of the Guelphic Robert and, if possible, more Guelphic Florence†.

This community of present interest absorbed all other sentiments, and in the month of September produced a treaty of alliance between Guelph and Ghibeline; between republican Florence and Lombard tyrants; between King Robert and his

* G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. clxix., clxxvi., clxxviii., clxxx., clxxxiv., cxcix.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. vi.—Istorie Pistolesi.

fiercest enemies; and above all between the Florentines and Azzo Visconti, the friend and ally of Castruccio, by whose means beyond every other, they had been so deeply injured and insulted! Two objects were proposed by this treaty, one to get rid of a monarch closely allied to the "Bavarian" and likely if occasion suited to introduce that prince again into Italy; the other to partition his subject states equally amongst themselves and thus preserve the political balance of the Peninsula. Cremona and San Donnino were to be conquered for Azzo Visconti; Parma for Mastino della Scala; Reggio for Luigi di Gonzaga of Mantua who had succeeded by a bloody revolution in 1328 to Passerino Buonacossi; Modena for the lords of Ferrara; and Lucca for the Florentines*.

Little of importance occurred in Tuscany during the remainder of the year 1332 except a generally inglorious campaign and the loss of Barga, which was taken by the Lucchese in October with a cost to Florence of 100,000 florins and the diminution of her military reputation: but in the beginning of 1333 John of Bohemia who as if by enchantment had tranquillised Germany, and made allies of the pope and Philip VI. of France, appeared at Turin, with a powerful army from the latter kingdom. This encouraged the legate to make a vigorous attack on Ferrara after having defeated the lords of Este at Consandoli; but that city being timeously succoured by the confederates he was defeated with great loss and many prisoners of high rank, amongst whom were several lords of Romagna for whose release he refused to

A.D. 1333.

* The anonymous author of the Istorie Pistolesi places this treaty in 1331, but as his dates are often irregular I have followed G. Villani because his date is confirmed by the authority of the younger Ammirato (from public documents) in his "*Aggiunta*" who says that the treaty was concluded at Ferrara on the 5 Septr. 1332. This however disagrees with *Morano* the author of the "*Cronica Modanese*" who says it was concluded on 8 August 1331, but Muratori follows Villani.—S. Ammirato, Lib. viii., p. 382.—Istorie Pistolesi, An. 1331.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. vi., p. 111.—Sismondi, vol. iv., cap. xxxii.—Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. cci.

advance the money; and in consequence of their very natural disgust; artfully increased by the chiefs of the league who dismissed them with two thousand of their followers unransomed; lost the good-will of all Romagna. Forli, Rimini, Cesena, Cervia, and Ravenna severally revolted; while the previous arrival of King John at Bologna after the dispersion of his French army, had only augmented the ill-humour of its citizens: they were compelled to pay him fifteen thousand florins by the legate's command, to secure the coöperation of three hundred horsemen under Count d'Armagnac who was afterwards made prisoner at Ferrara. A second visit of this king to Bologna renewed the general discontent and caused a coolness with the legate which made him again quit that city and soon after proceed to Lucca where he levied another contribution on the already impoverished inhabitants. After this, perceiving the general change of sentiments and his altered fortune, he determined to leave Italy, but not empty-handed, and therefore sold Lucca and Parma to the Rossi; Reggio to the Fogliani; Modena to the Pii; and Cremona to Ponzino Ponzoni; after which he despatched the German troops with his son to Bohemia and retired himself in October to Paris, but with a somewhat diminished reputation, considering the extraordinary influence that he so suddenly acquired and so long maintained over the states of Lombardy *.

The Legate had endeavoured to detach Florence from the Lombard confederacy but was steadily opposed in the councils, and not without reason; for by letters afterwards discovered it appeared to have been arranged with King John that Florence should be the first and principal victim to their joint ambition, and she consequently united with a lesser enemy to oppose the greater and more dangerous one †.

* G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. ccxiv., ccxv., ccxvii., cxxiv., ccxxv.—Sismondi, vol. iv., cap. xxxii.

† Istorie Pistolesi, Anno 1331.—Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. ccxii.

Florence was once again in strength and by the elastic power of industry had completely recovered from all her recent misfortunes; while Pisa, still languishing unsettled and exhausted, had even been compelled to implore the intervention of a Florentine bishop to make her peace with Siena, against whom she was at war about the possession of Massa Marittima. Lucca, now almost ruined, could give the Florentines no uneasiness, for when the Bohemian forced each individual to take an oath of fidelity to him, he found only four thousand four hundred and fifty-eight citizens able to bear arms in that once powerful commonwealth *. With this sole exception Florence was either the sovereign or friend of every state in Tuscany: Piero Saccone of the Tarlati ruled Arezzo unmolested; Perugia and Siena, were her close allies; Volterra, Pistoia, Colle, San Gimignano, and other places, although nominally independent were mere subjects of the dominant city; therefore both comparatively and positively Florence enjoyed a higher state of power and prosperity than she had ever experienced since the memorable close of the thirteenth century. The mind of her citizens again turned to joy and festivity; two companies of artisans to the number of three and five hundred individuals paraded her streets in fanciful costume, and with garlands and songs and dancing, music and other diversions, entertained their fellow-citizens for a whole month, while the natural taste and lively spirit of the people seemed once more to revel in its accustomed cheerfulness, the happy result of universal prosperity †.

It would yet seem that in Florence far beyond other places, these periodical bursts of pleasure were as surely followed by some strong reaction, and whether from war faction or great natural calamities the sudden vicissitudes of human life were there most quickly and sharply experienced. On the first day of November 1333 the heavens seemed suddenly to open and

* Sismondi, Rep. It. vol. iv., cap. xxxi. † Gio. Villani, Lib. x., cap. ccxvi.

pour down an incessant stream of water for ninety-six hours successively, not only without diminution but in augmented volume: continued sheets of fire with sharp and vivid flashes struck from the clouds, while peals of thunder bellowed through the gloom, darting bolt after bolt into the earth, and impressing on mankind the awful feeling of universal ruin. The natural and superstitious fears of the people were painfully excited and all the church and convent bells were tolled to conjure the spirit of the storm: men and women were seen clambering on slender planks from roof to roof amidst falling tiles, crying aloud for mercy with such an unusual din as almost to drown the deeper tones of distant thunder and realise the idea of chaos, or the infernal regions of their own great poet *. The first burst of the Arno, even near its source, broke over rocks and woods and banks and fields, and deluged the green plains of Casentino; then sweeping in broad and spreading sheets over those of Arezzo flooded all the upper Val-d'Arno, and with mighty force bore off mills, and barns and granaries in its course, with every human habitation and all that it contained, animate and inanimate, like weightless

* "Quivi sospiri, pianti ed alti guai
Risonavan per l'aer senza stelle,
Perch'io al cominciar ne lagrimai.
Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,
Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira,
Voce alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle.
Facevano un tumulto il qual s'aggira
Sempre in quel aria senza tempo tinta,
Come la rena quando 'l turbo spira."
(*Dante, Inferno, Canto* iii).

Here sobs and weeping and shrill sounding cries
Resounded through the dim and starless air,
So that on entering I began to weep.
Tongues of all races, horrible discourse,
Wailings of torture, accents of deep ire,
Shrieks loud and hoarse, despairing beat of hands
Made a wild tumult, that unceasing whirls
Through that perpetually tinted air
As the sand rises when the whirlwind blows.

things. Trees were uprooted, cattle destroyed, men women and children suffocated, the soil washed clean away, and the dark torrent thus unnaturally loaded came roaring down on Florence. The tributary *Sieve* after swamping its native vales rushed madly down, with the soil of half a province on its wave, and swelled the bounding Arno: the *Affrica*, the *Mensola*, every common ditch, now changed to torrents, gave force and danger to the flood which rolled its angry surges towards the capital.

On the fourth of November 1333 the whole plain of San Salvi was covered to the depth of twelve, sixteen, and even twenty feet; the waters mounted high against wall and tower, and swept round Florence like the tide on a stranded ship. For awhile the ramparts withstood this pressure; but presently the antiport of Santa Croce gave way; then the main gate, then the Porta Renaia; and then, night set in: but with it was heard the crash of falling towers and the onward rush of the water, which still unchecked swept wavy broad and cold, over the ill-fated town. Two hundred and fifty feet of the walls had been crushed by the enormous pressure; the red columns of San Giovanni were half buried in the flood; it deluged the cathedral, encompassed the altar of Santa Croce, measured twelve feet in the court of the Bargello, sapped the shrines of the Badia; covered almost all the rest of the city four feet deep, and even beat on the first step of the public palace, the loftiest ground in Florence. The town beyond Arno was scarcely less submerged; nearly a thousand feet of the ramparts fell and the wear, then above Ponte Carraia, was entirely destroyed: this brought instant ruin on the bridge itself which all except two arches was buried in the wave; that of La Trinità as quickly followed; then the Ponte Vecchio, its shops and houses, gold and jewellery, went down in masses: Rubaconte stood in part, but the indignant waters, overleaping a lateral arch, shattered the solid quay and dashed against the

palace-castle of Altafronte, and this with such fury as to bring down that solid mansion and most of the houses as far as Ponte Vecchio in one continuous ruin. The statue of Mars the rude witness of Buondelmonte's death tumbled headlong from its base into the tide below and disappeared for ever; this increased the public terror, for an ancient prophecy had foretold that whenever that crumbling image should move or fall, Florence would be in danger.

The whole line of houses between the bridges, with many more on every side, next fell like the walls of Jericho before the sacred trumpets; nothing but lightning and devastation met the eye, nothing but hideous shrieks, the crash of houses, the roar of waters and dismal peals of thunder struck the ear; in what this awful scene would have ended seemed evident, had not a startling crash with the fall of near nine hundred feet of the western ramparts opened a wider vent for the waters and saved Florence from destruction.

On the fifth all water was drained from the surface; but the cellars, shops, streets, and houses, were choked with such a mass of slimy matter as required six months of constant labour to remove; and the wells were necessarily deepened to the new level of the Arno's bed, now changed by the scouring torrent: but devastation did not stop with the relief of Florence: the whole western plain from Signa to Prato became submerged, and men cattle mills and merchandise were again swept promiscuously away: the tributary streams loaded with mischief rolled onward to the Arno. Pontormo, Empoli, Santa Croce, Castelfranco felt the torrent on their walls; San Miniato, Fucecchio, Montetopoli and Pontadera saw their plains deluged and destroyed; and even Pisa itself would have fallen if the Fosso Arnonico and other cuts had not divided the course and volume of this fearful tide and led it through various channels to the sea.

On the other side of Pisa the country was equally troubled

at the moment but with ultimate benefit; for the whole plain was elevated no less than four feet by this alarming inundation: many lives were lost, many more supposed to have been so; but in the capital and its neighbourhood only three hundred were identified: the injury in property was enormous; bridges, mills, manufactories, corn, wine, oil, cloth, precious merchandise, the disappearance of vast tracts of soil and all their fruitfulness, left calculation far behind; but it was generally believed that since the fifth century no calamity so dreadful had ever been known in Florence.

This outbreak of nature was not confined to the Arno; the Tiber, Serchio, and other rivers made similar havoc; nor was the whole mass of water in the first believed to be greater than the flood of 1269; but infinitely more destructive in consequence of the number of wears that existed within the walls; by these the river's bed had been raised between thirteen and fourteen feet above its natural level, and in consequence a decree was immediately made to prohibit any dams being erected within a certain prescribed distance of the two bridges above and below the town*.

For many days after the waters had abated a heavy fall of rain, with thunder and lightning, still continued in so alarming a manner, that nearly all Florence resorted to confession penitence and prayer to avert divine wrath; and so profound was the impression of melancholy that it became a question of earnest and universal discussion whether this event had arrived in the usual course of nature or by the particular judgment of God to punish national wickedness. The astrologers attributed it under Providence to certain conjunctions of Saturn and Mars in the sign of Virgo and others of the sun and moon, with a variety of celestial combinations of malign aspect, all minutely enumerated by Villani; but, it was shrewdly demanded of these soothsayers why Florence suffered more than Pisa or any

* S. Ammirato, Lib. viii., p. 390.—Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. i.

other part of Tuscany? and as shrewdly answered, "Principally by your own folly in allowing the river to be dammed up for private purposes." But this was still assisted they averred, by some peculiar combinations of heavenly bodies with a more distinct and immediate influence on the two capitals. The divines admitted that such reasoning might be partially but not necessarily correct, except inasmuch as it pleased the Almighty; because, said they, he being far removed above celestial things guided them at his pleasure, turning the whole frame of nature under his hand as the smith does a piece of iron on the anvil, out of which he can produce all the various utensils which his imagination had already conceived. By the same rule the whole course of nature, the elements, nay even devils themselves, all became in the Divine hands mere instruments for punishment, and it is impossible for the dulness of our nature to penetrate into either the foreknowledge or preordination of God when even his visible and diurnal labours are but imperfectly known to us. The Almighty they said had two great objects, mercy and justice; for which, he either permitted the course of nature; interrupted it; or soared above it as omnipotent Lord of all. Villani maintains this position by a variety of scriptural and historical examples, finishing with a serious account of some vision of many devils seen on the very evening of the flood by a hermit of Vallombrosa who informed him that they were, if God permitted, about to destroy Florence on account of its great wickedness.

The nature of these transgressions, as we learn from the same author, was abominable and highly displeasing in the sight of Heaven on account of the "arrogance of one citizen to another in attempting to domineer and tyrannise and despoil; also from their excessive covetousness, their public peculation, fraudulent trade, and usury in every country; the envy between neighbours and brothers; the foolish vanity of women in extravagant ornaments and expense; and universal

gluttony and excess in drinking," more wine being then consumed, he asserts, in the taverns of one parish than had been drunk by their forefathers throughout the whole city. Also on account of the inordinate depravity of both men and women as well as the ingratitude of not acknowledging that their present benefits and ascendancy over neighbouring states came entirely from God. "But," he adds, "it is a great marvel that God sustains us (and perhaps it may appear to many that I say too much, and that to me a sinner it may not be permitted so to speak) but if we Florentines do not wish to deceive ourselves, all is truth. For how many flagellations and disciplines have we not received from the Almighty up to this moment, even from the year 1300, without counting those previously described in this chronicle. First our division into the black and white factions; next the arrival of Charles of France; then the expulsion of the Bianchi and its ruinous consequences; subsequently the judgment and danger of the great conflagration in 1304, besides numerous others that have happened in Florence to the infinite damage of many citizens. Afterwards came Henry of Luxembourg and besieged the city in 1312, with the devastation of all our country and the consequent mortality both in the town and neighbourhood. This was succeeded by the defeat of Montecatini in 1215; then the persecutions of the Castruccian war and the defeat of Altopascio in 1325 with its terrible effects and the boundless expense sustained by Florence to maintain these wars. Then arrived the Bavarian, who called himself emperor, and the dearness and scarcity of 1329; more recently the advent of John of Bohemia, and finally the present inundation. Now if all the former calamities were condensed in one they would not be greater than this last; therefore be ye assured O Florentines! that so many threatenings and flagellations of God are not without the provocation of exceeding wickedness"*.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. ii.

The news of this misfortune spread far and wide, and Robert King of Naples the most accomplished monarch of his day sympathised with the Florentines in an elaborate Latin epistle full of scriptural texts and moral exhortations, the principal object of which was to convince them that "*whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.*" Nevertheless it was honourably, even enthusiastically welcomed at Florence and universally applauded *.

But, as if to demonstrate the perverse spirit of the time, even the very day after the waters had subsided the city was thrown into confusion, open and unprotected as it remained, by an attempt of the Rossi and other noble families beyond the Arno to create a revolution and destroy public liberty: this however roused the people from their despair; bridges of boats were instantly thrown over the river; that of Rubaconte being in possession of the nobles; watch and ward were strictly kept, and the great mass of nobility with a higher feeling joined zealously in the preservation of peace; public spirit quickly regained its place; the people again became strong and the delinquents received their deserts †.

The resources of Florence experienced a severe shock from this incalculable loss of private property, that of the public alone amounting to 250,000 florins, while her prostrate bulwarks seemed to invite the aggressions of any new Castruccio that might be ready to take advantage of her present debility. Luckily the only man whose position and talents could have supplied the place of that accomplished leader was as yet unprepared for the enterprise and at this moment a close ally of Florence, whose enemy he became only when their interests no longer coincided, when the possession of Lucca opened for him a wider field of conquest, and when the former state already recovered from such depression reassumed her natural station and held the political balance of Italy. A.D. 1334.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. ii. † Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. iv.

Lucca could now do nothing by herself, and the hostile chiefs of Lombardy, to whom John of Bohemia had sold the lordship of his remaining cities, were too busy in opposing the league to dream of attacking Florence. They had in the previous autumn joined in strict alliance with Bertrand de Poïet, Parma, Reggio, Modena, Cremona; and Lucca as a dependency of the Rossi; all united in this confederacy: but the influence of Bertrand had nearly ceased; his selfish ambition, his deceit and tyranny began to be fully appreciated, and his administration was everywhere detested. Romagna had already revolted, and Bologna itself where a citadel had been erected as a pretended palace of the pope, was in a dangerous state of excitement, for both in person and through his legate he had assured the citizens of his intention to reside amongst them before his projected return to Rome*. As in other republics, here also were two adverse factions; one, led by Taddeo de' Peppoli, supported the legate; the other under Brandaligi de' Gozzadini and Colazzo de' Beccadelli, moved by hatred and perhaps a nobler spirit of patriotism than their opponents, determined to revolt. At their instance therefore, the Marquis of Ferrara chief of the confederate army, marched to Cento and challenged the cardinal to battle: the latter unwilling to refuse mustered his Languedocian soldiers by whose means he had commanded the town, and with the assurance of immediate support from the civic troops sent them forth to combat, two quarters of Bologna being already under arms for that purpose. This was the moment chosen for rousing an indignant people in the cause

* It was probably on this occasion and that of the crusade simultaneously proposed, both favourite objects of Petrarca, that he wrote the sonnet beginning,

"*Il successor di Carlo,*"

in the second stanza of which he says,

E 'l vicario di Cristo con la soma
Delle chiavi e del manto al nido torna,
Sì che, s'altro accidente nol distorna,
Vedrà Bologna, e poi la nobil Roma.

and the canzone,

"*O aspettata in Ciel, beata, e bella anima,*"

addressed as may be supposed to his friend Stefano Colonna Bishop of Lombès. (Vide De Sade, Mémoires, vol. i., p. 243, and note ix).

of liberty, and eloquence had its usual effect on men already prepared to mutiny: every armed foreigner found in the streets was immediately put to death and the legate closely blockaded in his massy citadel without a hope of salvation. Reduced to the last extremity he would have perished in this storm had not the Florentines, stifling all harsher feelings in their habitual reverence for the church, despatched four ambassadors and three hundred men-at-arms to shelter him*. The terrified priest was too happy to purchase life by an instantaneous surrender, but it required all the troops and influence of the embassy to bring him safe to Florence, from whence he departed two days after for Avignon still carrying with him an unmitigated hatred of his protectors, which he tricked out in external expressions of endless gratitude †.

But his removal was far from calming Bologna; there the passions of men after being concentrated against a tyrant, but unsatisfied, soon divided against themselves, and the Florentines after twice successfully exerting their influence to restore tranquillity turned their whole attention to the Lucchese war and the correction of domestic abuses, the latter being an eternal source of anxiety in this jealous community and yet a continually recurring evil.

Preparations were made to besiege Lucca with an auxiliary force from the league which had hitherto been successful in Lombardy; but a conspiracy detected amongst the German mercenaries there, who had been bribed by Bertrand de Poïet to deliver Mastino and the other chiefs into his hands, discomposed the whole confederacy: the troops of that nation withdrew; each Italian leader retired in alarm and suspicion, the Lombard campaign finished, and Florence was thus deprived of her

* In the Libro del Polistore da Frate Niccolo di Ferrara Abbot of San Bertoldo composed in 1387 no mention is made of this Florentine assistance; in other respects his account agrees with other authors.

† Libro del Polistore, tomo xxiv., p. 700, Rer. Ital. Scrip.—G. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. vi. and vii.—Sismondi, vol. iv., p. 103.—Muratori, Annali, 1334.

expected auxiliaries, which probably saved Lucca from Florentine dominion*. For some time after this, with the exception of a few occasional inroads and the capture of Uzzàno, the Lucchese war was feebly maintained, but succours went to Mastino della Scala at the siege of Colorino which subsequently surrendered, and Parma very soon afterwards fell under his control.

At Florence notwithstanding all the pains already taken to insure the purity of public elections, a practice of allowing one person to hold two distinct offices with incompatible duties had become so notorious as to excite universal dissatisfaction; this compelled the government to interfere, and a prohibitory decree was passed: the new scrutiny now also approached and the ruling faction became proportionally anxious; for discontent had taken deep root in consequence of many citizens whose rank and character entitled them to a share in national honours, having been from party motives excluded. Disturbances were consequently expected in January 1335 wherefore the ascendant party resolved to strengthen government by means of an apparently beneficial and constitutional force which would they hoped be sufficient to curb any opposition to their own authority, but under the specious forms of justice and good government. In consequence of this resolution powers were demanded and given, to create a set of officers who under the appellation of "*Captains of the Guard*" or "*Bargellini*" were to watch over the public peace, supervise the conduct of returned exiles, and prevent frays, gambling, or any other kind of immorality; they had great power, and from the nature of their duties were generally unpopular. Two of them superintended the Sesto of Oltrarno, the rest were equally distributed amongst the other five divisions; each attended by twenty-five armed followers; and all being fellow-citizens little suspicion was excited: but when in the following year this office, its duties, and more than its existing powers, became concentrated in one man, and

* S. Ammirato, Lib. viii., p. 390.—Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. yiii.

he a stranger, the citizens had full leisure to contemplate their own folly and repent of so unguarded a confidence*.

During these transactions an event of considerable importance had occurred at Avignon in the death of Pope John the Twenty-second on the fourth of December, which relieved Florence and all Italy from one of her bitterest foes: he had flattered and courted that republic while she continued to support Bertrand de Poïet but changed with her changing politics, and was detested alike by Germans and Italians for his ambition avarice and cruelty; hated by every other nation he died unregretted by any. He it was who first usurped the ancient privilege which in the eleventh century Gregory VII. had taken such pains to confirm, of the people and clergy, or the clergy alone electing their own pastors, and under the excuse of stopping simony rolled in an enormous revenue from this source alone. He too first exacted the annates or first fruits, to the enormous amount of a whole year's salary on promotion or translation to another benefice; therefore whenever a rich bishopric became vacant he forbid a new election but instantly removed an inferior prelate to the vacancy, and thus filling up each empty benefice forged a long chain of preferment, every link of which was beaten gold. By these and other means he had amassed the incredible sum of 18,000,000 of coined gold alone, besides the value of seven more in crowns, mitres, crosses, plate, and precious jewellery; so that a treasure was found in his coffers nominally collected for the holy war, a favourite pretence of the church, of more than 25,000,000 of golden florins, an immense sum withdrawn by a single potentate from the comparatively small European circulation of those early days! The existence of such a treasure in the coffers of one prince, which however was as we are told, nearly doubled by his successor, would perhaps scarcely be believed if Villani, whose brother was one of the commissioners employed in its

* Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. xvi.

enumeration, did not assert the fact, and if he had not had all the Christian world to draw from *.

Pope John in gathering this vast heap of mammon, as Villani drily remarks, did not seem to bear in mind the words of Christ to his disciples "*Let your treasure be in heaven not on earth, for where your treasure is there will your heart be also.*" The cruelty and implacability of this pontiff aggravated by the tyrannical conduct of his officers, excited the anger of both Germany and Italy, and his religious opinions exposed him to the accusation of unqualified heresy, particularly his disbelief in the possibility of departed souls beholding God before the day of final judgment. The general outcry raised by churchmen against him on this account did not however arise from any intense interest in the question itself, which still existed as a point of unsettled theology and metaphysical argument; but from its more substantial influence on ecclesiastical revenues the touch-stone of every established religion since the days of the Ephesian Demetrius. By denying that sanctified spirits could possibly enjoy the beatific vision until the world's destruction, he according to the Parisian theologists excluded the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and all the saints from their supposed position; with a single blow crushed their power of mediation, destroyed the efficacy of indulgences, rendered masses useless, and gave a rude shock to the walls of purgatory †. The perennial flow of gold from all these sources was too precious, too sacred, and too substantial, to be exposed unprotected even to the discretion of a pope, and a general council would inevitably have been convoked by the indignant clergy if Philip of Valois, fearful of losing the useful presence

* Voltaire with much reason doubts the possibility of such a treasure having ever been accumulated; and Albert of Strasbourg, a cotemporary author, says, that he left 1,700,000 florins, (Vide de Sade, vol. i., p. 250); an estimate much more credible than that of Villani's brother, for at the lowest computation it must have equalled that sum in money of the present day.

† De Sade, Mémoires, &c., vol. i., p. 254.

of a pontiff in France, had not exerted himself to prevent it; and by the aid of the French clergy, the assistance of King Robert and perhaps some sharp and threatening reproofs, finally compelled John to renounce his errors. This however was accomplished only the day previous to his dissolution, by a formal instrument acknowledging the beatific vision, which under his immediate successor became one of the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church *.

The twenty-four cardinals then present immediately met in conclave and being of adverse opinions predetermined not to hurry on the election, but follow a course usually taken when no successor had been previously fixed upon; namely to cast away their daily votes on some obscure individual whom no two cardinals were likely to support, until they could be thrown in with a more certain aim. It happened that at this moment there was a monk of the Cistercian order in the sacred college named Jacques Fournier the son of a baker of Saverdun whom nobody supposed could by any possibility unite two votes in his favour, and for this very reason every secret vote was given to him: to his own and the general astonishment therefore he became pope, and although his humility induced him to tell his fellow cardinals that "*they had elected an ass,*" he is nevertheless described as a learned virtuous and sincere man, anxious for peace, and a stranger to court intrigues: under the name of Benedict XII. he reformed many ecclesiastical abuses, especially amongst the monastic orders then in a lamentable state of corruption, and probably would have accomplished more had he reigned independently at Rome and in less turbulent times †.

* This Pope was said to have added the third crown to the papal tiara; but De Sade, an eye-witness to the opening of his tomb at Avignon, in 1759, asserts that the tiara had but two crowns. It was probably his successor's doing, whose statue in the same church has three crowns, as some say, to represent the Pope's power over the three churches, Suffering, Militant, and Triumphant. (Vide De Sade, Mem., vol. i., p. 259.)—Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. xix., xx., and xlvii.—Muratori Annali, Anno 1334.—Sismondi, vol. iv., p. 105.

† Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. xxi.—Muratori, Annali, 1341.

About this period the Florentines were mortified to see King Robert's power considerably diminished by the loss of Genoa, from whence the Guelphs had been recently driven by their adversaries whom he had restored, and all in consequence of a quarrel about the expediency of renewing his sovereign authority. The result was a new and widely-spread contention, which plunging the whole territory into civil war affected its relations with Florence, injured the commerce, diminished the strength, and for some time blasted the reputation of that celebrated maritime republic.

The Florentines however were in some measure compensated by a sudden and rapid decline of power in the Tarlati of Pietramala Lords of Arezzo. This able, warlike, and still barbarous race were chiefs of the Apennines, and joining all the hardiment of a northern ancestry to the wily politics of their own age and country, had under Piero Saccone brother of the late bishop, not only maintained complete authority in Arezzo but acquired the cities of Castello, Cagli, Borgo San Sepolcro, and their several territories. Piero had also driven Neri della Faggiola the son of Uguccione from his domains and dispossessed the counts of Montedoglio and Montefeltro of theirs: the bishop of Arezzo with all the family of Ubaldini had lastly yielded to his power, after which he crossed the Tuscan frontier and also made considerable acquisitions in La Marca and Romagna. The Perugians who claimed some right to Cagli and Città di Castello impatient of these rapid conquests gave, in conjunction with the lord of Cortona, the command of a body of troops to Neri della Faggiola who by means of secret intelligence within, succeeded in capturing Borgo San Sepolcro and soon afterwards its citadel which was defended by one of the Tarlati: this was a heavy blow to the reputation of Piero and no less pleasing to the Florentines, whose exclusive occupation in the wars of Lombardy and Lucca was the principal cause of Piero Sacchone's unchecked exaltation. Presuming on success and

A.D. 1335.

supposing that Piero would hardly dare to show himself, the Perugians sent an army to ravage the Aretine districts, but Tarlati defeated them with great slaughter, devastated their country in return and insulted them by contemptuously hanging some Perugian prisoners within sight of that city.

This act more than anything roused the public indignation; a thousand German horse were immediately levied, Florence without any solicitation despatched a hundred and fifty men-at-arms to their assistance, and in consequence of the restless state of Tuscany renewed her own alliance with Siena for ten years longer under still closer bonds of amity and mutual assistance.

Affairs in Lombardy were still more unsettled: Orlando, Piero, and Marsilio de' Rossi of Parma despairing of a successful opposition to the league commenced secret negotiations with Azzo Visconti about the cession of Parma and Lucca, which on coming to light exasperated Mastino della Scala and alarmed the Florentines, to whom these cities had been respectively awarded: a meeting of the allies was therefore held at Lerici, where the mutual reproaches of those chiefs and Azzo's determination to follow up his own objects nearly decomposed the confederacy; and would have done so had not the Florentine ambassadors; fearing if Visconti should get possession of Parma that Lucca would soon follow, exerted themselves strenuously to effect a general reconciliation. The question was finally left to their arbitration and having more confidence in Mastino than in their former enemy the friend of Castruccio, they at a second conference on the banks of the Oglio decided that Azzo Visconti was to have Piacenza and San Donnino; and Parma to be awarded to Mastino della Scala: the Rossi on hearing this immediately began to negotiate with Mastino and the Florentines were satisfied by his present assurance of procuring for them the sovereignty of Lucca on reasonable terms. The Rossi in fact engaged themselves to persuade

their brother Piero then in possession of Lucca to surrender that city into the hands of Mastino, who continued deceiving Florence with empty promises of handing it over to her, or else giving his assistance to occupy it if physical force became necessary *.

The consequence of these arrangements was Alberto della Scala's occupation of Parma in the month of June; Reggio soon after fell to the Veronese brothers by a separate treaty with the lords of Fogliano, but was immediately given to the Gonzaghi of Mantua according to agreement, the nominal sovereignty still resting with the family of La Scala. Azzo Visconti about the same period possessed himself of Piacenza where after one serious revolt he established his authority in the following December; Lodi having submitted some time before; and finally Modena was reduced to a dependency of Ferrara. Thus every one of the confederate states accomplished its object excepting Florence; and hence her quarrel with Mastino, her ultimate loss of Lucca, her long and expensive wars in Lombardy, and the first serious interference of Venice as a continental power in the disputes of Italy.

Pisa at this time was as much displeased with the conduct of Florence as the latter was with that of Mastino; for the town of Massa Marittima had been surprised by a Senese army through negligence or infidelity in the Florentine governor who held it for the Pisans under the guarantee of that republic: they justly complained and the Florentines endeavoured to excuse themselves; but as the transgressor escaped punishment and Siena was allowed to maintain her conquest unmolested, the credit of Florence received a stain that was afterwards deepened by her treatment of Perugia in the subsequent war against Arezzo. With Florentine assistance the Perugians had now regained the ascendant, had recovered Città di Castello in September, and reduced Pietro Saccone so low that the whole

* Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. xxx. and xxxi.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. viii., p. 398.

viscounty of Valdambra consisting of the towns of Bicino, Cenina, Galatrone, Rondine and La Torricella, all belonging to the Tarlati, voluntarily tendered their allegiance on the 2nd of November to the republic of Florence, in the expectation of peace, and future protection from that powerful state *.

This was an accession of strength and territory unusually acquired, inasmuch as it was unsought by ambition and unstained by blood; but while the people were justly proud of it, the thirst of power and the spirit of personal aggrandizement so rife at home presented a less satisfactory expression of their patriotism and humanity.

Under the gonfalonier Cambio Salviati a physician of great eminence and well practised in his country's politics, it was declared expedient to abolish the office of captains of the guard, who being citizens were perhaps not found quite so pliant as expected; and a decree passed to concentrate their authority in the hands of a single foreign officer under the title of "*Captain of the Guard and Conservator of the Peace*," the governing party, according to Villani, having been moved to this act by a wish of strengthening themselves and maintaining at all hazards the ascendancy of their own faction. This is one of many examples exhibited in Florentine history of the singular notions of liberty then prevalent: we see a democratic race empowering its rulers, during a time of profound tranquillity, to create an officer with a salary of 10,000 florins and so strong a power that soaring, as it did above all law, pounced on the unconscious prey without danger responsibility or mercy; a power which strengthened by fifty men-at-arms and a hundred foot-guards scared all good citizens and filled the community with torture exile and with death: there was here no form of trial, and this man was as independent of every statute or court of justice as he was irresponsible to any public authority in the commonwealth.

* Leon. Aretino, Lib. vi., p. 115.—G. Villani, Lib. xi., caps. xxxv., xxxvii., xli.

Messer Jacopo Gabrielli d' Agobbio was the first who exercised this formidable authority during a year of rapine cruelty and blood: he became like his predecessor of the same name and country a willing tool of his employers and returned to Agobbio like that kinsman filled with gold and crime, and followed by one deep and universal curse. Yet in the face of this dire experiment the office was continued for another year, and Accorrimbono da Tolentino, a kinsman of Jacopo's, who had been previously known and was once esteemed in Florence, succeeded to this extraordinary charge: but neither could he resist the influence of faction nor the seductions of unlimited power: his first acts were unexceptionable, but the people were soon driven to revolt against his oppression and venality, and a decree was finally made that no rector of Florence should for ten years be chosen from the city of Agobbio or its territory.

A crying act of injustice against Pino della Tosa one of the most eminent and popular citizens, completed the general disgust; universal horror possessed the public mind and neither intrigue nor persuasion could again induce the Florentines to renew this odious and tyrannical office. It was indeed an authority without order law or justice; an authority which could deprive any citizen of his life and property, and banish him from Florence at the nod of a miscreant or the pleasure of a dominant faction; a faction whose object was to keep down the citizens by taking advantage of those sudden jets of unlimited confidence and blindness to obvious consequences, that formed so prominent a feature in the aspect of their domestic politics *.

Mastino della Scala, whose ambition grew with his growing fortunes, had already projected the establishment of his own power in Tuscany; wherefore by threats promises and even an attempt on their lives, at last succeeded in forcing Lucca from the Rossi, more especially from Piero who held it as a nominal vicar of the Bohemian monarch, and surrendered it with reluctance;

* Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. xxxix.

yet apparently remaining there in Mastino's service. Florence now fancied that her perseverance was about to be rewarded; but as she was only amused by courteous assurances, began to suspect that such an acquisition would not be easily relinquished by an able ambitious chieftain whose dominions already extended from the German frontier to the borders of Tuscany, and whose aim was the subjugation of Italy.

During these transactions Pisa was far from quiet; the democratic party under Count Fazio della Gherardesca governed that republic; the spirit of Guelph and Ghibeline had almost disappeared from the great mass of people only to be cherished with an increased hereditary rancour by the old and still powerful aristocracy; hence there was a continual struggle between the two classes. At the head of the nobles were Benedetto and Ceo Maccaione de' Gualandi, the Lanfranchi and others, who with assistance from Mastino had organised a revolution and offered him the lordship of Pisa: the attempt was bravely made, but after some desperate fighting without receiving the expected succours under Piero Rosso from Lucca, the insurgent nobles were defeated and most of that body driven from the town. Florence sent troops, although too late, to the people's assistance, but the advance of Mastino's soldiers under Piero to aid the revolution fully convinced that state of his real intentions both with respect to themselves and Tuscany: by a solemn embassy he was once more requested to deliver Lucca into their hands, and when under divers pretexts he still persisted in retaining possession, they shortly offered to repay every farthing it had cost him and thus allowed no place for further subterfuge. Mastino purposely ran his charges up to 360,000 florins on the supposition that a demand so exorbitant would be absolutely rejected; but to his astonishment Florence agreed without hesitation to pay this excessive price for a city which six years before had been repeatedly offered to her, without a struggle, for about a fifth of the money, and inde-

pendent of the cost of all the subsequent wars in attempting to master it.

Thus taken by surprise Mastino boldly threw off the mask and told the Florentine ambassadors that not being in want of gold he would only exchange Lucca for their assistance, or at least their neutrality, in his proposed attack on Bologna; which he knew to be closely allied and almost identified with them. His intentions were now suspected to be not only the immediate conquest of that republic, but also of Pisa and Romagna; all disunited by faction, and afterwards with the aid of Arezzo to subdue Florence; then convulsed by popolani and nobles while groaning under heavy taxation; and ultimately to invade Naples and make himself king of Italy. He had been strongly urged to this by Azzo Visconti, Spinetto Malespini, and other Ghibelines who secretly fearing his power endeavoured to engage him in hostilities with an enemy that would find him immediate and sufficient employment both in Tuscany and Lombardy.

Such was the state of things when Florence indignantly ordered her ambassadors to refuse the offered conditions and retire. "Go then," said Mastino haughtily, "and bid your "Florentines prepare; for before the middle of May I will "be at their gates with four thousand men-at-arms on horse-"back." And on the fourteenth of February 1336, even before the ambassadors had arrived with this message, hostilities were commenced in the Val-di-Nievole *.

Cotemporary Monarchs.—England: Edward III.—Scotland: David II.—France: Philip VI. of Valois.—Castile and Leon: Alphonso XI.—Aragon: Alphonso IV.—Portugal: Alphonso IV. (During this king's reign private warfare was forbidden and the nobles compelled to sue in the ordinary courts of justice).—German Empire: Louis of Bavaria.—Naples: Robert (the Good).—Sicily: Frederic II. (of Aragon).—Popes: John XXII. to 1334; Benedict XII.—Greek Empire: Andronicus the younger.—Turkish Empire: Orkhan.

* Gio. Villani, Lib. xi., cap. xl., xlii., xliv.—Istorie Pistolesi.—Leon. Aretino, Lib. vi., p. 115.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. viii., p. 401-403.—Sismondi, vol. iv., p. 113.

MISCELLANEOUS CHAPTER.

XIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

In the foregoing pages we have seen Florence poor and dependant but gradually shaking off all foreign influence and asserting her individual freedom; we have beheld her small domain almost insensibly spread into a respectable state; and while perpetual fever rioted within we have witnessed a rapid extension of outward authority, until she was able from fear or friendship to unite in her cause all the warlike resources of Tuscany. We have seen that this was achieved for the most part by a self-governed nation of shop-keepers in its strictest sense, and under an executive power formed generally from the same materials; and although it is not from official titles that the excellence of any government can be estimated, we must join with Sismondi in acknowledging that there is something noble in the choice of those by which the Florentine ministers were designated. The names of justice, goodness, and national industry, were all invoked to assist public administration, and the commonwealth was ruled by a College of *Good-men*, the Priors of *Arts* and the Gonfalonier of *Justice* *. Such was the government of ancient Florence; and if the disaster of Monteaperto sprang from the same source it was through diplomatic deception, and individual presumption an error arising more from obstinacy, mortified pride, and the

* Sismondi, vol. iii., cap. xxiii., p. 98. Repub. Italiennes.

insatiate love of glory than any deliberate judgment of the nation: but the same people who had so ably conducted their foreign affairs were no less attentive to the progress of domestic improvement, of commerce, and civilisation, a slight account of which will be attempted in the present chapter.

The public architecture of Florence probably commenced about the year 1078 along with the second circuit of walls and the general erection of those lofty towers which serving as strong-holds for the noble and opulent gave a fiercer and more decided character to civil war: at these early periods much timber was used in the construction of private dwellings and therefore by tumults or accident the town suffered from frequent and extensive conflagrations. By these visitations nearly all the city had perished in successive portions and was more solidly reconstructed, each fire abating an ancient nuisance; confined and numerous dwellings were huddled together in the centre of the town amongst markets and stalls and storehouses, and choked by a dense population which was crowded into a set of small chambers separated by wooden partitions and timbered floors *.

The frequency of civil conflicts, the slackness of neighbourly assistance, and even the very execution of justice, multiplied the chances of such misfortunes, nor was it until the year 1416 that any preventive laws or regulations were applied †. The bridges of Florence seem to have been the first architectural results of increasing commerce and refinement ‡, but long

* Cronichetta di Neri Strinati, p. 122.

† Almost all the Italian cities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had their houses roofed with shingles (*scindule*) or thatched with straw and reeds and principally, if not entirely built of timber: and although I have met with no positive account of the Florentine houses being so roofed, yet as such cities as Milan, Bologna, Piacenza, Brescia, Modena, and Ferrara, (the last as recently as 1288) were so built it may be supposed that Florence, as she resembled them in her conflagrations, also partook of the same architectural character. (*Vide Muratori Antich. Italian., Dissert.* xxi., vol. iio. *Florence* 8vo Ed.

‡ The Ponte alla Carraia was erected in 1220, that of the Grazie or Rubaconte (so called from a podestà of that

before this the architect Buono who was probably a Florentine, assisted in the revival of a better taste of which an example may be seen in the tower of Saint Mark at Venice: afterwards came Fuccio who built the church of St. Maria sopr' Arno and the more celebrated Castel dell' Uovo at Naples; he was cotemporary with Lapo who advised and superintended the paving of Florence *. The streets had in most parts been previously laid with brick for which small stones were now substituted and afterwards rectangular flags, the present polygonal form being of a much more recent date and like its prototypes the so-called Cyclopean walls, was most likely adopted to economise time, labour, and material. It is doubted whether Lapo was a German or a Florentine but probably the son of Cambio da Colle in Val d' Elsa; he however resided at Florence and built the church of San Salvatore del Vescovado: his son and scholar or fellow-student Arnolpho far exceeded him in celebrity and has left still existing marks of his architectural genius in the present walls, the Palazzo Vecchio, the vast fabric of Santa Croce and the more finished and magnificent cathedral †. About the same period lived the two lay brothers of Saint Domenic; Sisto and Ristoro; who commenced the church of Santa Maria Novella which Michael Angelo used to call his "*Sposa;*" but it was completed by Giovanni da Campi a third brother of the same order. Another great and justly celebrated building of this age was the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova erected at the expense of Falco Portinari a benevolent

A.D. 1148.

A.D. 1229.

A.D. 1285 & 1298.

name) in 1237, and the old bridge of La Trinità 1252.

* Vasari, Vita d'Arnolfo di Lapo, vol. ii°, p. 163.—Baldinucci, tom. i°, p. 80.

† He wanted to build the Palazzo Vecchio in the form of a square, but this would have brought it on the same ground where the houses of the Uberti once stood and the popular hatred to that family was so intense that he was forbidden to do so; hence the present irregular shape. "The Osservatore Fiorentino" makes him the architect of the present *Bargello* but this can hardly be, as it was constructed in 1250, probably by his master Lapo.—Luigi Biadi. "*Edifici non terminati.*"—Ferd. del Migliore. "*Firenze, Illust.*"

Florentine the father of Dante's Beatrice: it was an act of beneficence that the frugal manners of his country enabled him to perform; for except on rare occasions, little expense was lavished on anything but horses, arms, and war. Hospitals which, besides the present meaning of the name, were in those days places of general hospitality, so abounded in town and country during the middle ages that it appears as if the whole social state were then divided into "pilgrims, invalids, and hospital establishments"*. There was scarcely a single rich convent or other ecclesiastical society that had not something of the sort administered almost exclusively by the clergy, and after the fall of Rome supported by large and frequent acts of individual piety and beneficence: the religious and charitable impulses sprang from their usual source, strengthened perhaps by the unhappy condition of the times; but hospitality became absolutely necessary in an age when war or religion had set half the world in pilgrimage to Rome, Compostella, Palestine, or to some other of the various shrines that then attracted reverence from superstition. The general insecurity was such that, except in towns, there were few inns, so that the rich usually lodged with their friends while the poor sought shelter in hospitals, which were commonly found in the wildest and most dangerous parts of the country, at the fords of rapid rivers and the roughest passes of the mountains. The hospital of La Scala at Siena founded in 898, is one of the first of these establishments although some were existing at a much earlier date, and a society of Augustine monks, (the order generally deputed for such services) was appointed as a college to take the management of similar institutions in foreign states: hence in 1316, the branch establishment of *La Scala* was erected at Florence and endowed by the republic. The *Misericordia*, another institution springing from the same benevolent feelings is also due to the Flo-

A.D. 1287.

* Osservatore Fiorentino.

rentines of this epoch: founded in 1244, this society had for its object the alleviation of human misery in its most helpless form; by night or day, in every season, in storm or sunshine, mingling indiscriminately with common sickness and the most consuming pestilence; the members of this body formed then as now of all ranks, from the sovereign downwards; were bound to visit the sick and hurt and carry them to their own house or to the hospital; to save disconsolate survivors the distressing office of funerals; to bear the poor and abandoned dead, to their tombs; and perform all those painful duties which humanity dictates and man most wants when he is himself least able to perform them. This association soon became rich but never idle, yet was suppressed in 1425, to the great regret of the people, and continued dormant for half a century.

Its memory was cherished notwithstanding, and we are told of a citizen who having stumbled on a dead body in the street immediately took it over his shoulders to the public palace and throwing it down before the priors reproached them for the folly of abolishing the Misericordia and then departed leaving the corpse in the council-chamber. This hint, the indication of both weakness and license, would appear to have answered its intent for the Misericordia was almost immediately restored to the wishes of a people who amidst all their own turbulence and the ferocious character of the age seem to have nourished much of the kindlier feelings of nature; and there must have been periods of soft reaction when natural gentleness, religion, and even its mask, superstition, asserted their authority and corrected if they did not balance the stormy temper of the time*.

Years of misery and the rough contact of barbarian nations had in fact shaken ancient Italian luxury into primitive rudeness while southern manners reacted on and softened the northern conquerors: Malespini's and Villani's accounts of

* Muratori, Ant. Ital. Diss. xxxvii.—L'Osservatore Fiorentino, vol. ii°, p. 171, vol. iii°, p. 114.

Florentine customs in the thirteenth century are almost the only regular notice we have on this subject; but amongst the old poems and private chronicles a few particulars may be collected, and more detailed accounts are extant of the customs of other Italian states which reflect considerable light on those of Florence. From the notion that a mercantile nation should supply the wants of strangers without sharing that luxury it creates, an extreme frugality of manners and simplicity of dress were encouraged by the Florentines, and minutely prohibitive laws in later times frequently but unsuccessfully promulgated. Such laws may for a while check the first approaches of luxury but never finally prevail against the growing desires of man: yet the Florentines preserved their simplicity for a long time after the age we now treat of, and as late as 1467 at the marriage of Niccolò Martelli, and on the arrival of the Duke of Calabria, the same scanty unostentatious service of plate as among the Romans of old was seen at each entertainment. The simplicity of Florentine manners in 1260 described by Villani and Malespini, justifies a similar picture as drawn by their great poet: "Then," say these writers, "the Florentines lived soberly on the simplest food at little expense; many of their customs were rough and rude and both men and women went coarsely clad; many even wearing plain leather garments without fur or lining: they wore boots on their feet and caps on their head: the women used unornamented buskins, and even the most distinguished were content with a close gown of scarlet serge or camlet, confined by a leathern waist-belt of the ancient fashion, and a hooded cloak lined with miniver: and the poorer classes wore a coarse green cloth dress of the same form. A hundred lire was the common dowry of a girl, and two and three hundred were then considered splendid fortunes: most young women waited until they were twenty years old and upwards before they married. And such was the dress, and such the manners and simple habits of the Florentines of that day; but loyal in heart, faith-

ful to each other, zealous and honest in the execution of public duties: and with their coarse and homely mode of life they gained more virtue and honour for themselves and their country than they who now live so delicately are able to accomplish *.

Although this praise is probably coloured by the usual imaginative excellence of bygone times, there seems good reason to believe that luxury did not penetrate into Florence to the same extent at the same epoch as it seems to have done at Siena, Pisa, and in Lombardy after the termination of the thirteenth century †. Those cities, such as Milan, Venice, Padua, Pisa, Genoa, and Lucca, which in consequence of favourable mercantile positions or richness of soil naturally led the march of civilisation, far exceeded the Florentines in refinement, and Pisa even as late as the middle of the thirteenth century affected to hold them in contempt as a parcel of wild mountaineers ‡.

All accounts however agree in asserting that luxury augmented rapidly after the commencement of the fourteenth century when the spread of commerce war and foreign travel brought with them increased riches, new wants, and deeper sensuality: Dante who was well acquainted with Italy joins in the general outcry with all that proneness to exalt the merits of the olden time which through every age has shown itself so remarkably in the human heart, because men still retain the vivid impressions of youthful pleasures and confidence amidst all the cares and sorrows and forced suspicions of our after-life: yet Dante's lamentation, in its moral aspect, at least is scarcely justified by the punishment to which he condemns not only his great preceptor, but some of those also who were considered the most virtuous of Florentine citizens §.

Nevertheless we may gather from all these relations that a certain homely style of domestic manners was more prevalent in Flo-

* Malespini, cap. clxi.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. lxx.

† Dante, Purg, Canto xxiii.

‡ Gio. Villani, cap. liii., Lib. vi.

§ Muratori, An. Ital. Diss., xxv.—Dante, Inferno, Canto vi°; Purgatorio, Canto xiv°; Paradiso, Canto xv°.

rence than amongst the surrounding nations through the whole of the thirteenth century. Celibacy was not common because an increasing commerce supplied the means of family subsistence; and the less so, because the turbulent character of those times made a numerous progeny and powerful connexions of the last importance: from this it would naturally follow that infidelity and licentiousness were more rare than afterwards, when Boccaccio wrote, and when Florentine women were not ashamed to read the Decameron. Yet concubinage, as we have seen, augmented to such a degree in the latter part of the thirteenth century that the most severe laws even to burning at the stake were promulgated against it. The consequence of these manners was populous clans all bearing the same name and generally united both for good and evil. At a somewhat later period we read, amongst other instances, of a certain Pier degli Albizzi who having five married sons was on the occasion of a private feud in 1355 enabled to assemble no less than thirty cousins and nephews under arms. But notwithstanding all their intestine jars the Florentines seem to have been a cheerful festive race, fond of mirth, attentive to business, and addicted to practical jokes, with a quick wit and smartness of reply which gave their opponents no advantage: they displayed much fancy and ingenuity with considerable expense in pageants and festivals, and the genius of their artists was successfully employed on every great occasion: but their joyous temperament was much deadened by the poison of the Bianchi and Neri factions, which as we have seen, in the year 1300 spread through the community. Before this says Villani "the citizens used to solace themselves with continual repasts, social meetings and divers amusements; the city was in profound peace and a constantly increasing prosperity enlivened the whole nation: each year in the beginning of May gay companies of either sex were to be seen in all parts of the metropolis with music dancing and pastimes." The cool marble steps of the cathedral became a favourite resort

in the summer evenings after the piazza was enlarged and that magnificent edifice completed; and when dinners were given it was a common custom, arising probably from the confined apartments in towers and houses, to collect the guests together in the public street before the house door previous to being summoned to the guest-chamber, where after washing, they shared the owner's hospitality. In these crowded dwellings; divided and subdivided by the partition of property between the children of either sex, according to the ancient Lombard law on allodial possessions; the whole family resided; some members having only a single chamber and a small kitchen for their individual portion: sometimes they lived separate, sometimes together, with a common kitchen and a common hall where round the blazing fire they assembled during winter evenings; but in summer time the "*Loggia*" was the great place of social reunion and amusement*.

A family did not often separate until compelled by its increasing numbers, when one of them either enlarged the house or sold his share to those who remained, and then generally settled in the neighbourhood; so that whole streets were frequently filled with the same race and bore, and still bear the family name. But besides the share of each individual there seems to have been also a common purse made up, as it would appear from the rent of shops or warehouses, which paid the expenses of repairs and alterations for the general good†.

The lordship of "*Loggia e Torre*" or tower and portico was an undoubted distinction of the very ancient nobility although shared by some of the most powerful and opulent Popolani, and extreme jealousy was shown by every member of the "*Consorteria*"‡ or family, to preserve their individual right to the

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xxxix.—Marmi di Doni.—Fran. Sacchetti, Novel. li.—Muratori, Ant. Ital. Diss. xi.—Cronichetta di Neri Strinati, p. 4.

† Neri Strinati, Cronichetta.

‡ The "*Consorteria*" did not always mean blood-relationship: different families often united together under a common family name, which perhaps belonged to neither, and thus associated lived as natural kinsmen for defence or offence.

ancient tower of their race: extraordinary pains were taken to divide it into just proportions and secure to each his particular share by minute legal forms and precise distinctions, all confirmed by public instruments and arranged with the solemnity of a public treaty. By common consent one or two of the most aged or respected of the family were chosen as chiefs and conservators of the general right over the tower as well as the especial claim of each individual: the same care was extended to the Loggia where all family meetings were held, public and private affairs discussed, marriages settled, visits made and received; chess, draughts, and dice with other amusements carried on in sight of the public, and many had an open space of ground in front of the Loggia where they exercised their horses *. These lodges were held sacred, and it was the boast of some families that no public officer would dare to lay his hand on any fugitive that had sought protection there: among such the Adimari were conspicuous, and there was a common saying that no unworthy alliance was ever made in the Loggia of that family †.

At their marriages the simple presentation of a ring constituted the solemn act of affiance; and after the priestly benediction and the donation of the "*Morgincap*" the union was considered to be complete. The latter however formed a very important part of the ceremony as it was given the morning *after* marriage and endowed the bride with part of her husband's possessions, sometimes even in fee-simple, as a mark of belief and confidence, and a pledge of enduring affection: the custom

* Several of these Loggia yet exist, and the names of many towers are still preserved either traditionally or in ancient documents; such as *La Bigunciula* of the Gerardini—*La Castagna* of the Badia (which in 1282 was used as a residence by the Priors of the Arts), *La Vacca* of the Foraboschi, which still forms part of the bell-tower of the Palazzo Vecchio—The *Pulce* of the Magalotti, in the Place of San Firenze—*La Pagliazza*—*La Lancia*, *Il Leone*, *Lo Scarafaggio* with many others whose old grey basements may still be detected under the disfigurement of modern plaster. They were all of cut stone and from 230 to 250 feet high.

† Toscana, Illustrata, pp. 74 and 315.

was of German origin but very early introduced amongst the Florentines and preserved a long while *.

This assumed inviolability of Tower and Loggia could only have existed prior to the great and final contest between the citizens and nobility after the expulsion of the Duke of Athens in 1343; or more probably before the banishment of Giano della Bella. About the same period we are told that Florence was happy; and especially towards the year 1283 Giachetto Malespini like Villani describes the city as abounding in mirth and festivity; jugglers and buffoons and mountebanks of every sort poured in from the Italian states to share the bounty of lordly Florentines, who nevertheless lived frugally themselves while they were hospitable and even generous to their guests. "There were at this time in Florence more than three hundred '*Cavalieri di Corredo*' and a multitude of gentlemen that maintained an equal state with belted knights, kept many horses and retainers, and applied themselves to the acquirement of virtue and knowledge and courtesy; and they did eat often together of plain meats and lived in domestic familiarity with each other and did not dress richly; but at Easter they were careful to give to the usual frequenters of courts and to jesters various presents of dress and ornaments: and from many parts of Lombardy and other places and from every corner of Italy came to the said Florence the said jesters to the said festivals and they were warmly greeted." To these "*Corti Bandite*" or open houses, so common and so celebrated amongst some of the great lords of Italy, came multitudes of poets, musicians, dancers, jesters, players, and charlatans of every sort; all under the generic name of "*Uomini di Corte*," who amused the great, night and day by the exercise of their various talents and made themselves so acceptable that they never departed without a considerable largess.

The custom of the age would allow of no great lords coming

* Muratori, Antic. Ital. Diss. xx.

to these entertainments without presenting some rich and friendly offering to their host, and the splendid vestments so acquired were generally transferred to these itinerants. On occasions of great moment such gifts were often magnificent; fine horses, jewels, rich mantles, silver vases, and other presents were received and immediately made use of to reward the minstrels and charlatans whose number often amounted to many hundreds. At the marriage of one of the Gonzaghi, lords of Mantua, in 1340, but more particularly at that of Lionel Duke of Clarence to Violante daughter of Galeazzo Visconte of Milan (where the most sumptuous "*Corte Bandita*" ever known in Italy was held for many days) presents were given to no less than five hundred wandering poets, musicians, dancers and jesters *.

We are also made acquainted with some of the fashionable amusements in Tuscany by the writings of Folgore da San Gimignano a poet of the year 1260 who addresses a series of somewhat satirical sonnets, one for each month, to a joyous company of Senese gentlemen in which he pretends to instruct them how they should pass their time in the most agreeable manner amongst a people noted in that age for their epicurean indulgences: these sonnets were parodied by Cene della Citarra of Arezzo a contemporary poet who reverses the picture with some humour, and probably with some truth as regards the habits of the poor.

The poet embodies his instructions in the form of a gift and beginning with the month of January gives his young friends large fires in well lit rooms; bed-chambers splendidly furnished and beds with silken sheets and fur coverlets; plenty of confectionary; and attendants snugly clad in woollens and cloth of Douay: they are then to take the air and amuse themselves

* Muratori, Ant. Ital. Diss. xxix. For a minute account of the banquet of eighteen courses given on this occasion see Corio, Historia di Milano, Parte iii^{a}, p. 239.

by throwing soft snowballs at the young ladies whom they happen to meet in their walks, and when tired return to their repose.

Dressed in short frocks and strong shoes and stockings, he sends them in February to hunt the boar, deer, and wild goat, with good dogs, full purses, and agreeable company: at night they were to come merrily home to excellent wine a smoking kitchen and a song.

In March their sports were to be changed to fishing for eels, trout, and salmon; or dolphin lamprey and sturgeon, with every other kind of fish, and painted boats, and greater barks fit for the roughest season: skilful revellers were to attend their will in villas and palaces, and procure every delight that would make time fly smoothly; but without monk or priest. "Let those crazy shavelings go and preach for they abound in lies," saith the poet.

In April the scene changes to flowery fields, fountains, young soft grass, and no discomforts; but in their place fair mules and palfreys and steeds from Spain, and the song and the dance from Provence, and new instruments of music *fresh from Germany*, and dames and damsels sauntering along with them through beautiful gardens where all would honour them, and bend the knee before their chief, to whom the poet offers a crown of jewels the finest of those possessed by Prester John the far-famed king of Babylonia.

May also was to bring them troops of light well-trained horses, springy, spirited and swift; with head and breast well armed; and tinkling bells, and banners, and rich trappings: many-coloured mantles, light round shields and polished weapons, and breaking of spears and shock of lances; flowers of every hue, showers of garlands fluttering from balcony and casement and flights of golden oranges tossed up in turn; and youths and maidens kissing mouth and cheek, and discoursing of happiness and love.

Their sojourn for the month of June is described in a beautiful sonnet where he assigns them a fair hill covered with pleasant shrubs, and thirty villas and twelve castles glimmering about a small and pleasing city, in the centre of which springs a delightful fountain that breaking into a thousand branches and streamlets cuts gently through lawns and gardens refreshing the short and tender herbage, while the orange the citron the date the sweet lemon and every other saporific fruit embowered the paths and roads, the natives loving and courteous to each other and pleasing to all the world *.

In July they are removed to Siena with full flasks of Trebbiano and iced Vaiano wine †; and breakfasting and supping together eat heartily of roasted partridge, young pheasants, boiled capons, kids and jellies; with veal and garlic ragouts for those that liked them; shunning exposure to the great heats, dressing lightly, avoiding all worries, steady to their pleasures and always having their table well supplied.

For their August dwellings he gives them thirty castles in a mountain vale where no pestilential sea-wind blowing across the marshes can penetrate, and where they will shine in serene health like the stars of heaven: here a single mile should limit their evening and morning rides between two small towns and their return through cool valleys where a perennial stream flowed smoothly and attractively as if leading them to their noontide sleep, while their purse lay always open to provide the best repasts in Tuscany.

The cooler month of September was to bring many amuse-

* Di Giugno dovvi una montagnetta
Coverta di bellissimi arboscelli,
Con trenta ville e dodici castelli,
Che siano intorno ad una cittadetta;
Che abbia nel mezzo una sua fontanetta,
E faccia mille rami e fumicelli,
Ferendo per giardini e praticelli,
E rinfrescando la minuta erbetta.
Aranci, e cedri, dattili e lomie,
E tutte l'altre frutte savorose,
Impergolate siano per le vie.
E le gente vi sian tutte amorose,
E faccianvisi tante cortesie,
Ch'a tutto il mondo siano graziose.
(Poeti del Primo Secolo, vol. iiº, p. 177.)

† In the original it is "*Li ghiaccivaiani*," which may be taken either as cold or iced, according to the reader's taste.

ments: hawks, hounds, falcons, decoy birds, gosshawks, game, gloves, and setting dogs with bells: cross-bows well fitted and true to their mark; bullets, bows, arrows, bags, and fowls of every kind fit for striking or the snare: each sportsman friendly with his companions, taking every joke in good humour and hailing other hunters with open purse and smiling countenance.

The recommendation for October is to visit those that keep a good stud, follow sports on foot or horseback, dance at night, drink good wine, get tipsy; "*as in good truth there is no better life.*" And after the morning's ablutions wine and roast meat are once more an excellent medicine, for it would give them spirits and "preserve them in better health than that of fishes in a lake a river or the sea, because they would thus be leading a more Christian life."

In November the baths of Petriola were to be their station with a large stock of money and comforts; such as tin flasks, silver cups, torches, flambeaus, confectionary and every other kind of food: each was to drink, and solace his companions, and all to comfort themselves with good fires, wines, pheasants, partridges, doves, hares, kids, roast and boiled meats, Bologna sausages, and appetites always ready: and when wind and darkness and pouncing rain were altogether raging without; why then; they were only to make themselves the more comfortable within.

The last month of the year was to find them in some city of the plain, established on the ground-floor with warm hangings, blazing fires, lighted torches, benches and chess-tables; plenty of food, and the dice-box in their hand. Large wine-casks, the host a toper, all warmly clad in night-gowns great coats and cloaks and fine capacious hoods; then they might laugh at the miserable, mock the miserly, and hold no communication with either.

Such we may suppose was the "*beau-ideal*" of Senese gentlemen's amusements in the thirteenth century, and it

must be confessed that they were not ill chosen; but though Florence had probably not yet reached this point of luxury the two communities were so closely connected that there must have been a considerable degree of similarity in their manners.

This poet wrote seven other sonnets for the seven days of the week in which certain occupations either usual or poetically adapted to each day are enumerated and run nearly over the same ground as the others. We learn from these that Sunday was the peculiar day of recreation for all ranks of Florentines. Lords and citizens dames and damsels gave up that day to pastimes: arms, dances, music and singing were to be heard in every quarter, palaces and gardens were alive with pleasure, and the "*Armeggierie*," or Moorish exercise of arms already described, with other military accomplishments, were especially practised: the whole community lived in public, and balls and musical entertainments were enjoyed by all ranks in the open streets either as spectators or performers *.

It was at one of these dances, as we have said, in the Place of the Holy Trinity that the first open rupture took place between the families of the Cerchi and Donati; the second was at a funeral meeting in the Piazza Frescobaldi at the opposite side of the Arno, and in one of the tumults proceeding from this event we have an example of that state of helpless insecurity which generally attended the vanquished when there existed a single enemy to take advantage of their weakness. Neri Strinati in his family chronicle tells us that during the troubles occasioned by Charles of Valois' fatal visit to Florence in 1301 the "*Masnada*" or followers of the Strinati's private enemies belonging to the La Tosa family broke by night into their dwelling plundering almost everything worth carrying off, and they were only saved from worse usage by the sudden appearance of a friend of both parties who with difficulty succeeded in expelling the intruders: but the house was scarcely cleared

* Poeti del Primo Secolo, vol. iiº, Firenze, 1816.

when the "*Masnada*" of the Medici family came on a similar errand and plundered the little that remained, tearing even the clothes and bed-clothes away from men women and children, and leaving them thus naked and helpless, proceeded to their other possessions, so that no less than three houses in town and country were sacked or destroyed that night by these implacable foes. Such were the customs of the great, but it would be more satisfactory if we had data sufficient for a detailed account of the condition of the Florentine peasantry, if such a race of beings existed in the thirteenth century: it is not improbable that an incipient class of freemen distinct from the "*Servi*" and "*Masnadieri;*" a class which had the right of selling its own labour, may about this time have been gradually forming; but whether it had augmented sufficiently to constitute any considerable part of the rural population and what were its habits and general condition, there appear to be few if any means of judging correctly. Ricobaldo of Ferrara, a writer of the thirteenth century quoted by Muratori, gives an account of manners that can scarcely apply to any but the lower classes of that state, more especially as ecclesiastical luxury had been previously reprehended by San Damiano, and the gentlemen were probably not much behind the priesthood either in external pomp or more sensual enjoyments.

In the times of this emperor, says Ricobaldi speaking of Frederic II. about the year 1234; the manners and customs of the Italians were unpolished; at supper man and wife eat from the same dish and they did not use wooden trenchers at meals: there were but one or two cups in a family: by night when at supper they lighted the tables with lanterns or torches, one of the servants or children holding the torch, for they had not the convenience of wax or tallow candles. The men wore leathern cloaks without ornament or woollen cloaks without fur, and caps of "*Pignolato*"(?). The women gowns of the latter, and they attended weddings even after they were married. At that

time the dress of both sexes was mean; of gold and silver they had little or none on their clothes; their diet also was sparing; the common people fed on fresh meat three times a week cooked with herbs for dinner, and at supper the remainder was eaten cold. All did not use wine in the summer time; there were few wine-cellars: the rich kept for themselves but moderate sums of money; the granaries were not large; they were satisfied with storehouses; the women married with slender portions because their means were very spare. At home maidens were content with a tunic of "*Pignolato*" which was called a "*Sotanus*" or cassock and with a linen robe named "*Xoccam.*" The head-dress for maids or matrons was not costly; the married bound their temples and cheeks with broad ribands. The pride of the men then consisted in fine horses and arms; the pride of the rich nobility was to have towers, and at that time all the Italian cities had a noble appearance from their numerous towers."

This however does not entirely agree with Saint Damiano's reproof to the bishops and cardinals whom he accuses of a thirst for wealth in order that "Indian perfumes may scent the lofty vases at their feasts; that a thousand wines may grow yellow in their crystalline vessels; that wherever they come their bed-chambers may be covered with curiously wrought and admirably woven hangings ready at hand; and thus also they conceal the walls of the churches from the eyes of the spectators during the performance of funerals: they spread the seats with tapestry bearing strange pictures, and they fix rich hangings to the ceilings lest any decayed part should fall. Then a crowd of attendants stand around, some of whom reverently assist their lord and, like watchers of the stars, regard his nod with exceeding inquisitive observation lest by chance he should command anything." "It is considered madness," he afterwards says, "and is not unlike it, when a bed is sculptured with such prodigious cost as to exceed the endowment of any holy

shrine, even the apostolic altar itself: and notwithstanding that sobriety should grace the priesthood they are now become gluttons from wealth. The royal purple is even despised because it is but a single colour; coverlets dyed with various brightness are esteemed for the decoration of the lofty bed, and as native garments might seem foul they delight in the furs of other countries because they are purchased at an exorbitant price; and thus the spoils of both sheep and lambs are despised for those of ermines sables martens and foxes. It would be irksome to add the remainder of their vanity; absurdities to be groaned over not laughed at; and it is painful to enumerate the consequences of such ambition and prodigious folly: the very Papal mitres defiled in various parts with glittering gems and golden plates, and the horses while they pace swiftly with arched necks, fatigue by their untamed fierceness the hands of those who hold the reins. I omit the rings set with great pearls and the wands, not glittering only but buried in gems and gold; certainly I never remember to have seen even pontifical staves so covered with a blaze of radiant metal as were those carried by the bishops Franensi and Esculano"*.

Several writers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries describe the luxuries of those times; but as such habits are merely comparative, the luxuries of the grandsire being the necessaries of the grandson, it is only when particulars are given that any judgment can be formed, and a few such particulars may be found in the relation of a dispute which happened in the year 1149 between the canons of Saint Ambrose at Milan and the monks of their order, about the dinners to which they were entitled when they dined with the abbot.

The canons claimed the right of having nine different kinds of meat in three courses: "First cold fowls, '*gambas de Vino*'(?) and cold pork: in the second course stuffed fowls,

* Muratori, Ant. Ital., Dissert. xxiii.

beef with pepper, and '*Turtellam de Lavezolo*'(?). Thirdly roast fowls, loins of meat with bread, and little stuffed pigs."

At Rome luxury is supposed never to have been entirely extinguished and the reception of Conradine in 1268 was an occasion for exhibiting it with advantage. Saba Malespini as quoted by Muratori tells us "that a varied dress, of different colours and sumptuous materials, worn over the armour distinguished the troops of attendants: Choruses of female musicians performed in concert within the city on cymbals, drums, trumpets, violins, and every sort of musical instrument; and as it is the delight of luxury to display its abundance of precious articles, ropes were stretched across the street in the guise of arches from house to house, and decorated, not with laurel, not with branches, but with rare drapery and various furs; girdles, bracelets, fringes, strings of costly rings; diadems, buckles, clasps, necklaces of sparkling gems, silken bags, woven coverlets, linen fabrics, purple hangings, curtains, tablecloths, and fine linen interwoven throughout with silk and gold: veils knotted together, and gilded mantles which skilful artists both native and foreign had worked up with rare and costly materials"*.

This sort of magnificence so nearly allied to luxury, was probably confined to the great cities, and more especially to Rome where the riches of an aggregated priesthood and the peculiar pomp of the religious ceremonies combined to promote it; but the general tastes and customs of Italy are supposed to have undergone considerable alteration by the introduction of French customs after the conquest of the two Sicilies by Charles of Anjou: he was soon followed by many thousands of his countrymen bringing with them the airiness of French manners and the splendour of the court of Provence, which were first admired and then imitated by the Italians.

The entry of this prince and his consort Beatrice into

* Saba Malespini, apud Muratori, Ant. Ital., Diss. xxiii.

Naples in 1266 delighted the natives with its magnificence: "Four hundred French cavaliers well clothed, in surcoats and plumes, and a fine company of Frisons also dressed in handsome liveries, and more than sixty French lords with golden chains around their necks, and the queen in a chariot covered with blue velvet and sprinkled within and without all over with golden lilies so that in my life I never saw a finer sight"*.

The close connexion between Charles of Anjou and the Florentines must have greatly assisted in shaking their primitive customs, and with the influence of increasing riches, also in laying the foundation of future luxury, so that they too were included in the general prohibition of Gregory X. by the authority of the Council of Lyon, which checked the excessive indulgence of female vanity in dress throughout all Christendom; and again in 1299 the Florentine government itself was compelled to publish a similar edict†.

This growing luxury was one of the effects of their rapid extension of domestic industry and foreign commerce; for the Florentines being at first confined to a narrow territory traffic were restricted to the exchange of a few superfluous necessaries for the moderate comforts their frugal habits required; but in the twelfth century their views began to enlarge with their new-fledged liberty, and an augmented population engendered fresh desires, industry, and commerce.

The progress of trade will always have a certain relation to the condition of surrounding nations, near or distant; it therefore became impossible that encircled as she was by such cities as Siena, Lucca, Pisa, Genoa and others, Florence could remain for a moment stationary after her freedom and independence were confirmed: we accordingly perceive in her early history occasional indications of that attention to foreign trade which gathered so much strength in after times. Thus in 1135 she

* Ancient Journal cited by Muratori, Ant. Ital., Diss. xxiii.

† Malespini, cap. cxcix.—S. Ammirato, Lib. iv.

humbled the Buondelmonti, then powerful lords of Montebuono for their treatment of Florentine merchants; in 1171 she signed a commercial treaty with the rich and flourishing city of Pisa; in 1191 she became a powerful member of the Tuscan league; in 1201 she concluded a treaty with the Ubaldini, lords of the Mugello for the safe conduct of merchandise into Lombardy, and in 1281 a similar convention with Genoa. In the following year treaties with Siena, Lucca, Prato and Pistoia succeeded, by which all tolls and duties on goods and persons were reciprocally renounced.

These acts indicate a considerable expansion of mind and domestic industry, an industry not springing from the land, which was neither rich in quality nor great in surface, but because the natural faculties and activity of the people had been left unfettered by the establishment of free institutions, because they were not as yet contaminated by luxury, and were to a certain degree dependant on strangers for those necessaries which a small territory denied to an increasing population.

The mercantile character of the Florentines in the thirteenth century appears to have resembled that of the Dutch in their most prosperous days and was the cause of similar effects; they produced much and consumed little; administered to the luxury of strangers and repressed their own, and the result was public riches and prosperity, perhaps virtue, according to the spirit of the age. Their form of government was particularly favourable to commerce, and the early belief in a supernatural destination to mercantile affairs because the city was founded under the influence of Aries, may have somewhat assisted in producing it.

We have seen that in very early times the citizens were divided into a certain number of "*Arts*" or trades from which all public functionaries were eventually drawn even to the supreme governors of the country; it was an apiary without drones, for the nobles were ultimately compelled to enrol them-

selves amongst tradesmen as their only way to public honours*. Trade thus presenting the single medium for attaining political power all minds were naturally directed towards it, perhaps even without any previous inclination or peculiar desire of gain; and in this manner political ambition became subservient to national industry and commercial enterprise. The great energy of Florentines soon carried them far away from their home to seek a livelihood in foreign countries and finally return with independence; in this way there was scarcely a region in the world left unexplored by their activity, and everywhere and in every station they made themselves useful if not necessary, besides improving their native country by the introduction of all that was likely to be serviceable in the customs of strangers. This love of enterprise soon became general and an acute mercantile spirit pervaded all ranks of society to such a degree that he who was not a trader, or who had not made a fortune in foreign parts, had little consideration at Florence. Commerce thus became a second nature, few speculations were neglected, and as the merchants personally conducted their own adventures a race of quick intelligent citizens grew up who were perfectly acquainted with the necessities, power, and resources of foreign nations and generally with the leading men of each, both Christian and infidel: and as the rank of a Florentine citizen was considered noble and sufficient for admission to any order of knighthood, so whether merchant or not, was he a fit companion for the highest personages of other states. But these identical merchants being also the chief rulers and ambassadors of the republic they carried such a mass of useful knowledge into the state government and public assemblies as gave them considerable advantages in their foreign political relations; and there being no permanent embassies the frequent

* Like London, the citizens of Florence were all members of a guild, and generally of a lay religious society, as Chaucer says,—

"An haberdasher and a carpenter,
A weaver, dyer, and a tapiser,
Were all yclothed in one livery
Of a solemn and great fraternity."

change of diplomatic missions increased this knowledge; more especially as it was the custom of ambassadors particularly the Venetian, to send home detailed relations of the power, resources objects and peculiar policy of the several courts* Thus from youth upward were this people formed to intellectual activity and liberality of sentiment by a constant intercourse with all nations, ranks, and professions, while some of their neighbours with a richer soil and less necessary labour followed a slower and less brilliant course; and therefore when war came, with all its cost misery and exhaustion, the value of Florentine industry also became apparent and with it her national ascendancy †.

Numerous regulations beneficial or pernicious, ludicrous or severe, were compiled and published from time to time for the purpose of securing freedom of action and commercial probity: by these the arrest of any merchant was prohibited on the exchange during the time of business and for three hours after; and bankrupts, besides the legal penalties by which they and their male descendants were deprived of all public honours and employment and almost considered enemies of the state; were further condemned to have their bare posteriors bumped on a circular stone of black and white marble still existing under the arcade of the Mercato Nuovo of Florence. Even the mischievous establishments of the "*Grascia*" and "*Abbondanza*" were directed with more plausibility than forecast to the success of trade, and created the scarcities they were intended to prevent; for agricultural produce was insecure from frequent wars, and larger profits were more safely drawn from commerce and manufactures; thence it became an object to keep down the price of food so as to undersell all competitors by the low rate of Florentine labour; and here may be sought, if not the origin

* Their accurate knowledge of the resources of foreign nations will be hereafter seen in the relation of their war with Gian-Galeazzo, Count of Virtu, and first Duke of Milan.

† Goro Dati Istoria de Firenze, Lib. iv., p. 56.—Pagnini della Decima, tom. ii°.

of those victualling offices, which was of high antiquity, at least the reason of that blind support of them and their fallacious principles until the days of Leopold*.

The early progress and organised system of trade and manufactures in the Florentine republic may be gathered from various public treaties in which the "*Consuls of the Arts*" are named and officially employed; but more especially from a public instrument executed in 1204 where besides the banking trade, which was perhaps the most lucrative as well as one of the earliest sources of Florentine wealth, we find the judges and notaries; the "*Calemala di Panni Franceschi*" or foreign cloth merchants; the city retail traders; and the silk and wool trades. Although the two last not only existed, but at this time were regularly organised branches of trade and government, they were both so much improved by two subsequent events as to cause some mistakes about the real date of their introduction: the first was the arrival of the Lucchese emigrants after the plunder of their city by Ugguccione da Faggiola in 1314 which gave new spirit to the silk trade; the second by the establishment of the Padri Umiliati in 1239, or according to Richa in 1206 †.

Many Lombards, especially Milanese, were banished to Germany in 1014 by the emperor Henry the First, and in order to subsist they united and formed a society under the lowly appellation of the "*Umiliati*" in allusion to their unhappy condition; professing to live by their own labour they applied themselves to various arts but particularly to the manufacture of wool, and on their return to Italy in 1019 still held together under their chief or "*minister*." Afterwards, instead of periodical meetings in a common hall they permanently united in convents to continue their occupation. Until 1140 they were

* The nature of these offices will be more fully treated of in the reign of Pietro Leopoldo. Ferd. di Migliore, Firenze Illustrata, Lib. i°, Parte iii^a, p. 64.

† Padre Richa, Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine, tom. iv., p. 253, (Chusa Ognisanti).

all laymen but afterwards became a religious society whose priests instead of working themselves superintended the labour of others under a president called "*il Mercatore*," and assumed a lamb as their badge, which was subsequently adopted by the wool-trade of Florence. Innocent III. confirmed the order, and they acquired great riches as well as employment from various governments for their known zeal and honesty in places of great trust: thus did they preside over the weights and measures of Cremona; were attached to the Italian armies as commissaries for the payment and subsistence of the troops, and became treasurers of the Florentine republic: they produced preachers, authors, and poets, and having finally reached their meridian, began like all mundane institutions to decline. Their religion and industry gradually melted into luxury and idleness; crime followed, and finally even their protector Cardinal Borromeo nearly fell a victim to their vengeance in his endeavours to reform them: this was the signal of suppression, which by command of Pius V. took place in 1571 after several centuries of useful labour: during which, by admitting artists of every country into the society they collected all the skill and professional experience of the age and mainly contributed to the commercial prosperity of Florence, which aware of their importance gave them every possible encouragement: they first settled at San Donato close by the town, but afterwards came nearer, and in 1259 established themselves on the spot, (then without the walls) where now stands the convent of Santa Caterina d'Ognissanti which they built, and were in common with all foreign artificers, exempted from taxation *.

But the Florentines were not satisfied with what they had learned from the Umiliati and soon became famous beyond other nations in every branch of the art, particularly in the

* Pignotti, Stor. della Toscana, vol. ii. — Padre Richa, Notizie Istoriche iv., Saggio iii., p. 18; note from Tira[illegible] delle Chiese Fiorentine, tom. iv., p. boschi.—Pagnini, Della Decima, tom. 253. (Chusa Ognissanti.)

brilliancy of their colours; the demand for their home manufacture soon exceeded the supply and induced them to purchase rough undressed materials from English, French, and Flemish looms as well as to establish Florentine workmen in those countries. The cloth thus imported underwent the process of shearing, scouring and folding, but more especially dyeing, in the Florentine workshops and recrossed the Alps to be sold at an enormous profit. This system continued until Henry VII. of England prohibited the exportation of unshorn cloths and even restrained the Italian manufactures in his kingdom, for he granted this privilege to few besides Lorenzo and Giuliano of Medicis *.

The dyers formed a body of tradesmen dependent on the wool company, and sureties for good behaviour to the amount of 300 florins were required from every member: to prevent fraud the cloths were placed under the inspection of experienced manufacturers called the "*Officers of Stains and Blemishes*," and on the detection of false colours all offenders were denounced as cheats and expelled from the trade. The game of chess was allowed to be played, but all gambling strictly prohibited in every shop and warehouse belonging to the wool trade, and its integrity was, at least nominally, secured by a minute network of regulations all directed to insure honest dealing and a perfection of manufacture calculated to promote its celebrity amongst foreigners.

For the finest cloths the wools of Spain and Portugal were imported; England, France, Majorca, and Barbary supplied the second quality, and Italian sheep yielded the coarsest kind. On those foreign supplies therefore almost all the domestic manufacture rested, but the foundation was precarious, for the moment those nations began to manufacture at home the supply diminished and Florence commenced her decline. Dazzled by present profits, the blindest commercial act of the

* Pagnini, Della Decima, vol. ii°, Sezione iii^a^ and iv°, pp. 71, 94, 104.

Florentines was the establishment of manufactories in England, France, and the Netherlands; for just so many schools of native industry were thus established and awakened the trading spirit of those countries; yet the old Florentines used to ridicule the simplicity of our ancestors for allowing these large profits to be made by strangers in their country, forgetting the valuable knowledge which they left in exchange but apparently not blind to its future reaction on their own prosperity *.

That this direct trade with England began very early may be conjectured from the existence of the "*Calimala*" as a corporate body in 1204, and that it was in activity in 1284 is proved by a letter still extant dated London Saturday the sixth of January in that year (or 1293 by our computation) written by *Simone Gherardi* of the company of *Tommaso Ispigliati Gherardi* and *Lapo Ughi Spini* which informs his partners of the various contracts for wool that he had concluded with a number of English convents, but the names of most of them are hard to identify.

That branch of the wool trade which under the name of "*Calimala*" or vendors of French cloth, comprehended all Transalpine fabrics of this material, was quite distinct from the domestic manufacture †: the merchants of the "*Calimala*" were not allowed to traffic in Cisalpine cloths of any description, but a part of their business was to dye and finish up the rough commodity to the highest state of perfection or in a manner most suitable to the taste of the different markets; a point much studied by the Florentines. Some of these cloths were the manufacture of France, some of England, others of Brabant, and some also came from the Florentine looms working

* Pagnini, Della Decima, vol. ii., Sezione iv^a.

† The name "*Calimala*" or "*Calimara*," is said to be derived from the Latin "*Calis Malus*" *quasi via Mala* or bad way, because the street so called led to the ancient place of execution on the site of the present "*Ghetto*" or Jews' quarter at Florence. Villani calls this street also "*Via Francesca*" or French street because the shops belonging to this trade were here situated and forbidden elsewhere. (*Vide Osservatore Fiorentino*, vol. iv., p. 124.)

in all those countries, imported by way of Paris Avignon Marseilles Nice Germany and Lombardy; in the memoirs of *Franceseo Balducci* and *Niccolo da Uzzàno* the principal situations of these woollen manufactures and markets in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are mentioned, and the goods described as being made up into bales containing from ten to thirteen pieces wrapped in felt and double packing-cloths for transmission to Florence. There after strict examination by a committee of the trade and due preparation for new markets, the device of the "*Calimala*" (an eagle holding a bale of cloth) was stamped on both ends of the piece, which thus increased in value, was disposed of not only in Italy, but sent again beyond the Alps and resold to the original producers as already mentioned.

Severe laws governed these trades; a rigid inquisition was established into the colour and quality of the dyes, the prices fixed, the importers forbidden to combine for the purpose of raising it, and no dyeing materials were allowed to come through any other channel. But a commerce founded on the ignorance of surrounding nations in a progressive state of civilisation could not last, and the Florentines themselves unconsciously accelerated its decay: for when their sphere of action became more extended they could no longer terminate their trading missions or voyages within the year and therefore sought for some central position as a depôt: they found it in Flanders and especially at Bruges which places concentrated their commerce with Germany France and England and became the principal focus of trade in the west of Europe. This stimulated the Flemings who profiting by the occasion soon learned to supply their own wants from their own resources; they became manufacturers and exporters, and were soon followed by the English: thus the chief nourishment of Florentine industry, the raw material and unfinished cloth, was withheld; and this lucrative trade after sustaining itself until the beginning of the sixteenth century de-

clined with the declining republic and almost expired under the monarchy *.

With more passive times a softer art began to flourish and the silk manufacture seemed to gather fresh spirit from the decay of the wool-trade; for government perceiving the inevitable fate of the latter lost no time in giving encouragement to the former. Until the twelfth century Greece alone of all Christendom was acquainted with, and made the silkworm subservient to human wants or fancy: the Arabs had however already introduced both the art and insect into Spain, and this manufacture flourished at Lisbon and Almeria long before its appearance in Italy. From Spain it might have come to Genoa during the expeditions of that city against the Saracens, but there is a general belief that it entered Tuscany direct from Palermo where Count Roger the Second introduced it about the year 1147 or 1148, after plundering Corfu, Cephalonia, Corinth, Thebes, Athens, and other places. Amongst his numerous captives were many silk-workers whose value he so well understood that he excepted them, both male and female, in a subsequent negotiation for the restitution of prisoners and settled them permanently in the royal palace of Palermo †.

The period when this trade became one of the established corporations of Florence is also uncertain; public documents prove its existence there in 1204 either as a manufacture or an article of regular traffic, but certainly as the former in 1225 although the raw material still continued to be imported during the whole of the fifteenth century, because the worm had not then been generally introduced ‡.

The laws and regulations for this art were similar in their objects and equally minute with those of the wool-trade: by one of these, all members of the company connected by

* Pagnini, tom. iiº, Sezione vi.—Della Decima, p. 143.

† Denina Rivol. d'Italia, vol. iiº, p. 528, who cites Otho of Freysingen.—Muratori, Annali, and Antichtà Italiane, Diss. xxv.

‡ Pagnini, Della Decima, tom. iiº, Sezione v., cap. i.

family ties were compelled to submit to a compromise before its tribunals in every dispute between them; and by another no silk-manufacturer could quit the country without a license; but their jealousy of Lucca which had been their mistress in the art, was manifested at a later period by a prohibition against any dealings in silk with that republic. During the whole of the thirteenth century the silk manufacture of Florence seems not to have made any progress comparable to that of the wool-trade; the early competition of Lucca Genoa and other states probably impeded it; but the "*Arte del Cambio*" or money trade in which Florence, alone pre-eminent soon made her bankers known and almost necessary to all Europe.

Some have supposed that bills of exchange were invented by the Jews during their persecution in France and England about the twelfth century, while others assert that the Florentine exiles devised this mode in the following age to save a portion of their estates from party vengeance: but where commerce had taken such root as to require a permanent resident in foreign countries for the superintendence of mercantile affairs, it seems likely as a natural consequence of trade that letters of exchange would have been invented without the goad of persecution. As the Jews therefore were probably the first traders who in consequence of their dispersion maintained such a connexion between foreign states and had need of secrecy, it is more than probable that they were the first to make use of this universal medium of circulation.

Confined within a narrow territory unequal to their wants, with a growing population, and increasing commerce and industry, the Florentines were compelled to find new sources of living beyond the confines; frugal habits surpassing those of surrounding nations rendered their profits more than sufficient to supply their moderate necessities ere they were augmented by increasing riches, and an expanding commerce very soon opened more easy roads for the employment of surplus capital.

The banking trade was therefore very early established, and the sharp intelligent Florentines soon became the principal agents of popes, cardinals, and other great people for the collection and management of their mints and revenues: of the church revenue they were also sometimes the farmers, especially during the papal residence at Avignon; and in this way the Mozzi and Spini acted for Pope Gregory X. and Boniface VIII. The extent and ramification of their business was sometimes enormous; the house of *Carroccio degli Alberti* alone having regular banking establishments at Avignon, Bruges, Brussels, Paris, Rome, Naples, Venice, Perugia, Siena and Barletta; and it may here be noticed that this close acquaintance with ecclesiastical finance naturally united the interests of the church and Florentines and affected their political relations more probably than appears on the surface of history*.

The vast sums flowing in from all these sources enabled Florence to assume that strong and leading part in Tuscan politics that so greatly distinguished her during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which we shall see her still maintain in the fourteenth and fifteenth; for personally frugal, their country's glory was the pride of her people, its honours and offices their chief ambition, and in peace or in war they were ready to open their coffers either to humble an enemy or decorate their own capital with sumptuous edifices.

The Italian bankers were generally known by the various names of "*Tavolieri*," "*Feneratori*," "*Usurai*," "*Toscani*," "*Lombardi*," "*Cambiatori*," "*Prestatori*" and "*Banchieri*," as their interest or profits was by the appellations of "*Gift*," "*Merit*," "*Guerdon*," "*Feneration*," and "*Usury*:" by the two last it was known in England and France, where the bankers had the general name of Tuscans and Lombards†. But amongst all foreign nations

* Muratori, Ant. Ital. Diss. xvi.

† Dante places usurers whom he generalises under the name of "*Caorsa*" (Cahors [?] a town of Provence notorious in his day for its multitude of bankers) in very bad company. "*E però lo minor giron Sugella Col Segno Suo*," &c. (*Vide* Inferno, Canto xi).

they were justly considered, according to the admission of their own countrymen, as hard, griping, and exacting; they were called "*Lombard dogs;*" hated, and insulted by nations less acquainted with trade and certainly less civilized than themselves, when they may only have demanded a fair interest for money lent at a great risk to lawless men in a foreign country*.

And after all the money seems to have been worth its price to borrowers, for we are told that the Marquis Aldobrandini of Este in order to sustain the cause of Pope Innocent III. not only pawned all his allodial domains but afterwards his own brother Azzo VII. to the Florentine merchants for money advanced to him by them! This shows how early riches began to accumulate in the republic†.

The extreme attention with which they conducted mercantile business and their very minute knowledge of all its details may be discovered in the above-mentioned trading memoirs of Francesco Balducci and Niccolo da Uzzàno which contain a mass of very interesting information on the commerce of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in which they respectively lived. Much of this is connected with the mint, the course of foreign exchanges, and the banking trade; the oldest laws of which, now said to be extant as regards Florence, are of the year 1299, referring however to others of 1280 which probably governed it in principle during the existence of the republic. By this code, according to Pagnini, all counting-houses of Florentine bankers were confined to the old and new market-places, where alone they were allowed to transact business: before the door was placed a bench, and a table covered with carpet on which stood their money-bags and account-book for the daily transactions of trade: no ecclesiastics or foreigners were allowed to be members of the bankers' company, which in 1422 consisted of seventy-two firms, but in the next fifty

* Boccaccio, Dec. Gior. i°, Nov. i°.— † Muratori, Annali, An. 1124. Pagnini, Della Decima, Sez. vi.

years had dwindled to less than half that number, still however with branches established all over the world.

The laws of Justinian which allowed from four to twelve per cent. interest on money, according to the profession or quality of the person, are supposed to have governed the pecuniary affairs of Florence until the beginning of the fourteenth century when the rate of interest had risen considerably and sometimes reached twenty per cent. per annum; at first under the veil of equivocation, afterwards openly and regularly as the lowest interest. This subsequently ascended to thirty and forty, and the government paid from twelve to twenty in 1336; but the ordinary amount between individuals was twenty per cent., which continued with various fluctuation until 1430 when to regulate the growing evil in a period of great public difficulty and suffering, an attempt was made to correct Christian rapaciousness by introducing Jews into the city on condition that they were not to demand more than twenty per cent. for their money. As there was no paper currency in Florence nor any other indication of a decrease in the precious metals except the vast accumulations of Pope John XXII. and his successor Benedict XII. the cause of this augmenting value of money must be attributed to the drain for the expenses of foreign wars combined with great profits in foreign trade, more especially that of banking, which branching all over the world required a considerable and permanent amount of specie in the coffers of each establishment*.

Although these three branches of commerce were considered the principal sources of national wealth, and all the other trades rather contemned as vulgar; Florence as may be imagined was replete with every species of industry: the trade of physician and druggist which included the sale of all sorts

* Muratori, Annali, 1330, 1331.—Muratori, Ant. Ital., Dis. xvi.—Gio. Villani, Lib. x°, cap. xcii.; Libro iii°, cap. cvi.—Pagnini, Trattato della Decima, tom. ii°, Sezione, vi.

of oriental spices and foreign productions formed a very extensive and lucrative branch of commerce, and that of the furriers was still more so, for the most expensive furs continued to adorn the clergy and Italian nobility of both sexes long after the general custom had ceased, so that we have a list of no less than two-and-twenty kinds of skins in the usual course of importation*: many of these probably came from the northern parts of Asia; for Venice having succeeded in monopolising the trade and closing the ports of Egypt to the Florentines, the latter with incredible perseverance worked their way by land from "*Tana*," the present Asoph; by Astracan, and round the head of the Caspian, through a number of places now very difficult to identify, as far as what they called "*La Mastra Città*," or capital of China. Here they established a trade in the fourteenth century, but always on their arrival at Pekin (which is by them denominated "*Gambaluc*" or "*Gambalecco*") the whole of their specie was taken away from them in the emperor's name and deposited in his treasury, and the same nominal value in *paper money* given in exchange; but it does not appear whether they received any part of it back on their return or were compelled to buy the precious metals with other merchandise. This paper money, was named "*Babisci*," coloured yellow, and bore three different values according to the stamp; it was a legal tender, but does not appear to have raised the value of commodities†: the whole route is described minutely by Balducci who wrote as is supposed about the middle of the fourteenth century.

While this traffic was maintained in the east their golden florin and excellent mint-regulations secured a pecuniary reputation in the west, and Florentines were accordingly made

* Muratori, Dissert. xxv.—Antichità Ital.

† Balducci says, "E tutti quegli del Paese sono tenuti di prenderla (the paper money); e già però non si sopracompera la mercatanzia, perche sia moneta di papiero," &c. (*Vide* "*Pratica della Mercatura di Fancesco Balducci Pegolotti.*") In Pagnini, vol. iii°.

directors, managers, and even farmers of both mint and exchequer in several European states: thus in England, Aquilea, and Naples, the Frescobaldi, Vernacci, Buonaccorsi, Gherardo Gianni and others were so employed, the latter even giving his name to a current Neapolitan piece of the day. But of all the coins of this century the golden florin was the most celebrated for its beauty and purity: before this, copper and silver money only had been struck at the Florentine mint, and probably no Tuscan city had as yet issued gold pieces on its own authority, although an imperial coinage of this metal such as that of "*Agostari*" and other moneys struck at Pisa, Genoa, and Lucca in the name of Frederic II. were current all over Italy*.

The golden florin on the contrary was coined by the victorious government of the "*Primo Popolo*" in 1252 on its own independent authority, stamped with the image of their tutelar saint and device of the Lily, and issued as the peculiar currency of the republic. This florin was composed of one dram or seventy two grains of fine gold of twenty four carats, and this has been scarcely or very little altered since †.

The proportion of gold to silver in those days, and until the effects of western discovery were felt in the sixteenth century, was, we are told, as one to ten and nine sixteenths; therefore the golden florin was equal to twenty silver florins which altogether weighed ten drams and nine sixteenths or about seven hundred and seventy grains, and were each of the same size and stamp as the golden coin. The "*Silver Florin*," "*Popolano*," "*Silver Soldo*" or "*Guelpho;*" for it went by all these names; was divided into twelve "*Denari*," each of them, if the relative value of the two metals had not altered, equal to, or coinciding with the present "*Soldo*" as the twentieth part

* Malespini, cap. clii.—Borghini Trattato della Moneta Fiorentina.—Fiorino d'oro Illustrato, p. 2.

† Pignotti, Sto. Tos., vol. iii. p. 78; Orsini, Sto. della moneta della Rep. Fiorentina, p. 13.—Fran. Balducci, cap. lxxii.

of a "*Lira*." The gold florin also had various denominations in after times, but those most noted were the "*Fiorino di Galea*" or galley florin and the "*Fiorino di Suggello*" or sealed florin, called so because a certain number of them after being carefully weighed at the mint were sealed up together in a leathern purse and passed current unopened. The galley florin was so named at its first coinage in 1422 to rival the Venetian ducat in the Egyptian trade which began that year by permission of the Soldan and for which a squadron of galleys was first equipped. The florin was also divided into an imaginary coin called "*Lira*," the name of which, originating in the pound of silver, seems to have long existed in Florence, and in 1202 equalled in value the golden florin of Malespini's time; which indeed seems to have been coined to represent it; but soon became only a fraction of the latter, being affected by the proteus-like nature of commerce, especially by the everchanging value of the silver into which the golden coin was divided and which kept steadily declining. The imaginary *Lira* was divided as at present into twenty "*Soldi*" and each "*Soldo*" into twelve "*Denari*."

The *agio* or premium on gold was at first a natural consequence of its superior estimation and convenience, but when this mounted up to twenty and thirty per cent. it was evidently increased by the depreciated value of the silver florin: if twenty of these only contained seven hundred grains of silver instead of seven hundred and seventy; which were necessary to equal a golden florin of seventy two grains; and that the remainder was made up of baser metal, the sagacity of money-dealers would soon discover the change and exact so much more in proportion for their gold. To this cause must be referred all those variations which we read of in Villani and other old writers of the relative value of the golden florin and lira; for sometimes a lira and a half was equal to the former and afterwards two, three, four, seven, and so forth; nor was

it until the reign of Cosimo the First that the imaginary lira of former days became a real coin, of which thirteen and one-third were equal to a "*Zecchino*" or golden florin, which may always be adopted as a permanent standard of reference for the value of Florentine silver. A new silver florin appears to have been coined also in 1252; and one of somewhat more value under the simple name of "*Florin*" in 1282: to these were added in 1296 the "*Soldo Grosso*" of less value than either. Afterwards in 1305 came the "*Grossi Popolini*" of the same value as the last, and in 1314 the "*Guelfi del fiore*," (with its half and quarter) not greatly differing from the others *.

The physical and moral forces that first shook the German power in Italy were probably acquired by this rising commerce with its resulting intelligence, and the influence of liberty soon reacted on the human mind: learning began to revive, and the cultivated talents of Frederic the Second and his natural sons Hensius and Manfred gave it every encouragement; universities sprung up in various cities, that of Bologna alone having as is said contained ten thousand students, amongst whom Thomas à Becket of England was once conspicuous †. In the thirteenth century the colleges of Pisa, Pistoia, Arezzo and Siena existed; the discovery of the Pandects had given a new interest to legal science and the study of jurisprudence became one of the first objects of free Italian genius.

When under Theodoric, the Gothic armies conquered Italy they found the Theodosian code of Roman jurisprudence in full activity, and which this wise prince not only left untouched but made his people obey it: Justinian's code succeeded but did not last, for the Lombards hated everything Greek and preferred their own laws while they allowed the Italians to

* Pignotti, Stor. Fior., vol. ii., p. 78.—Pagnini, Della Decima, tomo i°, p. 262, Tavola 1ª.

† These vast numbers, so much exceeding anything now existing, seem only to prove that the means of good education were *exclusively* confined to universities, not spread, as now, throughout society.

continue under those to which they had been previously accustomed: but the laws of all these conquerors, first collected under the title of "*The Edict*," swelled in the course of time to a complete body of jurisprudence which governed the greater portion of Italy.

When this province fell under the power of Charlemagne many settlers arrived from France and Germany with the privilege of still being ruled according to their native regulations; and hence the "*Salique*" the "*Ripuarian*," the "*Bavarian*" and the "*Alamanni*" laws were all in simultaneous action with the Roman and Lombard codes. Jurisconsults although nominally bound to study every one of these, could have had little labour with Justinian's, there being scarcely a copy then extant; its place was however supplied by a very meagre compendium suited to the commonest necessities of the time, in which were reduced to a few simple points the whole Roman jurisprudence, all the rest being left to the equity of the judge. "*And a great blessing it was*," says Muratori, "*to be enabled to finish a law-suit at once without being doomed to watch its endless course.*"

General laws for Italy were passed, not by the mere will of the prince, but by a Diet of the temporal and spiritual barons and the chief commanders of the army, held at Pavia on the first of March, and under the Franes two classes of laws governed the country; first the particular code of each people which regulated contracts, succession, and punishment of crime; and secondly the general laws which equally affected all the Italians. Each man was bound to declare the law by which he desired to be governed; ecclesiastics of all nations generally and wisely chose the Roman, and hence arose their subsequent pretensions to exemption from the power of secular courts. In the thirteenth century this custom began to decay in consequence, as is supposed, of the increasing influence of the Roman code the advantages of which would no doubt be

perceived and felt in proportion to the growth of that civilization for which it was originally intended; and this influence which had commenced in the preceding age now almost exclusively guided the schools and Forum.

After the peace of Constance in 1183 municipal statute laws began to sprout in great abundance, not only in the larger cities but in every petty burgh and town, each clamouring for its own peculiar statute, a natural consequence of newly-achieved independence and succeeding tranquillity. These municipal codes were called "*Statutes*" and were originally composed of few, but afterwards of a greater number of laws; at first only regulating the duties of the Podestà and other functionaries and rarely diverging from the Roman and Lombard codes which had ruled before them; but subsequently changing and reforming these to suit their altered circumstances, as in Florence, where a commission was periodically appointed to revise old statutes; thus ceased the *salique*, *ripuarian* and *bavarian* laws, but the Lombard though gradually declining was still vigorous after the year twelve hundred*.

In Florence the Theodosian code was never completely disused and always considered as national, while on the contrary that of Justinian was as much opposed there as in many other parts of Italy, and treated as alien. Under the former therefore, combined with the Lombard and mixed up with remnants of the other three; all perhaps affected by the municipal statutes; did the citizens live until the year 1413 when Paolo da Castro a famous jurisconsult of the day, compiled the "*Florentine Statute;*" and the disentangling and explaining all this mingled mass of legislation was what probably gained for the celebrated Accorso his uncommon reputation and the lasting influence of his Commentaries†.

* Muratori, Ant. Ital., Disser. xxii.

† Relazione delle Magistrature Fiorentine dal Presidente Pompeo Neri, fatta l'anno, 1763, MS.

Taddeo Accorso, or Accursius, seems to have been the first great lawyer that the Florentine republic produced; for though Cipriani had preceded him and gained some reputation in law and philosophy at Ravenna, Accorso soon acquired the confidence of all the Italian peninsula. He was born about the year 1182 of low parentage in the small village of Bagnolo, then belonging to the Gherardini family* about six miles from Florence, and after long, persevering, and solitary labour, lived not only to dispel the darkness in which all legal science was then involved, but to see his opinions and expositions received as law by the spontaneous consent of every state in Italy, and where the law was silent his own private judgment was confidently appealed to: thus the force of his single genius is said to have swayed the jurisprudence of Italy for nearly three centuries†.

His three sons Francesco‡ Cervolto and Guglielmo were all famous in the same studies, particularly Francesco who for eight years was high in the confidence of Edward I. of England and probably compiled many of our own statutes. After Francesco Accorso, Dino di Mugello who flourished about the same period was held in the highest esteem, and so well maintained the reputation of the Florentine bar that by a decree of the Veronese people wherever law and the Commentaries of

* A branch of the Gherardi or Gherardini family emigrated probably first into Normandy, and afterwards became the Geraldines now Fitzgeralds of Ireland. (Vide *Ferd. Migliore Firenze Illustrata.*)

† Scip. Ammirato, Lib. i°, Accresciuto, Filip Villani, Vite and Notes.

‡ Francesco d' Accorso if Dante may be trusted had a bad moral fame: Brunetto Latini claims him as a companion in sin. (*Infer.*, Canto xv.)

"Priscian sen va con quella turba grama,
E Francesco d' Accorso e ancor vedervi,
S' avessi avuto di tal tigna brama,
Colui potei" &c.

With them is Priscian; and Accorso's son
Francesco, herds among that wretched throng
And if the wish of so impure a blotch
Possessed thee, him thou also might'st have seen, &c.
(*Cary's Dante.*)

Accorso were silent Dino's opinion should be received as law. He was the master of Cino da Pistoia a man of undoubted ability but more known by the fame of his pupil Petrarca and the beautiful sonnet on his death, than by those of his own writings that have come down to posterity; yet the friend and instructor of such a poet and the subject of such praise could have been no common man.

Florence also produced some medical men of great celebrity in the thirteenth century: amongst these the most renowned was Taddeo Alderotti who at first is said to have led a life of want and extreme ignorance, and was even supposed to be deficient in understanding until about thirty years of age: he then suddenly changed, became eager for instruction, rapidly acquired knowledge, soon mastered the rudiments of general learning, studied hard at Bologna, gained considerable honour, and ultimately became the most celebrated physician of his age and country. He was followed by his pupil Dino del Garbo, by Torrigiano, and by Tommaso del Garbo, son of the former, all distinguished for their learning and medical abilities, but all resident at Bologna the focus of Italian erudition.

Taddeo Alderotti * according to Villani died at Bologna in 1303. He was considered in Italy as another Hippocrates and was even surnamed "*Taddeo Ipocratista;*" but his value was more substantially manifested by the high remuneration usually given for his services when called to a distance from the scene of his usual practice, as exemplified in the following

* It is to this Taddeo Alderotti if not to Taddeo Accorsi, that Dante is supposed to allude in the xiith Canto of the Paradiso:

c. "Non per lo mondo, per cui mo s' affanna
Diretro ad Ostïense* ed a Taddeo,
Ma per amor della verace manna," &c.

"Not for the world's sake, for which now they toil
Upon Ostiense and Taddeo's lore,
But for the real manna," &c. (*Cary's Dante.*)

* Arrigo Cardinal of Ostia who wrote on the "*Decretals.*"

anecdote. Pope Honorius IV. having been taken suddenly and dangerously ill sent instantly for Taddeo from Bologna: the doctor would not move under a hundred golden ducats a day which the pontiff finally consented to give, but on his arrival gently expostulated with him: Taddeo affected to be very much surprised, saying that as all the temporal lords of Italy had voluntarily given him fifty ducats a day he marvelled greatly that the holy father being the chief potentate of Christendom should have hesitated about a hundred; thus vindicating himself while he reproved the known avarice of the pontiff. Honorius was cured, and whether from gratitude or a desire of repelling the charge of avarice, presented him with ten thousand ducats which Taddeo expended in the endowment of churches and hospitals*.

In mathematics or astronomy Florence does not at this epoch seem to have produced any distinguished men except Cecco d' Ascoli, Dante's preceptor, who was burned in 1327: but that the celestial motions must have been observed with some accuracy is proved, independent of the existence of judicial astronomy, by the early construction of a gnomon in the baptistry of Saint John, mentioned by Villani, of which there are still some traces; and although a small aperture in the cupola which formerly admitted the solar rays at the summer solstice is no longer to be found, the point on which the light fell may still be perceived in a representation of the sun encircled by a curious legend which contains the same words whether read backwards or forwards†.

The want of any Florentine mathematician of eminence during the thirteenth century was compensated by Pisa a city much more advanced in refinement, which produced one to whom Christian Europe is probably indebted for the introduc-

* Filippo Villani, Vite d' Uomini Illustri, p. 22 and notes.

† "*En gìro torte sol ciclos et rotor igne.*"—P. Richa, Not. Istoriche, p. xxv.—Gio. Villani, Lib. i°, cap. lx. —Osserv. Fiorentino, vol. iii., p. 15.

tion of algebra. Leonardo Fibonacci was the son of a mercantile agent or consul of the Pisan republic at Bugia on the Barbary coast who there had him instructed in all the mathematical acquirements of the Arabians, and improved his general knowledge by frequent journeys into Greece, Egypt, and Syria: he is thought by some to have also been the first introducer of Arabic numerals, perhaps without sufficient grounds, though he may have extended their use; but the original manuscript of his treatise on algebra still exists in the Magliabechiana Library with the date 1202, and is dedicated to the famous astrologer Michael Scott, at his own desire*.

Nor was the literature of this century confined to the abstruse sciences†, the Italian tongue also had its share of regard, and the emperor Frederic II. became so sensible of its beauty as to raise it from rustic homeliness to the dignity of a courtly dialect, the language of music chivalry and love: the taste of his sons Manfred and Hensius with the talent of Piero delle Vigne, all assisted in this noble work until the court of Sicily became the nurse of Italian language and poetry, and awakened the sounds of the Bolognese, Paduan, Pisan, and Florentine lyres, nearly a century before the music of Dante and Petrarca awed and delighted the world.

* For a further account of Fibonacci [quasi Figlio Bonacci] see "*Memorie Istoriche di più Uomini Illustri Pisani*" where the dedication is given in full. The title of the algebraical work, is "Incipit Liber Abaci compositus a Leonardo Filio Bonacci Pisano in Anno 1202," also a treatise on practical geometry entitled "*Incipit practica Geometria Composita, &c. in Anno* 1220." — *Pignotti Saggio*, ii°, also Ricordi di Ser Perizolo, p. 388, vol. vi., Ar. Stor. It.

† The complete course of university education was called the "*Trivio*" and "*Quadrivio*." The former comprised grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics. The science of the *Quadrivio* contained arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy; sciences which like the parting of three and four roads conducted the student to truth. Dante in his sonnet "*Da quella luce che il suo corso gira*," makes them answer to the seven heavens. The Moon, Grammar; Mercury, Dialectics; Venus, Rhetoric; the Sun, Arithmetic; Mars, Music; Jupiter, Geometry; Saturn, Astrology. To the eighth heaven or firmament of fixed stars, he assigns Physics. To the ninth or *Primo Mobile*, Morality; and to the tenth or Empyreum, Theology. We perceive this also in his Paradiso.

Long before this however a few flashes of poetry had occasionally broken forth and Ciullo d' Alcamo in 1197, Folcachiero and Lodovico della Vernaccia in 1200, and even San Francesco himself in 1216 all gave indications of that approaching flame which the two great Florentines afterwards kindled into so amazing a brightness *. Bologna was the first to echo the Sicilian lyre; and there Onesto Ghisilieri, Fabricio, and Guido Guinicelli, all sung in their native language about the year 1220 and the last is particularly praised by Dante in three of his works †.

Tuscany soon rang to similar strains, for love is everywhere and love is the real muse of poetry: Ser Noffa d' Oltr' Arno who wrote some amorous poetry in 1240 appears to have been the first of the Florentines whose verse has reached us; but he was quickly followed by Amorozzo and Migliore da Firenze, Monte d' Andrea, Dante da Maiano, and thirteen or fourteen others who filled up the remaining part of the thirteenth century ‡. Amongst these Florentines is placed the celebrated name of Farinata degli Uberti and the still more distinguished Brunetto Latini: of Farinata's verse we have nothing except the strange jumble of proverbial rhyme which he chose for the text of his famous discourse at Empoli; but some manuscript poems of his still exist it is said in the Vatican and Barbarini libraries. It was the custom of those days to speak from some text applicable to the subject, as clergymen now preach, and Farinata chose two ancient proverbs when he indignantly rose to speak against the contemplated destruction of Florence: these were "*Come asino sape così Minuzza rape, Si va capra zoppa se il lupo non la 'ntoppa*" §, which (his head all intent

* Poeti del P° Secolo, vol. i°.

† Convito, Volg. Eloquenza, and Purgatorio, cap. xxvi.

‡ Such as Bindo d' Alesso Donati in 1270. Dello da Signa in 1250. Grazido and Ricco di Firenze in 1290. Montuccio Fiorentino in 1290. Ricco da Varlungo, Dino Frescobaldi, Cione Baglione, Salvino Doni and others in 1300.

§ Literally "*As the Ass knows how so doth he chew turnips.*" "*The lame Goat will go on well if the wolf don't come.*"

on higher matters) when asked from what text he was going to speak, he confused thus, "*Come asino sape si va capra zoppa, così minuzza rape se lupo non la 'ntoppa*" yet applied it well to the interested views and ignorance of his audience who like the animals he named were still guided by their petty instincts, and followed their habitual baseness in extraordinary times and circumstances without peering beyond them *.

The Fra Guittone d' Arezzo also flourished about this period and though not strictly a native yet lived and died in Florence where he founded the Convent of the Angioli: he was one of the Frati Cavalieri Gaudenti, an order more epicurean than ascetic. Dante blames his style as cold and void of feeling, and Petrarca does not let him off unscathed †.

Brunetto Latini was perhaps the most generally distinguished Florentine of his age, but more known to moderns as the friend and instructor of Dante than for the superior excellence of any works that have reached us: he was a lawyer, statesman, philosopher, and poet; had an extensive influence over his countrymen; he instructed his cotemporaries and formed the rising generation, was admired while he lived and regretted when he died, but was far from being untainted with the vices of the world. The year of his birth is unknown, but as Malespini says he was "a man of great wisdom" in 1260, it may be supposed that he had no little share in the revolution of 1250 and the formation of the "*Primo Popolo*" or government of the Anziani. He was learned witty and sagacious, and is described by Giovanni Villani as a consummate master of rhetoric both in speaking and writing; Brunetto was the first who began to teach and refine the Florentines; showing them how to express their thoughts, and instructing them in the art of civil government: Dante and Guido Cavalcanti were his most celebrated disciples and the year 1297 is especially

* Poeti del Prio Secolo, vol. io.—Fil. Villani, Vite, Notes by Mazzuchelli. —Leon. Aretino, Lib. iio.

† Purgatorio, Canto xxiv.—Volgare, Eloquenza, Lib. iio, cap. vi.—Petrar. Trionfo d' Amore.

mentioned as one of unusual tranquillity in which many young men who had been educated in the school of Brunetto Latini began to give a literary and philosophic tone to society; wherefore if stamping a better form on the barbarous character of the age be a proof of genius Brunetto Latini is entitled to the appellation of a great man. Philip Villani describes him as kind and courteous, and happy in the practice of every virtue if with a more steady mind he could have supported the injuries of his distracted country; but this eulogy can scarcely be reconciled with the post assigned to him in the Inferno by his great pupil along with other distinguished Florentines, nor does his crime allow us to admit without dispute the boasted simplicity and virtue of those primitive times, more especially as he almost acknowledges it in the twenty-first chapter of his "*Tesoretto*"*.

This poem which is a moral vision has by some been considered as a compendium of the "*Tesoro*" and is also supposed to be what gave Dante the first notion of his own celebrated production: its visionary form and the circumstances of the author supposing himself to be lost in a wood where he gives an imaginative description of the virtues and vices, might perhaps have suggested a similar idea in the mind of Dante; but still we should bear in memory the words of the Abate Zannoni that if it were so, a "slight and almost invisible spark served to kindle a vast conflagration." The Tesoro; on which Brunetto principally relied for fame; seems to be the promised prose explanation of the Tesoretto, and is a compilation from the Bible, Aristotle, and Pliny the naturalist †; being probably an abstract of all the knowledge of that age. The French original never was printed and the present Italian

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. x.—Scip. Ammirato, Lib. iv., p. 199.—Fileppo Villani, Vite.—Inferno, Canto xv.—Tesoretto, cap. xxi.

† I' vi dirò per prosa
Quasi tutta la cosa, &c.
(*Vide Tesoretto*, cap. xi.)
I will tell you in prose
Almost all the matter.

translation by Buono Giamboni was first published in 1474 one hundred and eighty years after the author's death.

Besides these two Brunetto has left the "*Favoletto*" and several prose works; amongst them a compendium of Aristotle's Ethics, a work on the poverty of the learned, and another on the glory of ignorant pedants. The subjects of the Tesoro are metaphysics, Bible and other ancient story; astronomy, geography, natural philosophy and history; the Ethics of Aristotle above mentioned; morality rhetoric and civil government. It was composed during his exile after the battle of Monteaperto in 1260. "And if any one ask," he says, "why this book is written in the French language since we are of Italy?" I will answer that it is for two things: one because we are in France; and the other *because the French tongue is more agreeable and more common than all the other languages*"*. Such is the influence of a military and a conquering nation which France has been, with few intermissions, from Charlemagne downwards. Another passage in this little volume merits some notice because in conjunction with a well-known passage in Dante's Purgatory it would argue more intimate knowledge of the southern hemisphere amongst the people of that day than they are generally believed to have possessed†. The author after some discourse on astronomy continues. "Thus follow in order all times, days, and nights according as

* All the languages derived from the Latin were in those days called "*Romans*," and this book which never was printed in French is said in the MS. to be done in "*Romans selons le patoys de France.*" Some suppose that Brunetto either wrote it first in Latin, or compiled the greater part from Latin authors: he however seems to have been too proud of it himself according to Dante to admit the belief that it was little more than a translation. "Siate raccommandato il mio Tesoro. Nel qual io vivo ancora, e più non cheggio." (*Inferno*, Canto xv.) [See Notes to Filippo Villani, Vite, p. 126.] *Martino da Canale* also gives the same reasons as Latini for translating the Venetian Chronicles into French from Latin and nearly in the above words. (*Vide* Archivio, Storico Italiano, vol. viii.) See also a Discourse on this subject by Count Galvani, vol. viii., Ar. Stor. Ital.

† Purg., Cant. 1°.

the firmament turns continually from east to west under its two eyes, *which are two stars, one the south and the other the north star;* and these never change except as the axle of a wheel. Thence it comes that mariners navigate by the sign of these stars which are called pole-stars by every people; and those of Europe and Africa navigate by the northern star, and other people towards the south navigate by the southern star. And to prove this truth take a loadstone and you will find that it has two faces the one lying towards the north and the other towards the south pole-star, and therefore mariners would be laughed at if they did not take care of this. And since these two stars do not change their position it follows that some stars in the firmament turn in smaller circles, and others in larger according as they are nearer to or further from these pole-stars. And know that by these two stars we can understand the point of the needle and towards which pole it lies"*. He died in 1294 says Gio. Villani, and "was a man of extensive erudition in his day, extremely active, an eminent citizen, often employed in public matters, and of great celebrity"†.

The last but not the least distinguished author of this age was Ricordano Malespini: born of an ancient family he is the well and source of all subsequent historians: Villani copies him in silence, probably because his history was too generally known to require any notification: the early part of his chronicle is full of fables; then of course believed, or Villani would scarcely have ventured to transcribe them word for word;

* Tesoro, Lib. i° and ii°, pp. 1 and 54.

† Brunetto Latini was buried in the church of S. Maria Maggiore where however his tomb is no longer to be seen but another memorial still remained in the time of Ferd. Migliore though much damaged by the reparation of the church: it was the tomb of *Salvino d' Armato* whom from the following epitaph the Florentines claim as the inventor of spectacles, which are by some authors said to have been first constructed by him in 1288. Round his effigy were the following words. ✠ QVI DIACE SALVINO D'ARMATO DEGL' ARMATI DI FIR. INVENTOR DEGL' OCCHIALI. DIO GLI PERDONI LA PECCATA. ANNO D. MCCCXVII. (*F. Migliore*, p. 431.)

but for everything that occurred about his own times he is much relied on and is indeed the only authority we have: the extreme simplicity of his style and the artless manner in which he relates the most important events at once impress the reader with a conviction of his sincerity. His chronicle was continued from the year of his death 1281 until 1286 by his nephew Giachetto Malespini so that from the year 1230 or 1240 when he is supposed to have visited his relations at Rome and first collected materials, to the conclusion of Giachetto's chronicle it may be considered as a cotemporary history. Dino Compagni continued the history of his own times with uncommon eloquence and deep feeling, from 1280 until 1312. Although at heart a Ghibeline he acted with the Guelphic government but denounced their crimes with honest indignation.

Connected with literature are the fine arts, which do not appear to have received the same inspiration from love and beauty that the Provençal and Italian poetry, and even the manners of this heroic age give signs of: it is true that the Troubadours began to decline about the middle of the thirteenth century, and their tongue, eclipsed by the Italian, became only a dialect; but the latter replete with youth and genius, and stimulated by love, expanded into a permanent noble and beautiful language. Love itself about this period assumed a more platonic and unreal form; ladies were worshipped for the mere fame of their charms which sometimes existed only in the imagination of the knight; they were served for the honour of such slavery without hope of recompense; vows were made at feasts before them and the peacock, to dare any danger that might be commanded by the beloved object; and her surpassing excellence was asserted both with sword and pen in every court of Christendom; indeed the insensibility to this more refined devotion was considered as a reproach to gentle blood, and those who frequented the lower female society

were denounced as wanting true nobility*. Such was the devotion of Petrarch for Laura, of Dante for Beatrice, of Cavalcanti for Giovanna, and perhaps of Cino for La Selvaggia; but the painters and sculptors of the thirteenth century do not seem to have been thus strongly affected. Painting although never totally extinct in Italy yet for many centuries remained inanimate or was only kept alive by Greek artists who occasionally left Constantinople to display their talents in the west. It was about the first quarter of the thirteenth century that some feeble efforts were made to escape from the harsh outlines of Grecian saints and virgins, their pointed wooden fingers and stiff drapery, and advance one step towards a more natural taste: the first symptoms of returning vitality appeared at Siena and Pisa where Guido and Giunta painted with some little variation from the Greek manner in 1221 and 1230; but Bartolommeo of Florence made a bolder stride in 1236 and may be considered the first of the Florentine school; his picture of the Annunciation in the Servites' convent is far from a common work and required a Giotto to surpass it. Giovanni Cimabue, who died in 1300 at the age of sixty, made the next attempt; but judging by his Florentine pictures, a very feeble one, to break from the trammels of Byzantine artists; and neither of his Madonnas at Florence impress the spectator with

* Dante in that beautiful canzone where he defines true "*Leggiadria*" (a word which combines all the beautiful qualities of mind and person and can scarcely be translated except as the "*beau ideal*" of human or other perfection) in reproaching a certain class of people "whose visages do cream and mantle like the standing pool," says—

"Non son innamorati
Mai di Donna Amorosa;
Ne' parlamenti lor tengon scede;
Non Moverieno il piede
Per donneare a guisa di leggiadro;
Ma come al furto il Ladro,
Così vanno a pigliar Villan deletto;
Non però che in donne è così spento
Leggiadro portamento,
Che paiono animai senza intelletto."
(Dante, Poesie Liriche, canzone xv., p. 45. Fraticelli's 12° edition.)

They are never in love with any loving woman, nor banter nor amuse them in society, nor take any pains to make themselves agreeable; but, like the thief to his theft, they seek low pleasures; yet not because their lovely and graceful ways are extinguished, so that they might appear to be animals devoid of intellect.

any high idea of the pictorial art as it then existed: a somewhat softer expression perhaps; a slight relaxation and increasing roundness of the joints and muscles are all that distinguish them from Greek compositions, unless it be inferiority of colouring. One of these pictures however so pleased the natural taste, all ready to be awakened to greater things, in the Florentine people, that they crowded about the painter's study with such expressions of delight as to gain for the street where he resided the distinctive name of "*Borgo Allegri*" which it still retains. This universal feeling for the fine arts was again manifested, with a certain mixture of religious sentiment, on the same picture being removed to its destination in the church of Santa Maria Novella where the whole population united in public procession with shouts and music, to accompany their favourite Madonna: when such enthusiasm is excited in a comparatively civilised people amongst whom learning had already made considerable progress, our wonder ceases that the early inventors of more useful things should have been adored as gods by the ruder inhabitants of the ancient world*. It is for artists to judge of Cimabue's genius; but none can dispute his judgment in bringing forward the shepherd's boy Giotto whom he discovered at ten years old drawing one of his sheep on a smooth slate as he tended the flock amongst the green pastures of Vespignano about fourteen miles from the capital.

A.D. 1276.

Angiolotto Giotto di Bondone was a sculptor, painter, and architect who soon pushed the pictorial art far beyond the powers of his master: relieving his figures from the iron stiffness of Cimabue he endowed them with a grace and spirit that were heightened by the superiority of his composition and colouring. One of Giotto's finest works on a great scale is a representation of the Last Supper, still to be seen nearly perfect in the refectory of Santa Croce, a picture excellent in its expres-

* Vasari, Vite de' Pittori.

sion and drapery; the composition good, and the colouring still bright after an exposure of five hundred years: perhaps this picture may have excited the imagination of Leonardo da Vinci, in the same manner as the spark of Brunetto Latini is said to have kindled the flame of Dante's muse; yet Giotto's production is no spark. The best specimens of his painting are at Padua and Assisi, but he also worked at Ravenna, Pisa, Naples, and in the sacristy of Saint Peter's at Rome: he was a friend of Dante and painted his portrait as well as that of Brunetto Latini and Corso Donati*, and his architectural taste still stands conspicuous in the magnificent belfry of the Duomo and the church of Orto San Michele at Florence; for the former of which he received the high honours of citizenship and 100 golden florins a-year as a pension from the republic†. The cathedral church to which this tower is attached was designed and partly finished by Arnolfo di Lapo if, as Lanzi asserts, the latter name did not designate a distinct person; he was also a sculptor and disciple of Niccolò Pisano and executed works at Pisa, Rome, and other parts of Italy‡.

Mosaic work also began to make its appearance at Florence towards the middle of this century; it was introduced by *Andrea Tafi* who although an older man studied, according to Baldinucci, as a painter under Cimabue: born in 1213 he felt his powers, and a strong inclination to the arts, and resolved, in spite of the rudeness and consequent disadvantages of the age to pursue their study. As at this time Mosaic pictures were perhaps the most esteemed he determined to gain a name, if not from superiority of hand at least by the durability of his materials; therefore repaired to Venice then the best school of

* This portrait of Dante has been recently discovered and saved from destruction principally by the exertions of Mr. Kirkup an English artist and some other foreigners and natives of Florence.

† Vasari, Vita di Giotto, vol. ii°, p. 304.

‡ Baldinucci, Decennali, vol. i°. — Lanzi, Storia Pittorica dell' Italia, vol. i°, p. 21.

this art, studied under those that were employed in decorating the Church of Saint Mark, particularly *Apolonio Greco* whom he persuaded to accompany him to Florence, and there learned his secret of composition for Mosaic pictures; they were afterwards employed together to adorn the Baptistry, where Gaddo Gaddi a better artist than either ultimately joined them.

The latter was born in 1239 and died twelve years after his supposed master Cimabue, having painted in Florence, Pisa and in Rome, where he had been invited by Clement the Fifth; but his talents survived in his son Taddeo and grandson Agnolo, both distinguished artists; and besides this the family of Gaddi acquired some reputation in the subsequent affairs of their country*.

Perhaps the three sister arts would have remained long if not entirely dormant had not the powerful stimulus of religion assisted in their revival: that strong and prevalent inclination to please whom we love, and deprecate those we fear, has in ancient and modern times produced more temples, statues, and paintings, than any inherent taste or mental necessity for the beautiful alone.

In the early ages of modern civilisation the superior riches and refinement of the clergy, their comparatively domestic life, and the policy of alluring devotees by agreeable objects, which they well knew how to invest with a peculiar sanctity, turned their attention more immediately to the fine arts; these were as much encouraged within their churches and cloisters as in the outward world, wherefore they became essentially the patrons of art, and were enabled to be so not only from their religious influence but their extensive temporal power and unfoounded wealth.

The episcopacy in these early times was anything but clerical; its sacred calling was no exemption from military service, and in the character of feudal Barons the Bishops

* Baldinucci, Decen.—Vasari, Vite de' Pittori.—Lanzi, Storia Pittorica.

were often compelled even by popes and emperors to carry arms, besides being in constant collision with their no less warlike neighbours. Amongst the most powerful churchmen of those days were the Bishops of Arezzo and Florence, whose temporal jurisdiction was enormous: the ample means and belligerent disposition of one of the former has already been noticed, but something may be now said about the authority of the latter.

It is commonly supposed that the first bishop of Florence was Frontino a disciple of Saint Peter who with Saint Paolino Bishop of Lucca preached Christianity there in the year 56 and was cotemporary with Saint Romulus, first bishop of Fiesole: how these facts are ascertained would now perhaps be difficult to discover; but ancient documents are adduced to prove that the primitive title of the Florentine prelates was "*servants of Saint John and unworthy bishops.*" The last epithet was probably not long retained, but its truth was often manifested especially about the last quarter of the ninth century when the increasing temporal power of the Italian prelates sadly interfered with their spiritual office*.

Charles the Bald's contention with his brother Louis and others for the kingdom of Italy was decided by bribery, the clergy forming a considerable part of the elective body; their support therefore was not given for nothing, and in the long tempest of internal war which began with the struggle between Berenger the First and Guido Marquis of Spoleto, both spiritual and temporal lords acted with more sagacity than patriotism. The dignified clergy were then bribed like laymen, with temporal lordships, with counties, cities, castles, marquisates, dukedoms, and public revenues, and the Hungarian and Saracenic incursions gave them in common with others a fair excuse for building strongholds and fortifying towns; and thenceforth they gradually assumed the character and authority of military nobles and counts, that is governors of cities and

* Ferd del Migliore, Firen. Illustrata, p. 117.—Borghini, Discorsi.

their surrounding country: this clerical thirst for power became epidemic and each prelate strove hard to combine spiritual and temporal authority by ousting the civic counts and usurping the functions of their office while they still retained the empty name.

The abbots of convents, and even lady-abbesses strove with the bishops in this worldly race, and at every fresh succession to the Italian crown managed by the power of gold to have old grants confirmed, and generally augmented: this system had arrived at such a height in the eleventh century as to make the sovereign insist that those prelates who enjoyed temporal dignities under the crown should also receive the investiture of their abbeys and bishoprics from his hands. A new source of fraud and simony was thus opened; unholy treasures were poured into imperial coffers, papal interests were affected, and the system ultimately terminated in open warfare between the church and empire under Hildebrand and his successors: the abbots, increasing in pride and power, disdained longer to acknowledge any superiority in the ancient episcopal authority, and assuming the staff and mitre surpassed the bishops themselves in pomp and splendour. The result in both cases was a total neglect of the pastoral duties to follow a court which in those days was never stationary; they sent their vassals to war and as we have said were sometimes even forced to take the field themselves in defiance of all church canons, while their feudal neighbours tempted by the riches and false position of the clergy lost no opportunity of attacking them under a regular system of spoliation *.

On this commanding position of double authority were placed from very early times the bishops of Florence, and their ancient power great as it was, augmented after the fall of the Lombard dynasty; first under the general protection of Charlemagne, and subsequently by the bounty of devout sinners; but more

* Muratori, Ant. Ital., Diss. lxxi.

especially after the commencement of Florentine independence by the spontaneous obedience of the "*Cattani*" or feudal chieftains, who became willing vassals of the church in order to avoid the less agreeable domination of that republic. In this way the Bishop of Florence rose into a powerful chieftain, the lord of between forty and fifty castles and towns within its territory, and was purposely spared by that city at a time when the surrounding chiefs were successively disappearing in the spreading shadow of its power.

Florence had not in fact the same causes of quarrel with these prelates as with other feudal barons, the Cattani, all of Lombard or German blood held strongly to the emperors; were proud, aristocratic, impatient of control, and despised the persons while they feared the power of the citizens. The republic on the contrary followed Matilda's example by supporting the church: the bishops were naturally on that side and therefore allowed to enjoy their estates in peace and almost independence while willing to acknowledge the same paramount authority in Florence that formerly belonged to the dukes and marquises of Tuscany. This supremacy was demanded from all, and these prelates virtually submitted by appearing before the Florentine courts in disputes with their own vassals. The Cattani on the other hand endeavoured to shelter themselves under that reverence which was then shown to everything ecclesiastical by giving their allegiance to the bishop alone, and so becoming vassals of the church. The lords of Castiglione were the first to do this in 1072, and their example was followed as occasions offered through nearly the whole of the thirteenth century, but generated much political disturbance and finally brought the republic and the episcopacy into hostile collision *.

Nor were these disputes confined to the government; the election of Florentine bishops by the free votes of the inhabi-

* Lami, Lezioni, Prefazione, cxxi.—Ferd. del Migliore, p. 117.

tants and clergy had occasioned sharp struggles, bad blood, and often double returns; to check such squabbles Honorius IV. first violated the custom in 1286, and it was entirely abolished for a similar reason by John XXII. in 1322; the republic prudently reserving to itself a right of nominating candidates and simultaneously breaking the ancient custom of receiving a foreign ecclesiastic as bishop of Florence. Many of these Cattani after having been subdued and made citizens of Florence still maintained their feudal following and were usually attended by troops of retainers, half slaves half freedmen, called "*Uomini di Masnada*" who held certain possessions of them by the tenure of military service, took oaths of fidelity, and appear to have included every rank of person in the different Italian states according to the quality of the chief; but without any degradation of character being attached to such employment.

This kind of servitude, which could not be thrown off without a formal act of manumission, was common in the north of Italy and began in the eleventh century, when innumerable chieftains started up owning no superior but the emperor. Being at constant war with each other they sought every means of creating a military following by granting lands to all ranks of people, and it is probable that many slaves were then partly emancipated for the purpose: such a condition, though not considered dishonourable, was thus essentially tinged with the colours of slavery, and so far differed from the "*Vassi*" and "*Vassali*" as well as from the Vavasours*. This union of "*Servi*" slaves, or vassals of one chief, was called "*Masnada*" and hence the name "*Masnadieri*" so often recurring in early Italian history; for the commanders of these irregular bands were often retained in the pay of the republic and frequently kept the field

* Some slight, perhaps unnecessary distinction, is made between the "*Vassi*," who are supposed to have been vassals of the crown, and the "*Vassa'i*" who were the vassals of great lords. The "*Vavasours*" were the vassals of great vassals.

when the civic troops had returned to their homes, or when the war was not sufficiently important to bring the latter out with the Carroccio. Hence the distinction between the common expressions "*Fare Esercito*" and "*Fare Masnada.*"

Besides these military *Villains* who were also called "*Fedeli,*" there were two other kinds of slaves amongst the early Italians, namely prisoners of war and the labourers attached to the soil, who were considered as cattle in every respect except that of their superior utility and value: the former species of slavery was probably soon dissolved by the union of self-interest and humanity: the latter began to decline in the twelfth century; partially continued through the thirteenth and vanished entirely in the fourteenth century. This emancipation does not appear to have been so much the effect of any particular Christian influence or direct moral improvement; although both might have materially assisted; as that of utility and necessity: masters began to feel more sensibly the inconveniences of slavery while its advantages were subject to many drawbacks. The high price of the slave, his sickness death or flight; his crimes if capital, for which his owner was so far responsible as to be compelled to pay the consequent fines; the cost of tracing and identifying deserters which frequently involved long and expensive suits if the runaway denied his being a slave; marriages between bondsmen and women belonging to different masters, involving the separation of man and wife; all these tended to undermine the hideous fabric of predial and domestic slavery.

But the most powerful agent in the destruction of this deep-seated injustice was the blaze of liberty which in the twelfth century overran northern Italy and left so many independent altars burning on its plains. The frequent wars of the new republics caused a demand for soldiers and rendered the flight and concealment of slaves comparatively easy; for the ancient laws of the Franks and Lombards against enlisting and secreting them had ceased with the imperial sway; incipient

freedom found a new interest in relaxing antique rigour and arming slaves with the buckler of liberty for the defence of their common country. At Bologna about the year 1256 rural slaves belonging to no less than a hundred citizens were not only emancipated by a public decree but their freedom was purchased with the public money at the rate of ten Lire a head for man, woman and child above fourteen years of age, and eight for all below; a price which approaches in value to perhaps near thirty pounds of our present money *.

The condition of these slaves was not however at any time so hopeless as to darken that prospect of future liberty which might open on them from their own conduct or the benevolence of their master: this boon was frequently granted by all but priests, who are supposed to have considered such beneficence as an alienation of ecclesiastical property and therefore against the canons of the church. But sons of slaves if sufficiently educated and manumitted were often received into holy orders, and thus a slight compensation was sometimes offered for the almost hopeless condition of their parents. These bondsmen were nevertheless allowed to accumulate capital by their own industry and finally purchase their freedom; many were emancipated by the dying commands of their masters; many for long service, fidelity, ability; at the birth of children, and for the good of their deceased owner's soul: thus by degrees the public mind was influenced by more liberal sentiments, liberty generated liberty, and this milder form of an inhuman system gradually though not entirely mouldered away †.

The same free spirit, the offspring of commerce and intelligence, which so stooped to remove the shackles of slavery had already risen under the stranger's yoke and repelled his aggressions; freedom rode triumphant on the plains of Lombardy; each city stood nobly for itself yet all so united in the

* Muratori, Antich. Ital., Diss. xiv. † Muratori, Ant. Ital., Diss. x.

common cause that the German felt he was no longer lord and master of Italy. It was a long and bloody contest, but the people had been prepared by many concurring events: industry had enlarged commerce, commerce had enlarged wealth, and both together had enlarged knowledge; knowledge begat freedom of thought and juster notions of human dignity; men began to perceive that they were not placed aright, and a thousand grievances which had previously been overlooked, disregarded, perhaps unfelt, were now by the prying eyes of innovation magnified beyond their real size and natural deformity. Neither had the art of war been neglected; necessity had forced upon the Italians a profession which is in general as hastily taken up as it is too reluctantly abandoned, yet one that brings many noble spirits, many private virtues, with much public wickedness into strong relief, and by which nations are blinded to the infamy of such crimes as would fill their individual members with disgust.

The savage inroads of fierce Hungarian tribes and ruinous descents of the Saracens in the beginning of the tenth century totally changed the aspect of Italy: under the Frankish dynasty a long-continued calm, unruffled by the sweeping tempests of barbarian violence, had accustomed the people generally to inhabit unfenced places so that even the old civic fortifications had mostly fallen to decay; but first the civil wars of Guido and Berenger, and then the Hungarian inroads, created a different state of things throughout the land. Cities and towns were rapidly surrounded with walls, numberless castles seemed as it were to grow out of the massive rocks, grey lines of ramparts circled every crag, and scarcely a hamlet or even private gentleman that did not demand the royal permission to secure themselves and their property: the whole country had thus assumed a warlike aspect in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and even thus early those lofty towers of the city nobles which multiplied so rapidly in the Guelph and Ghibeline frenzy of

the twelfth and following ages, are said to have originated; when even the very stones seemed to share the general madness, and the battlements took a different form according to the faction they defended. These towers were in Florence a sign of high nobility, because nobles alone had in general the power or the privilege of erecting them; but the means probably constituted the privilege, as Malespini tells us that several of those destroyed in 1250 belonged to opulent citizens who were not nobles *. The number of these buildings at Florence was enormous but in Pisa incredible; ten thousand of them it is said having once existed there in a warlike state; and at Lucca Castruccio ordered three hundred lofty towers to be reduced to the level of the neighbouring houses: state policy and party rage in like manner lowered and demolished those of Florence but the ground story of multitudes may still be traced by the curious rambler in the more ancient streets of that metropolis †. These high and slender towers clustering so thickly against a cloudless sky must have given a bright and lively aspect to the city when first bursting upon the view of the traveller; a show of peace from the abodes of strife! The town of San-Gimignano, still called "*San Gimignano delle belle torre*" by the people, where many still remain; and even Siena, will now perhaps afford the best example of this rich antique appearance, unaccompanied by the more revolting features as well as the daring and romantic energy of those turbulent ages. Some of these buildings leaned out of the perpendicular, as the belfry of Pisa and the rougher built Garisenda of Bologna which furnished Dante with so striking a simile ‡; this position is doubtless accidental in both; in the former certainly, as recent excavations have proved; but all were intended in Florence as fortresses, while at Siena, as we have seen, a different origin is

* Malespini, cap. cxli.

† Pisa however is said to have been entirely composed of isolated towers in its early days, a circumstance that might render the above statement less incredible.

‡ Inferno, Canto xxxi.

ascribed to them and some doubt exists about the real object of their erection.

The massive tower in the midst of a castle was called as with us the "*Donjon*," or "*Maschio:*" the "*Cassero*" was a building of the same description but walled round (of which there is a fine specimen at Volterra) attached to the citadel or "*Rocca.*" This last name was however more particularly applied to the strong fortified hamlets on precipitous hills, those on the plains being for the most part larger and generally called "*Castelli*," a denomination which should not be mistaken for a simple castle according to our English meaning. Some of these Castelli had, like that of Santa Maria a Monte mentioned by Villani, no less than three circuits of walls besides the Rocca; and some had a barbacan or lower wall beyond the rampart and sloping outwards which seems to have inclosed a narrow space between itself and the latter to prevent the application of scaling-ladders; (like the "*Cordon*" of modern works) and the approach of other warlike engines. That this could not have been very high from the ground or far from the rampart, is evident from a circumstance quoted by Muratori: a knight called Ghinozzo being in 1329 prisoner in a certain Senese fortress, one day mounted his horse and riding near the walls suddenly gave him the spur, leaped over the ramparts and alighting on the barbacan reached the outer ground with a second spring, then spurring on apace gained the friendly fortress of Sassoforte *.

* Sassoforte whose lords used to send 100 men as their contingent to Siena in 1260 and long after, is now a wild beautiful picturesque hill covered with short greensward and shady chesnut trees looking as old as the ruined walls and towers that are showing their grey forms above the luxuriant foliage which smothers them. The view from this is extensive and fine. To the N. E. Siena and all its undulated country; to the west, Elba, Corsica, Sardinia; to the north the hilly Maremma and all the Volterra country; and to the south, the low dead flat plain of Grosseto and its pestiferous marshes, looking from its flatness, more like sea than land and with the aid of a slight mist scarcely to be distinguished from the former.—G. Villani, Lib. x., cap. xxviii., Muratori, Antich. Italiane, Dissertazione xxvi.

The "*Bastie*," which seem to be identical with the "*Battifolli*" so frequently mentioned in Italian chronicles, were a sort of redoubt built of timber in a flat country, and generally round some tower or houses, as a blockading station against a fortress or other besieged place: they were encompassed by a ditch and earthen rampart and were garrisoned by both cavalry and infantry*.

After the year 1000 but especially in the twelfth century, the northern Italians having become warlike and republican, acquired also a taste for wealth industry and dominion: the two former were then indispensable to maintain their state; population became necessary for industry, and land for population. They all therefore set themselves to recover their ancient landmarks by reducing the neighbouring aristocracy to obedience; they then opposed the emperors on the plea of their infringing ancient rights and customs and loading them with unjust taxation; and thus a warlike *spirit* sprang up from the force of circumstances, but it is supposed that the Sicilian Normans were the first to introduce a more regular discipline and inspire the Italians with a professional love of arms and military glory.

The age of castle-building brought with it also an improvement or perhaps a revival of military besieging engines. After filling the ditch, moveable wooden towers called "*Castra*," and "*Phalas*," were pushed close up to the walls and a bridge let fall from them upon the battlements, so that nothing but fire or hard fighting could defend the city: then there were various instruments for casting stones either in solid masses or in showers, such as the "*Mangani*" and "*Manganelli*;" the last a mere diminutive of the first; the "*Troja*" or *Sow*, the "*Ballistum*" called also "*Lupa*," or the *Wolf*; and several others, all under the general appellation of "*Petriere*." The Troja used by the Genoese in 1072 is said to have thrown

* G. Villani, Lib. v., cap. ij.; Lib. vi., cap. iv.; Lib. x., cap. xvii.

stones of from eighteen hundred to two thousand seven hundred pounds weight, a thing scarcely credible *. The Lupa threw a weight of three hundred Modenese pounds and the effects corresponded; wall, and house, and tower, came crashing down under their ponderous strokes, while a storm of smaller stones kept beating from the mangonels and other artillery. The besieged had little shelter from such tempests; their general defence was a strong netting hung loosely before the place exposed to such attacks, but the mischief was often terrible: the killed and wounded were said to be "*Manganati*" or *mangonelled* (*mangled*) and this is frequently used by the Italian writers in a general sense for being wounded or annoyed by missiles or projectiles of any kind; thus F. Villani says, "Their horses were more annoyed and *manganati* by the English arrows; hence probably our own word mangle both verb and substantive †.

The Italian "*Cavalleria*" a name common to those gentlemen who had received the knightly belt and sword, had its origin among the northern conquerors of Italy: after the tenth century this honour was more strictly confined to persons of noble birth, and in general none but those who already wore the spur could confer it; this was either done in the field before or amidst the clang of arms or victory, or on the peaceful celebration of some great festival. It however was not uncommon for independent states to exercise this power as was often done at Florence, where the people appointed a commissioner or public representative to perform the ceremony. Gilt spurs were

* This fact is quoted by Muratori from the Genoese Annals of *Stella*. Machina una quæ Troja vocata, jaciens lapidem ponderis, quod cantariorum xij. usque in xviii. vocatur. "Now," says Muratori, "if the '*Cantaro*' in Genoa weighs 150 pounds (Troy) it is a wonderful thing, a machine powerful enough to launch such a great weight through the air." It probably was far under; for the "*Cantaro*" varied in weight in different states; yet there must have been one common measure of that name because it was applied to designate the burden of ships.

† Filipº. Villani, Lib. i., cap. xxii.—Muratori, Antichità Itali, Dissertazione xxvi.

buckled to the heel, a golden fringe was attached to the knightly hood and the hilt and pommel of the sword was gilded*. There were several sorts of knights: those generally called "*Cavalieri a Spron d'Oro*," knights of the golden spur, corresponded in all respects with the knights of English chronicles, and were thus distinguished from the noble squires or "*Donzelli*" who wore silver spurs but fought in armour on horseback, and ranked above the "*Scudieri*" or esquires. Such knights were also denominated "*Cavalieri di Corredo*" from the arms they wore, or as some suppose from the public feast usually given by them at their installation; but we do not gather this from Sacchetti who in his Novelle describes four distinct ceremonies for as many kinds of knights, namely; the "*Cavalieri di Corredo;*" "*Cavalieri Bagnati*," or knights of the bath; "*Cavalieri di Scudo;*" and "*Cavaliere d'Armi.*"

"The Cavalieri di Corredo," he says, "are those who in a deep green habit and a golden garment take the order of knighthood: Knights of the Bath are made with exceeding great ceremony and should be washed from every vice: Knights of the Shield are those that are made by the people or great lords, and receive the honour of knighthood armed, and with the "*Barbuta*" or crested helmet on their head. Knights of Arms are those that in the beginning or even in the midst of a battle receive this distinction." Besides these there were "*Cavalieri di Cavallate*," "*Cavalieri d' Elmo*" and simple "*Cavalieri*" none of which were terms of honour, and only signified men-at-arms on horseback belonging to the *Cavallati* or civic companies of cavalry†.

* Dante alludes to this in the xvi^th^ Canto of the "*Paradiso.*"

"Quel della Pressa sapeva già come
Regger si vuole, ed avea Galigaio
Dorata in casa sua già l' asa l' pome,"

"Fair governance was yet an art well prized
By him of Pressa: Galigaio showed
The gilded hilt and pommel in his house."—(*Cary's Dante.*)

† Gio. Villani, Lib. ix., cap. cclxxvi. (and note).

Towards the latter end of the eleventh century armorial bearings were emblazoned on the shields to distinguish the several knights in battle or tournament; those of princes, passing from their shield to their money, carried the name along with them and hence the pecuniary denominations of the Italian "*Scudo*," and the "*Ecu*" of France; but the French lilies did not appear as armorial bearings until 1150 under the reign of Louis the Seventh *.

A cavaliere or man-at-arms was accompanied by one "*Destriero*" or strong war-horse, and one or two, sometimes three mounted squires who led the animal fully caparisoned; or carried the helmet lance and shield of their master: these "*Destrieri*" ("rich and great horses" as Villani calls them,) were so named because they were led on the right hand without any rider, and all ready for mounting: the squire's horses were of an inferior kind called "*Ronzini*," and on the "*Palafreni*" or palfreys the knight rode when not in battle. The number of squires usually attending on men-at-arms was very great, sometimes even trebling their nominal force as given in historical relations: by the contract between France and Venice for transporting troops to the Levant in 1281, the French demand that the Venetians should carry in their vessels four thousand five hundred men-at-arms, as many horses, and nine thousand squires besides twenty thousand infantry; but what became of the squires' horses in this expedition does not appear †.

Sometimes the squires were banded together in close array and sent forward to the onslaught before the knights, who cased in iron charged after them with a tremendous shock: a few of the bravest knights, as already noticed, called *Feditori* or *Feritori* were always selected to begin the fight, because if they succeeded in breaking the adverse line their comrades' spirit and confidence increased, while the enemy's diminished:

* Muratori, Antich. Italia, Dissertaz. liii.

† "Giunte al Dandalo," Apud Muratori, Dissert. xxvi., p. 121.

at the signal to charge the whole army cheered, drums and trumpets sounded, and the Feditori dashed forward to the onslaught: if repulsed they fell back through intervals in the main line and rallied on the reserve which sometimes won the battle as at Campaldino.

Amongst the usual pieces of defensive armour worn in these days was one called the "*Cervelliera*" or iron scull-cap invented by the famous Michael Scott, which was worn under the helmet and much celebrated: the lance, the mace, the shield, the sword, the knife, and the poniard, were the offensive arms of horsemen: footmen handled the long spear, the javelin, the bow, the axe, the sling, the crossbow, the sword, the long knife, the dagger, and other offensive arms; with the shield and helmet for defence. Of shields there were various sorts in Italy; such as the "*Scudo*," the "*Rotella*," the "*Brocchiere*," the "*Targa*," and the "*Pavese*" all differing in form, size, and material: they were of iron, brass, wood, and leather; round, oblong, square and pointed: the *Pavese* were shields made after the fashion of Pavia; the *Rotelli* were named from their circular form; the *Brocchieri* because they bulged out into a pointed boss and spike, which in close combat might serve as a weapon of offence. The crossbowmen served on foot or on horseback; they were sometimes arrayed in divisions or sections, shooting alternately, so that a constant discharge was kept up against the men-at-arms: the crossbow arrows were commonly called "*Moschette*;" also "*Quadrilli*;" either from the form of the head or being four-feathered: the "*Bolzoni*" were something of the same kind, but knobbed instead of pointed, and the "*Verrettoni*," a short light arrow, also discharged from the crossbow, was very generally used, especially in the civil tumults of Florence.

After the eleventh century when an Italian republic declared war everybody that could carry arms was forced to take the field, and if any place were besieged the different Quarters,

Sixths, or Thirds, of the city, according as it was divided, took their turn and were regularly relieved about every thirty days. War was not made in those ages without previous notice and reasons given: the enemy was often challenged to fight at a particular time and place; a herald threw down the gauntlet of defiance, and the sun, wind, and all local advantages were duly balanced; a custom preserved long afterwards in duelling. Winter campaigns were rare, May being the usual time of commencing war, especially the "*Guerra Guerriata*" or a ravaging desultory warfare without coming to serious combat: armies were attended by irregular troops called "*Ribaldi*" and "*Gualdani*," who it is supposed did not differ materially from each other and were used to scour the country for plunder forage and intelligence; they fought without order as occasion offered, running in between the regular battalions and under the horses of the men-at-arms whose bowels they ripped up with long knives *.

The "*Masnade*" have been already noticed; but besides regular vassals we have early accounts of paid bands of soldiers who with the former constantly kept the field when unpaid citizens had withdrawn to their occupations: they were commonly foreigners, and probably deserters or fragments of imperial armies disbanded at the death of emperors in Italy, or dispersed from other causes. These mercenaries however did not consist of Germans only; English, Flemings, and even Hungarians, found out that the Italians were in need of troops and paid well for them; so that as early as the thirteenth century this custom had already begun to undermine the martial skill and spirit of some communities and paved the way for future Condottieri and their robber companions. The Italian genius afterwards revived, but in an unwholesome form, and Florence although richer, perhaps more powerful, yet never was so great as when her citizens willingly took the field at

* Muratori, Dissert. xxvi.—Villani, Lib. ix., cap. clxxxiii.

their own expense to fight for their own country under the shadow of the time-honoured Carroccio.

"It was drawn forth with joy and honour when the state "went out to war, and above it on a lofty sail-yard was borne "the bright and triumphant banner to which the whole army "looked: neither was there any castle in the territory, whether "on mountain or in plain, to defend which the people would "fight so manfully, or so readily expose both life and soul to "every chance and danger for on this car depended the honour, "strength, and glory of the republic"*.

These are not the words of a Florentine but the spirit was alike, and when kings or emperors came into Italy the highest honour that could be offered was to meet them on their way with the Carroccio, and all public ceremonies were rendered more solemn by the presence of this banner and its gorgeous accompaniments. The Carroccio only went to the field "*a Oste*," or with the whole military force of the commonwealth; at other times the colours were carried by a single man who was never to retreat or lower them under pain of eternal infamy. Prisoners who declined joining the ranks of a victorious army were despoiled of their horses and arms and held to ransom, or sent about their business; but the Florentines were considered so opulent that their ransom was always more exorbitant than other prisoners of war, and this is one of the reasons alleged for their gradually renouncing the military profession. Sometimes the captives, especially when taken in a fortress, were released on their parole not to serve for a certain period; sometimes they were kept in prison for months and even years, but generally exchanged when both parties became encumbered with them: they were often dismissed under certain conditions and in case of decisive victories the vanquished obliged themselves to obey the victors whenever called upon, either in paying tribute or receiving a Podestà at their nomination, or

* Rolandini of Padua, Apud Muratori, Dissertazione xxvi.

perhaps in supplying them with a body of auxiliaries in their expeditions; these were all marks of homage and lost national independence; but not of diminished internal freedom *.

There was a strong and proud spirit of jealous patriotism amongst all the Italian republics that burned as fiercely in Florence as anywhere, and in their own estimation placed her above every other country: this encouraged rivalry implacability and war, and probably brought out both the bad and good qualities of the people in deeper colouring.

All served, from sixteen to sixty, either in garrison or the field; and although all were not equally soldier-like there were few who could not manage the arms then most commonly in use, because their holiday amusements were athletic, military, and the skilful management of arms. The more disciplined troops were distinguished by their peculiar weapons, their horses, or the cars on which in some places they went out to battle; or else from their known station in the line, or the particular time or occasion when they were to join in the fight: for instance one body defended the Carroccio, another led or sustained the first attack, while a third was held in reserve. It does not appear that the Florentines made use of cars for sending their troops to the field, like the Milanese, who according to Denina had three hundred and the people of Asti a thousand; on each of which ten armed soldiers issued to the war †.

The military resources of some of these republics were astonishing when any great effort required them: Milan offered Frederic II. ten thousand men to accompany him into Palestine; the Bolognese armed forty thousand against Venice! and the tyrant Eccelino maintained amongst his other troops a legion of twelve thousand Paduans alone! Florence at one time could bring a hundred thousand fighting men at a few days' notice into the field from the capital, contado, and district; all organized under captains of tens, hundreds, and

* Muratori, Ant. Ital., Dissert. xxvi. † Denina, Rev. d'Italia, vol. ii., p. 339.

thousands, and completely equipped according to their various nature. The greater part of these were agricultural labourers well used to carry arms, and while thus employed the commonwealth supplied them with provisions and even a certain allowance of pay equivalent to the average wages of the time; thus when Florence made a sudden demonstration of her forces before Arezzo in 1384 as will be hereafter noticed, twenty thousand cavalry and sixty thousand infantry were rapidly and almost instantaneously assembled to gain their object *.

In these expeditions a camp equipage accompanied the troops, the tents being as at present made of canvas, but probably at the expense of the soldier: they were called "*Trabacche*" and "*Padiglioni*" and were of various shapes and sizes according to the rank and wealth of the owner: those of kings, princes, and other great people were magnificent, and some are described as being so spacious as to startle all common belief; but that considerable cost and ingenuity were lavished on these vast tabernacles is indubitable, and the national pavilion being considered second only to the Carroccio in honour; it was in especial charge of the general and had a guard of honour amongst the Florentines †.

National pride and hatred rendered every insult personal, and produced a punctilious sensibility which often vented itself in sudden fiery expeditions without adequate cause; during these hostilities, and even in times of peace, everything was done by adverse states to insult and aggravate each other: dead [illegible]s were thrown into besieged places; races, particularly of infamous women, were run under the city walls; the sports of peace were celebrated in similar situations, as if to show the perfect safety in which the invaders considered themselves, with their utter contempt of the enemy: money was

* Gio. Villani, Lib. viii., cap. xxxix. —Dentna, vol. ii°, p. 335.—Goro Dati, Storia di Firenze, Libri ii° and iii°, pp. 26 and 37.

† Muratori, Dissert. xxvi.

struck on the stock of a felled tree; generally one of those that formed a shady resort for the citizens beyond the walls; as if to exercise the rights of sovereignty and insult the vanquished: and even permanent inscriptions and other abusive emblems were placed over the gates as the Pisans did near Lerici in 1256; or on some lofty tower as the marble arms of Carmignano *. All these customs and feelings made the wars of this early period between neighbouring states more like the personal quarrels of individuals than the conflicts of contending nations and often stamped a bitter and bloody character on the contest to which except in civil contentions, we now are happily strangers.

* The Pisans having taken Lerici and Trebbiano from the Genoese built a strong suburb to the former with two great towers, and above the gate of this suburb between the two towers they placed a stone carved into the form of a bale of merchandise and cut on it the following inscription:

"*Stoppa in Bocca al Genovese,*
Crepacuore a Porto Venere,
Strappa Borsello al Lucchese."
(*Vide* Tronci, Annali, An. 1256.)

The peculiar point of this wit would now perhaps not be easy to discover, but although the capture of Lerici was cutting the purse of Lucca, breaking the heart of Porto Venere, and stopping the mouth of Genoa, yet Genoa recaptured it immediately.—Gio. Villani, Lib. vi., cap. v.—Tronci, Annali di Pisa.

APPENDIX.

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DANTE, PURGATORY.

(CANTO VI.)

FLORENCE mine, well may'st thou be content
With this digression, it ne'er touches thee ;
Thanks to thy people that conduct thee so.
Many are just in heart yet slow to shoot,
Nor without judgment lightly seize the bow :
But thy good men wear justice on their tongue.
Many refuse the weight of public charge :
But thy wise people readily respond
Without a call ; exclaiming, " I will serve."
Now make thee joyful for thou hast good cause :
Thou rich, *thou* peaceful, *thou* of wisdom full.
If I say true th' effect can scarce be hid.
Athens and Lacedæmon, when of yore
For antique laws and policy renown'd,
Were poor in social life compared to thee,
Who weav'st so provident and subtle laws,
That scarce to mid-November will extend
What in October thou perchance may'st spin.
How many times within thy mem'ry still,
Laws, Money, Office, Manners, Customs ; all
Hast thou changed, and members oft renew'd ?
And if thy mem'ry 's good and vision clear,
Thou 'lt see thyself like to the bed-rid crone,
Who knows no rest though on soft plumage laid,
But shuns her pain by turning here and there,

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COUNT UGOLINO.—DANTE, HELL.

(CANTO XXXIII.)

Lifting his muzzle from the fell repast,
That sinner turned, and wiped it on the hair
Of the maimed skull he had so gnaw'd behind.
Then he began :—Thou wantest to renew
The hopeless grief which presses on my heart,
E'en with a thought, before I tell the tale.
But if each syllable prove fruitful seed
Of shame unto the traitor that I gnaw,
Together thou shalt see me speak, and weep.
I know not whom thou art, nor by what mode
Thou camest here below ; but Florentine
Thou seem'st indeed to me when thee I hear.
Know that I was once Count Ugolino,
And this the fierce Archbishop Ruggieri :
Now I will tell thee why I 'm coupled thus.
That by the working of his wicked thoughts,
Trusting to him I was close pris'ner made,
And after murder'd ; there 's no need to say.
But that of which thou never couldst have heard,
I mean the cruel nature of my death,
Listen now ; and learn if he hath wronged me.
A narrow chink within the dreary mew,
Since, after me, the " Tower of Famine " named,
(Where other victims yet must be immured,)
Had shown me through its iron-fasten'd hole
What moons had waned ere came that fatal dream
Which from the future rent its shadowy veil.
This dog, methought, as Lord and Master rode
Chacing the wolf and wolflings to the hill
Which bars our Pisans' view of Lucca's towers.
With famish'd, eager, and insatiate hounds,
Gualandi, Sismondi, and Lanfranchi
He placed himself directly in the front.
After short course methought were wearied out
Both sire and cubs, and then with piercing fangs
It seemed as if their bleeding flanks were torn.

When I awaken'd, ere the morning's dawn,
I heard my children weeping in their sleep ;
Those that were with me ; and demanding bread.
Cruel art *thou*, if yet untouch'd in heart
With thoughts of what my soul foreboded then !
And if thou weep'st not, what e'er made thee weep ?
All had now wak'd and the due hour drew near
When daily food was wont to be supplied ;
And still his dream made every dreamer doubt.
And then, beneath, I heard the wicket nailed
Of the horrible tow'r ! and then I stared
Into my children's face, without a word !
I did not weep ! all petrified within !
But they did weep ; and Anselmuccio mine
Exclaim'd Thou look'st so strange ! What ails thee Father ?
Nor this drew tears ! nor did I once reply
All that long day, nor the ensuing night,
'Till the next sun had broken on the world.
As through the hole a slender ray was struck
Within that doleful cell, and I perceived
In four sad visages my looks impressed,
With very anguish both my hands I bit ;
And they supposing it was want of food
With sudden movement altogether rose,
And said, O father we should feel less pain
If thou wouldst feed on us : 'twas thee that dress'd us
In this most wretched flesh ; despoil us now.
I then was calm, not to increase their wo.
For that day and the next we all were mute !
Hard-hearted earth why didst not open then !
After the fourth sad morning had appear'd
Gaddo fell down extended at my feet,
Crying, Father mine canst thou not aid me ?
There he died ; and sure as thou seest me now,
I saw them die all three child after child
Between the fifth day and the sixth ; and then
Sightless from want I passed my hands o'er each :
Three days I called them after they were dead ;
And then sharp famine did what grief could not.

Thus having spoke, he with dark scowling eye
Refix'd the mangled skull between his teeth,
Strong as a dog's against the harden'd bone.
Ah Pisa ! thou reproach and endless shame
To that fair land where the soft SI doth sound !
Since to chastise thee neighb'ring states are slow,
E'en let Gorgona and Capraia move,
And dam the waters up in Arno's mouth,
So that all living souls within thee drown :
For if 'gainst Ugolino charge were made
Of having given thy castles to the foe,
His sons at least should not have suffer'd thus.
Their tender age had render'd innocent,
Thou modern Thebes ! Uguccion and Brigata
And th' other two 'bove named in our song.

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PURGATORY.

(CANTO XXIV.)

Because the place where I was put to live,
Is day by day, more pulp'd of all its good,
And to unhappy ruin seems disposed.
Now go he said, for him who 's most to blame,
I now see trailing at his horse's heels
Towards the vale where no redemption lies.
The beast at every step more rapid flies,
With still increasing speed until he kicks
And leaves the mangled and disfigured corpse.
Ye have not much to turn celestial wheels,
(And fix'd his eyes above) until thou seest
What words of mine are not allowed to tell.

00141836

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